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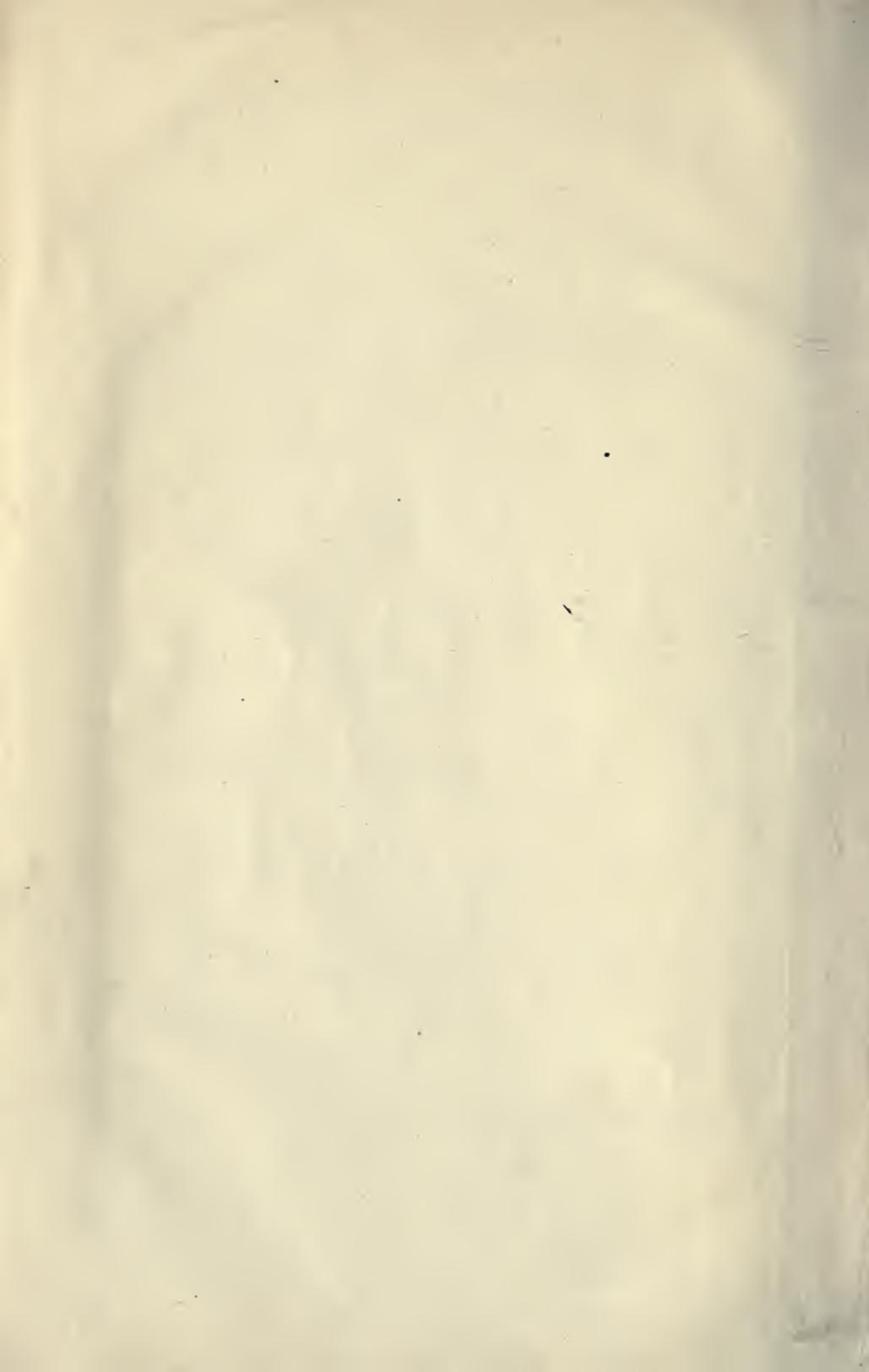


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THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

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PRESIDENT FALLIÈRES

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THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

BY
FREDERICK LAWTON, M.A.

WITH THIRTY-TWO ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
GRANT RICHARDS

1909

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IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF
MANY SERVICES RENDERED

PREFACE

IN the following pages I have tried to give an historical, and, to some extent, an anecdotal narration of the 'Third Republic's progress from the end of May 1871 up to the year 1908. The great conflict accompanying the birth of the Republic was practically finished before its separate existence began. Virtually, the Commune belongs to the Republic; but it is historically connected rather with the Siege of Paris and the war; and a whole volume would be required to relate these origins adequately. In a first separate chapter, therefore, I have told about them just enough for any allusions in the sequel to be understood.

Of many things that will be found in the second half of the book, I write from personal experience. Having lived for the last twenty years in France, where indeed I have been privileged to make the acquaintance of some of her citizens eminent in politics, literature, and art, I have learned to appreciate the various admirable qualities of the French race. To any fair-minded observer it is evident that France is evolving as a nation. With a good headway to make up in certain of her institutions, owing to the vicissitudes through which she has passed in the last hundred years, she holds her own in the vanguard of European peoples both by the boldness of her conceptions and the ingenuity of her inven-

tion. Shaken loose by hard circumstance from some of the old doctrines still prevailing in neighbouring lands, she is resolutely essaying new paths towards the ideal commonwealth that all countries fain would reach. And, though the goal has not yet been attained, at least sufficient has been done to prove that she is great in peace, as she has been great in war.

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I

INTRODUCTION

THE Third Republic is the child of the Second and the grandchild of the First. There is an organic relationship between them which makes them in reality one.

Taking it all in all, the history of the three might be summed up as the education of the democracy. The rest is mere detail. No sooner had the Great Revolution overthrown the Monarchy than Talleyrand proposed to establish an elementary school in each commune. The essential was to begin with the infant intelligence and create a national thinking mind. This the bishops fought against. It meant that the people would be their judges. Fontanes took up the matter again in the reign of Napoleon I; but the Emperor had more pressing cares to attend to, so that the efforts of the first Grand Master of the University were abortive. The Restoration came, and still the education of the masses was neglected, though Cuvier, Royer-Collard and Frayssinous, strove for it. Not until 1833, in Louis-Philippe's reign, did Guizot manage to commence the work, amidst many drawbacks. These latter rendered progress slow even under the Second Empire; but a wider-reading and reflecting public was formed in the middle of the century; and the histories of Tocqueville and Michelet, the poetry of Victor Hugo, Lamartine and de Musset,

the novels of Hugo, George Sand, Balzac and Dumas, the philosophy of Comte and Taine were eagerly absorbed. This change enabled the leading spirits of France to appeal among their countrymen to something besides impulse and passion—a fact that Napoleon III was obliged to count with.

In spite of his *coup d'état*, Louis-Napoleon was more of a president than an emperor. Though he had played the rôle of a dictator, he never forgot that his tenor of power was dependent on the people's will. From the commencement, universal suffrage was the basis of Parliamentary representation; and, between 1860 and 1870, his absolutism dwindled, through the transference to the Legislative Chamber of the authority he had exercised over the Cabinet of Ministers. Had the war of '70 not broken out, or had it ended differently, the probability is that the Empire would have become a strictly constitutional government similar to the one existing in England and Republican in everything but the name. In each public department, useful institutions were being created—Savings Banks, Providence Societies, Orphanages, Hospitals, Workmen's Banks. Laws regulating labour and Old Age Pensions were being discussed; and a thorough plan of public works was inaugurated, intended to sweep away dirt and disease and to improve the sanitary conditions of town and rural district. In these reforms, the Emperor had his share of initiative; but the larger merit belonged to the enlightened statesmen around him, whose action continued when he disappeared.

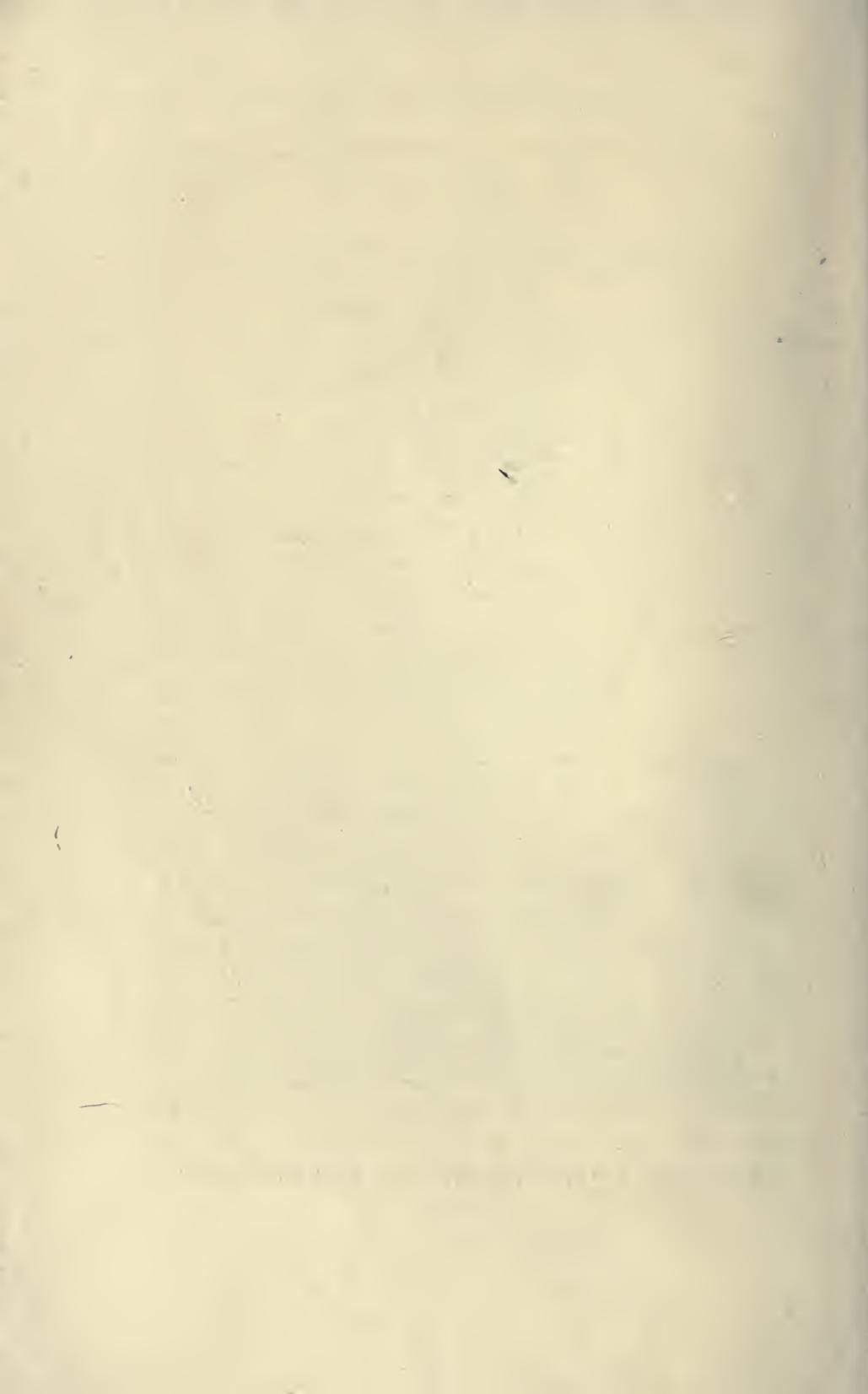
It was, perhaps, unavoidable, but it has been none the less prejudicial to the country that, after such



Photograph: Pierre Petit

MONUMENT: "THE TRIUMPH OF THE REPUBLIC"

By DALOU



repeated proofs of the instability of monarchical and imperial *régimes* in France, so long a time and labour were lost in disputing the Republic's right to exist. Abroad, a feeling of distrust was aroused; for twenty years nearly, after the war, France remained isolated; and in domestic politics this barren struggle confounded the whole of the Rights with the party of faction and plotting. Happily, the forces of Conservatism have, at length, turned to more feasible tasks.

The history of the last forty years has its picturesque side. A line of seven Presidents, several Royal and other Pretenders, a larger number of Prime and other Ministers, and a crowd of deputies and simple citizens have mingled on the stage of public life and gone through their rôles, some ordinary, some extraordinary, some exciting and palpitating, in the various dramas—comedy or tragedy—that have been played. Not all the acts and scenes have been exhibitions of things pleasant and virtuous. A Republic does not necessarily cure men of their egoisms. But, as Octave Mirbeau says: "What are our vices, our corruptions, our venality, what are our poor little Panamas, compared with the vices, corruptions, embezzlements and treasons of that famous Court (of Louis XIV) which is still held out to us as the model of honour, patriotism, elegance and virtue? Not more than schoolboy pranks."

While, however, these outside shows have captivated attention, an upheaval of the masses has occurred, silently for the most part, effected through the ubiquitous schoolmaster, the halfpenny newspaper, and military service, and an organized democracy stands by the side of the *bourgeoisie* and the mediatized aris-

ocracy. It means that Socialism is again to the front otherwise prepared and armed than when de Falloux closed the national workshops after the Revolution of 1848. Socialism is to-day a Government platform. Socialistic legislation is creeping in on all sides. A Socialistic State may very well be the order of things in France to-morrow. If so, will it be better than the condition and order it replaces?

The answer, yes or no, depends less on the particular form of society adopted than on the power and will of the democracy to avoid the vice of all past régimes, that of permitting one class to tyrannize over another. If Socialism, collective or otherwise, is simply to be the substitution of a majority privilege for a minority one, if private initiative is to be discouraged and the greater effort rewarded only by an increased burden, if a progressive personal freedom for each individual with advancing age cannot be secured, and if every man cannot enjoy without let or hindrance what he legitimately earns, then the change will not be worth the having.

To the credit of the democracy and the Republic may be, meanwhile, placed a beginning of decentralization, and an exercise of local autonomy that would make Richelieu, Colbert and Louvois turn in their graves could they see it. Paris is no longer France. The rapid growth of industry and commerce in centres other than the capital has endowed them with a political importance and influence which Parliament could not avoid recognizing. Neither the provincial press nor provincial university and other educational activities depend on Paris in the way they used to; and Mutualism, a detailed account of which will be given in a separate

chapter, is a striking example of the independent rise of a multitude of local self-governing societies, which have formed a national federation without loss of prerogative.

As regards the duel between Church and State, which has been fought in the past quarter of a century, it is important to remember that the Government's conduct has received the support of the vast majority of the population—a population at least by tradition Catholic. Not suddenly, or in a hurry, but by a series of legislative acts duly elaborated, and in spite of occult pressure of all kinds, the nation has decided strictly to define and limit the influence and action of a body of men who have sworn supreme obedience to an authority outside the State. Cries of oppression have gone up from Pope and clergy, but they have had no real abiding echo among the laity, who, judging the merits of the case in a common-sense manner, see that, whereas the Church did mean and try to kill the Republic, the Republic has allowed the Church to live.

In French history, literature, science and art may claim an equal rank with politics. Since 1870, the originality and achievement of the Republic's *savants* and artists have not been surpassed by any nation in the world. In literature the quality has somewhat suffered from the quickness of production—and this is the same elsewhere. Yet a goodly number of authors whose style honours the French tongue have not been wanting in each decade; and, in recent poetry especially, a new departure has been made from which a good deal may be expected.

The word *décadence* has often been employed by hasty critics in speaking against the French nation—

How sweet
of the Republic
when they
couldst be
themselves
"the sales"
not pres-
against-

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against what old nation has it not been launched in prophecy! If it has any truth in their mouths, it means only that there are morbid elements present in the national life which, if allowed to work their will, can bring about dissolution. This may be. In fact, such morbid elements exist in countries new, as well as countries old. But that they are now in the ascendant in France is not a just deduction from the annals of the Third Republic.

II

THE WAR AND THE COMMUNE

Two days after the battle of Sedan, Prosper Mérimée the novelist, who was an intimate friend of the Imperial family, presented himself at the house of Thiers in the Rue Saint-Georges to invite its owner to form a ministry in the place of Count Palikao, who had resigned. Thiers has left us the following account of the interview :—

“Monsieur Mérimée was dying. He was a most thorough gentleman, one of the best and wittiest I have known. Being devoted to the Empress, he gave her good advice.

“‘ You guess why I have come ? ’ he said.

“‘ Yes, I guess ! ’

“‘ You can render us a great service. ’

“‘ I can render you none at all. ’

“‘ Yes, you can. I know your way of thinking. Dynasties do not occupy you. Your thoughts are especially turned to the present state of affairs. Well ! The Emperor is a prisoner ; there remain only a wife and a child. What an opportunity for you to establish a representative government ! ’

“‘ After Sedan, there is nothing to be done, absolutely nothing. ’ ”

And Mérimée was obliged to go away unsatisfied. A few days later he lay dead at Cannes.

This interview took place on the 3rd of September. On the morrow, the people invaded the Legislative Chambers and pronounced the *déchéance* of the Imperial Government. Thiers had spoken truly.

No modern war perhaps has been more tragically swift and overwhelming than that of 1870. It was declared on the 19th July.

'To Berlin!' was the cry that hailed the regiments hurrying through Paris on their way to the frontier. In the theatres, the *Marseillaise* was sung amidst acclamations. At the Opera, where *La Muette* was being performed, the national anthem was called for after the air: *Amour Sacré de la Patrie*; and Emile de Girardin, the editor of the *Liberté*, leaning over the front of his box, summoned the audience to stand. The whole assembly obeyed. In the papers, a rich citizen, and one by no means excitable as a rule, offered to bet two hundred thousand francs that the French would enter the Prussian capital before the 15th of August. Such was the enthusiasm of the bulk of the population.

And the bulk of the population at the time were Imperialists. They believed in Louis Napoleon, who had given them much material prosperity in his eighteen years' reign and seemed to be inclining more to a constitutional policy. True, there was his unfortunate Mexican campaign; but over against it were the military glories of the Crimea, of Magenta and Solferino; and the conquest of Cochin-China had added another territory to the country's colonial possessions.

Unfortunately, the Emperor's coup d'état was a deed that the Republican party had never pardoned. And their representatives in Parliament had grown, between

1857 and 1869, from five to fifty. Among them were Jules Ferry, Jules Grévy, Jules Simon, Jules Favre, Carnot and Gambetta, all men of talent. Outside the Chamber of Deputies, there were other leaders of influence who had not forgotten the Republic of 1848, and were ready to take advantage of any faults of the Imperial Administration and to stir up Paris—Paris which had always been restive under the yoke of Governmental restraint, always in the van of the march of ideas.

It was to the merit of the Republicans and some Liberals in Parliament that they voted against the war.

‘Careful of my reputation,’ said Monsieur Thiers, ‘I would not have any one say I took on me the responsibility for a war based on such motives.’

It may also be said in excuse of the Emperor that his hand was forced by his Ministers. Though not fully aware of the enemy’s strength, he knew that his own forces were not sufficiently prepared for the struggle.

This knowledge, however, was possessed only by few. And those who ventured to express their doubts were looked on as bad patriots, and even as spies. In the streets they risked being lynched. On the boulevards and in other public resorts, the wildest tales were credited. The first reverses were thought to be false until doubt as to their character was no longer permissible; and, like successive thunderbolts, were announced the disasters of Wissembourg, Froeschwiller, Forbach, Borny, Rezonville, Gravelotte, Saint-Privat, Sedan.

Afterwards came the advance on Paris, as rapid in its

progress as the series of previous defeats. On the 9th of September the enemy's troops were at Laon and Montmirail; on the 11th, at Meaux; on the 15th, at Corbeil. On the 17th, the last train leaving Paris was attacked near Choisy and every route was captured. The situation was growing desperate; but still people could not believe the capital would be invested. They asserted that at least a million and a half of men would be required to blockade the city on every side. But, even while they were discussing, the walls were being surrounded, and the battle of Châtillon destroyed their last illusion. On the 19th of September, just two months after war had been declared, the whole of the railway lines connecting Paris with the outside world were in the enemy's hands. The siege had begun.

The Government which, on the 4th of September, replaced that of the fallen Emperor was one of National Defence, so called; and, being self-constituted, it exercised a sort of dictatorship. It included most of the prominent Republicans, and had as its head General Trochu, an officer who in August had been considered one of the first of the Staff and in December was deemed the most incapable. After enjoying immense popularity, he became among the people, whom he sought to rule by moral suasion, the butt of the grossest jests. Whereas his colleagues contented themselves with styling him a Lamartine in uniform, the crowd had no other name for him than the bill-sticker. He was made the scapegoat of the army, as Jules Favre ultimately was of the civilian population. It was the latter's unlucky phrase, *not an inch of our territory, not a stone of our fortresses*, which through the contrast of events lowered him in the common estimation.

The harsh condemnation passed on Trochu by the men of his day—Gambetta and Victor Hugo to boot—and even by some French historians, is not just. Called upon to defend Paris, his obvious duty was rather to spare than to use up his troops, while waiting for outside help. He could not himself raise the siege; and, though he should have broken the German cordon by the impact of all his men on one point, it would have meant the immediate capitulation of the city. What he did was to organize a series of sorties that kept the enemy continually busy and inflicted constant losses on them until all the armies that were gathered to succour him had been beaten back and compelled to forgo their mission. And, in this labour of Hercules, he showed qualities as an organizer and tactician that were remarkable.

Until the capitulation of Metz at the end of October, the Parisians preserved their good-humour and their optimism with regard to the issue of the war. In September, General Trochu's grand review of the city's forces, extending from the Bastille to the Arc de Triomphe, served to strengthen their confidence; and, when, on the 7th of October, Gambetta and Spuller quitted the capital in the balloon Armand-Barbès, on their errand of sounding the tocsin throughout the provinces, the nearly universal opinion was that before long the Prussians would be obliged to retire. "Sonnez le tocsin"

The anger and disappointment, therefore, caused by Bazaine's surrender were all the more intense; and, that nothing might be wanting in the cup of bitterness, the news of it was announced at the same time as that of the defeat at Bourget. Profiting by the agitation, the Republican extremists in Paris, at the instigation of

* Ledru-Rollin, Blanqui and Félix Pyat, made their first attempt at setting up the Commune.

Ledru-Rollin had been a deputy and Minister of the Interior under the Republic of 1848. After a short spell of office, he went into opposition, and, being mixed up with one of the frequent insurrections of the period, escaped to England to avoid arrest. While abroad, he joined Kossuth and Mazzini in their plottings, was condemned, in his absence, to transportation, but returned to France on the fall of the Empire.

Félix Pyat had been a journalist and dramatic author. A deputy and an insurgent in 1848, he was forced, like Ledru-Rollin, to go into exile. Amnestied just before the war, he resumed his attacks on the Government, and was condemned to five years' imprisonment. Restored to liberty in September 1870, he published during the siege a paper called the *Combat*.

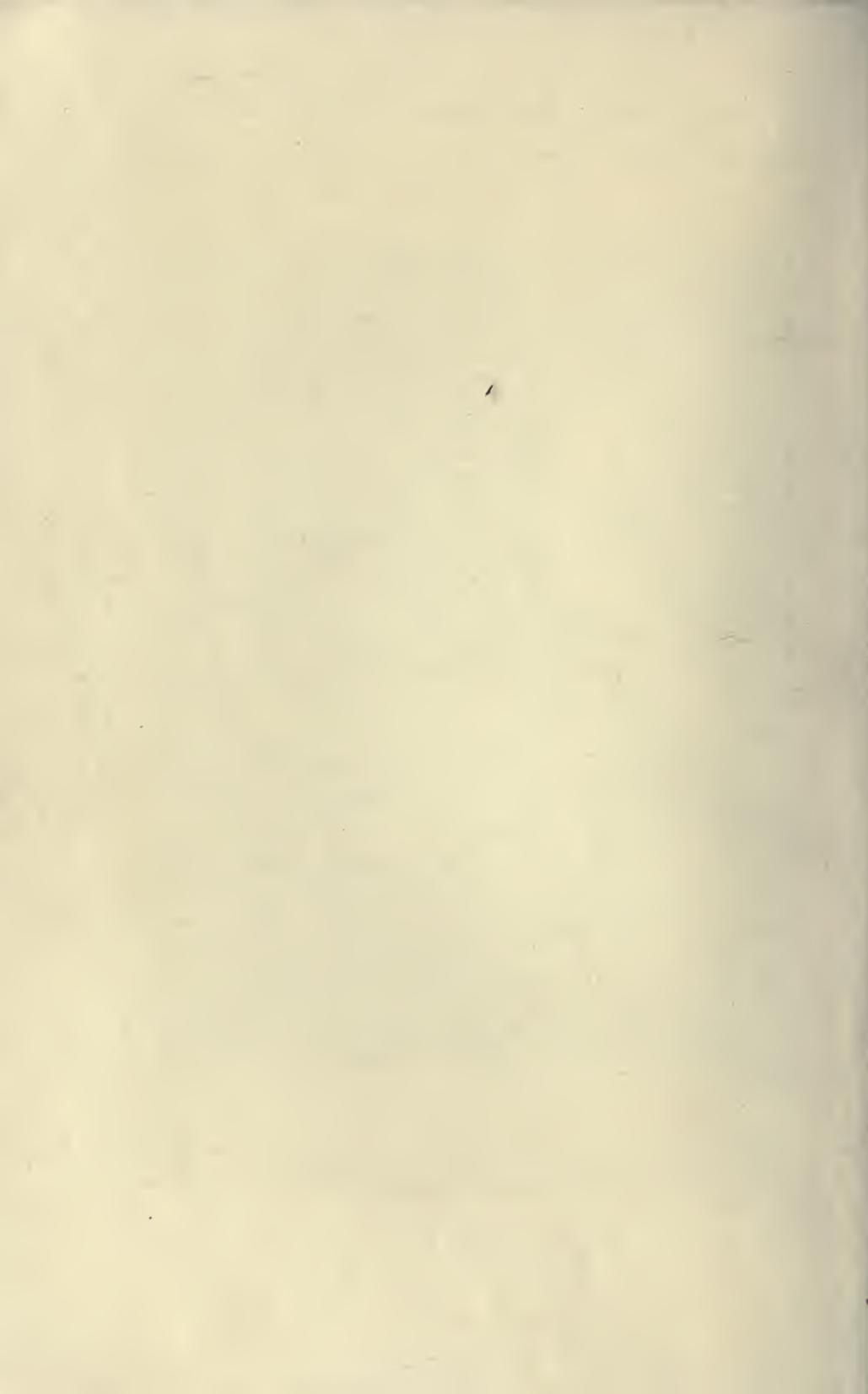
Blanqui, who had studied medicine and law, suffered imprisonment as early as 1830, on account of his conspiracies. Liberated in 1837, he was again arrested and condemned to death in 1840. The sentence being commuted, he remained in prison till 1848. Other plots against the Government procured him further years of detention, which did not hinder him from preaching insurrection in 1870, in his paper, *La Patrie en danger*.

These three men were born anarchists, and dreamed of establishing society on a Utopian basis. The siege seemed a good occasion to put their theories into practice. There were discontents everywhere, and among the National Guard in particular, whole regiments of which they contrived to enlist on their side. On the 31st of October, these regiments at their sug-



Photograph: Neurdein

PARIS IN 1870
From the Picture by MEISSONIER



gestion swooped down on the Hôtel de Ville, where the National Defence Government was sitting, and shut up the Ministers. General Trochu himself was a prisoner. Luckily for those confined, one of their number, Monsieur Picard, managed to slip out and collect a body of loyal soldiers numerous enough to overawe the deserters. A short imprisonment was the only punishment meted out to the ringleaders. Pyat's first act on leaving the Conciergerie, was to print in his paper that 'he, a good citizen and a man of order, had been hustled at the Hôtel de Ville by some rioters of the National Guard.'

In November, the rigour of the siege began to tell upon the capital. The price of provisions went up enormously. Potatoes were twenty francs a decalitre, milk, two francs and a half per litre, butter, forty francs a pound, eggs, two francs apiece. A chicken cost sixty francs, a cat, twenty francs, a rat, two francs. The clubs and cafés were as full as ever, perhaps fuller; for people sought there the comforts they could not get at home. A few only of the richer restaurant keepers were able to supply their customers with the usual *table d'hôte*, for instance Brébant, who in 1872 was presented with a medal struck in his honour by fourteen wealthy men of letters, the inscription on the medal recording the fact that, at their fortnightly dinners in the restaurant during the autumn and winter of 1870-1, the excellence of their bill of fare, and of the dishes supplied, prevented them from remembering they were in a besieged city. Most of the theatres were closed. However, at the Comédie-Française and the Opera, performances were given from time to time in aid of the victims of the war. And

the list of these was increasing. Beyond the deaths by violence, the mortality from privation was going up by leaps and bounds.

Every one knew now that foreign intervention was not to be expected. Thiers had paid his round of visits to the courts of Europe and been rebuffed. The efforts he and Jules Favre made to conclude peace on favourable terms had been equally fruitless. November ended, and December began with General Ducrot's losses at Villiers and Champigny; and the frosts of a hard winter descended upon the earth to render the sufferings of the combatants more terrible.

The closing month of the year brought with it fresh miseries, a death-rate of five thousand a week, and another lost battle. To eke out the horse-flesh, which was the only meat available then, Castor and Pollux, the two elephants of the Jardin des Plantes, were killed and handed over to the butchers.

But not even the horrors of their circumstances were able to make the inhabitants of Paris quite forget the celebration of the *Jour de l'An*. New Year's presents were given by those who could afford them, mostly things of utility. A fine Gruyère cheese was among these *étrennes*. Monsieur Jules Simon, one of the Ministers, whose wife had organized a charity sale for the occasion, afterwards related that a poor shoemaker offered a new pair of boots which he had made on purpose. They were thankfully received.

With the month of January came the bombardment, causing on the whole more fright than damage. Sir Richard Wallace, whose liberalities to Paris have endeared his name to the French, headed a subscription on behalf of its victims and the poor with 130,000

francs. A couple more sorties as far as Montretout and Buzenval, in the latter of which the painter Henri Regnault perished, and the resistance was abandoned. On the 23rd, Jules Favre left for Versailles to propose an armistice. A few days later, peace negotiations were opened, and all the forts round Paris were occupied by the Germans.

A hard condition insisted on by the conquerors was the triumphal entry of their troops into the vanquished city. It was a needless humiliation to inflict; and, perhaps, as much as any other cause, contributed to the sanguinary events of the Commune. In anticipation of the unwelcome visit, Paris shrouded itself in mourning. No newspapers were published; all the shutters were closed; crape-bordered flags hung from the windows; every one remained indoors; and the whole of the Champs Elysées, which was the portion of the city to be occupied by the enemy, was shut off from the rest of the capital by a barrier of French guards. Not one of the inhabitants came to look at the invaders. Alone, hidden in the trees and shrubs and cafés of the vicinity, some two hundred urchins, who had escaped through the barriers, ensconced themselves and replied to the German music by shrill volleys of whistling that spoilt its effect and almost drowned it.

The occupation lasting forty-eight hours, from March 1st to March 3rd, accommodation had to be found for the soldiers. In a place that had been exhausted by a long siege, catering for thirty thousand extra mouths presented many difficulties; and, in some cases, billeting tickets were given on the wrong people. By one of these mistakes, fifty troops were sent to the Austrian Consulate, where they were refused admission. Hearing

of what had occurred, the United States Minister, Mr. Washburn, courteously placed his own mansion at the disposal of the French authorities, and the hitch was got over.

One of the most pathetic incidents of the day is related by Alphonse Daudet. An eighty-year-old cuirassier of the first Empire, Colonel Jouve, who lived in the Champs Elysées, had had a stroke on hearing of the defeat at Wissembourg; and his grand-daughter, inspired by the first false news about Reichshoffen, had, in order to save him, invented, all through the war, victory after victory of the French, and the siege of Berlin, which kept the old man in a state of seeming convalescence. When the bombardment commenced, it was less easy to carry on the deception, but the grand-daughter told him the noise was caused by salvos fired in honour of their successes. At last, however, there was the inevitable appearance of the enemy coming from the Arc de Triomphe. The invalid, who was out on the balcony, imagined for a moment it was MacMahon's veterans that were descending the Avenue. But the uniforms and the music told another tale. From his parched throat broke a cry, a terrible cry, *To arms! To arms! the Prussians!* and the four Uhlans of the advance guard saw the tall, aged cuirassier stagger and fall prone. Colonel Jouve was dead.

Between the end of January and March, a new National Assembly of Parliament had been elected and had commenced its sittings at Bordeaux. There, the treaty of peace was ratified; and there, on the 10th of March, the vote was passed which transferred the seat of Government from Paris to Versailles. This

choice was an error. Louis Blanc, one of the Deputies, told the Assembly so. 'It will drive the Parisians,' he said, 'to give themselves a Government over which the Assembly, sitting elsewhere, will have no influence; and it will most likely rouse from the ashes of the horrible war with the foreigner a civil war more horrible still.' His protest was not listened to. The vast majority of the members were provincials that had little or no sympathy with the capital, blaming it for its fickleness in the past and holding it responsible for what had occurred under Napoleon. The blame was not altogether deserved. When Napoleon was raised by the plebiscite to supreme power, Paris had answered no, the provinces, yes; and, when the question of the recent war was debated, they were mostly Parisian deputies who had opposed it. There was, however, another motive which inclined the Assembly to prefer Versailles. The majority were Monarchists. Their intention was to restore the line of the banished kings; and they believed that, for the accomplishment of this purpose, Versailles would suit them better than the capital.

Meanwhile, the storm was preparing in Paris. Thiers, who had been elected, for the nonce, chief of the Executive, appears not to have suspected what would happen. Trochu, who was more accurately informed, warned him; but he made light of the advice. It was as Blanc had said. The visits of Ministers to the capital were no adequate substitute for the presence of a regular Parliament. Indeed, the Ministers themselves came late and stayed only a short time each day. The rôles were reversed. Formerly Paris had given orders and news to the provinces; now

it awaited them. The inhabitants, both high and low, felt the change all the more bitterly, as they had borne the chief burden and brunt of the struggle, and had suffered most. Moreover, the taking away of the city's public life, at a moment when there was the greater need of it in order to restore trade, rendered the task of finding employment for the poorer classes, increased by large numbers of disbanded soldiers, almost an impossible one.

Amid this mass of people thus inopportunately deserted by the State, the various political associations of advanced views that exist in all great cities found willing adherents. And the associations themselves, at first isolated, began to group and unite, looking for support to the famous Central Committee which had been created during the siege as an unauthorized auxiliary to the National Defence organization and the municipal bodies. Even at the earlier period, some inconvenience had resulted from the co-existence of several powers whose limits and relative superiority were not clearly defined; and now, in the absence of a Parliament that should have found means to reconcile them, the committee, reinforced by men who later played a chief part in the Commune, gradually substituted its decisions for those of the official administration; and, relegating the Mayor of Paris and his colleagues, the *Maires d'arrondissement*, to the background, claimed, at least for the capital, the right to form a frankly Republican Government pledged to social reform—in other words, the Commune, or complete home rule. The Communal ideal was that each commune or locality should be independent, and that the federation of all the communes should make up the

State. What more natural than that, the Parisians being left to themselves at this critical juncture, the revolutionary clubs and societies should endeavour to put their theories into practice. Among the battalions of unemployed that paraded daily in some of the quarters of Paris their emissaries were busy, and now and again savage outbursts of anger happened. During one of these processions in February, an unlucky policeman accused of spying was tied to a plank, flung into the river and stoned to death.

Nearly all these workless citizens had weapons. The announcement that the enemy was about to march in at their gates converted them into an army. Acting on a report that the Germans were intending to steal the cannons which were located in Passy, and on the Place Wagram, they hurried hither and dragged them up to Montmartre and the remoter quarters of the city by Belleville. This was the starting-point of the insurrection.

Perhaps, even then, if the National Assembly had taken the advice of Jules Ferry, the head Mayor, and had come back quickly, all might have been well. But his entreaties were unheeded; and, in a few days, Duval, the future General of the Commune, had his plan of action practically ready.

In the middle of March, Monsieur Thiers, after deliberating with his Cabinet, gave orders for the cannons to be fetched away from the heights. General Lecomte with twenty thousand men was entrusted with the mission. The step was taken without any previous conciliatory attempt being made through the mayors to come to an arrangement, which would have been more prudent, and, in the peculiar state of things, was

only the people's due. Early in the morning of the 18th, the General marched his troops to the spot; but, on his arrival, found that he had not horses enough for the removal of the cannons. A few were carried off at once, therefore, and a message was despatched for reinforcements. In the interval, the news spread that a *coup d'état* was occurring. Soon a multitude of men, women and children were swarming round the soldiers, who allowed themselves to be disarmed; and the General and his staff were seized and imprisoned. On the same day, Lecomte and, with him, Clément Thomas, a former General of the National Guard, who had imprudently ventured into the crowd, were shot by the insurgents.

In this deed of blood the Central Committee probably had no direct share. It was due rather to the exasperation of excited subordinates, and was a reply to the shooting of some of the people's sentinels in the morning. A graver thing was the defection of the soldiers and the uprising of half the city. Monsieur Thiers found himself faced by a separatist movement which in some way or other had to be repressed. His conviction was that violent means alone would avail, and that nothing less than Bazaine's army, which had just been set at liberty by the Germans, would suffice for the work. Acting on this opinion, he withdrew from the city with his ministers and the regiments that had remained faithful to him, until he should have his army in fighting trim. Perhaps, at the time, there was no better course to pursue, at any rate with a National Assembly so prejudiced against the capital.

The Mayors of the Paris arrondissements and other friends of order did their best to heal the breach, and

requested to be admitted at the bar of the Assembly, in order to plead for the city and urge its legitimate claims. But, when the Municipal Representatives appeared, girt with their tricolour scarfs, and a cry of *Vive la République* broke from them and was caught up by the deputies of the Republican Left, they were refused a hearing by the majority. This incident and a fresh riot in Paris, during which a number of people were killed, stopped the negotiations. Thereupon the Central Committee proceeded to hold elections throughout the arrondissements and the Commune was set up. ✓

Incited by the example of Paris, some other towns of France—Marseilles, Lyons, Saint-Etienne, Narbonne—declared their independence also; but these provincial secessions were quickly crushed. In Marseilles the *régime* lasted for thirteen days; this was the longest. In Paris, the Commune reigned for two months. ✓

The secessionists, both chiefs and the rank and file, were in the main sincere. They had had enough of empires, and monarchies, and aristocracies, which had always been systems of privilege and servitude. What they desired was liberty and justice for all. Yet, on the whole, during their brief spell of power, they acted no more wisely than the administrations they condemned. Among them were too many dreamers, too many dare-devils, too many meddlers, too many ignor-amuses, in and out of office. Delescluze and Félix Pyat were the leaders of the extremists; Vermorel, Tridon and Arthur Arnold of the moderates. The last lived into the nineties, became a Theosophist and wrote novels. There were other strange and interesting figures, Varlin, a working bookbinder; Flourens, a sort of romanesque hero, who fell in one of the earlier

combats round Paris; Gambon and Beslay, greybeards who had seen many ups and downs; Rigault and Billioray, men of sinister mind; Eudes, a decayed gentleman; Babyck and Jules Alix, half-mad harum-scarums. Alix, in the first days of the siege, had been secretary to a ladies' club in which men were admitted only as spectators. One of his droll proposals was that the women of the city should be sent to guard the ramparts, and that, in case of need, they should defend their life and honour against the enemy by means of a caoutchouc tube worn on the finger and filled with prussic acid. An ingenious piece of mechanism would enable them to prick the hands and immediately cause the death of those who should lay hold of them. Prussic acid for the Prussian! The women wept and the men laughed at Monsieur Alix's invention of genius.

The Versailles troops began the second siege of Paris in April; and gradually they captured the outlying positions all round its walls. The struggle naturally brought into prominence the members of the Communist government who were men of action. Delescluze and Félix Pyat ruled as masters. The former of them, like his colleague, had led an adventurous existence. Having been involved in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, he had spent long years in exile. In 1853, he was transported to the *Ile du diable*, where Dreyfus was afterwards confined. Returning to France before the fall of the Empire, he founded the *Réveil* newspaper; and in it opened the subscription for Baudin that led to the famous prosecution in which Gambetta first revealed himself as an orator. After fresh imprisonments, he was elected to the National

Assembly in 1871; but resigned and preferred to throw in his lot with the Commune.

Under the control of such men, the capital offered weird contrasts during the months of April and May—receptions and fêtes and ceremonies in the midst of armed troops going out to battle and returning with their wounded; the overthrow of the Vendôme column; the burning of the guillotine; courts martial; and a jack-in-the-box succession of functionaries that disappeared almost before they took possession of their posts.

At last, all the outside forts commanding the capital were in the hands of the besiegers. Cluseret and Rossel, two of the Communist generals, realized that they were fighting a losing game. 'The dominant thought in the minds of the secessionist leaders was that, if conquered, they would make the vanquishers pay dearly for their victory. 'After our barricades, our houses; after our houses, our mines,' proclaimed Delescluze and his fellows; and Vallès added: 'If Monsieur Thiers is a chemist, he will understand.'

In spite of past and impending carnage, the quieter portion of the Parisian population were carrying on their occupations and enjoying themselves when they could. On Sunday the 21st of May, the anglers on the banks of the Seine were indulging in their favourite sport. Before the Committee of Public Safety, Cluseret was being arraigned by his compeers for crimes real or imaginary. Suddenly, a telegram arrived: "The enemy has entered the city by the Gate of St. Cloud," it said. Hastily the trial was concluded; Cluseret was acquitted; and each hurried forth.

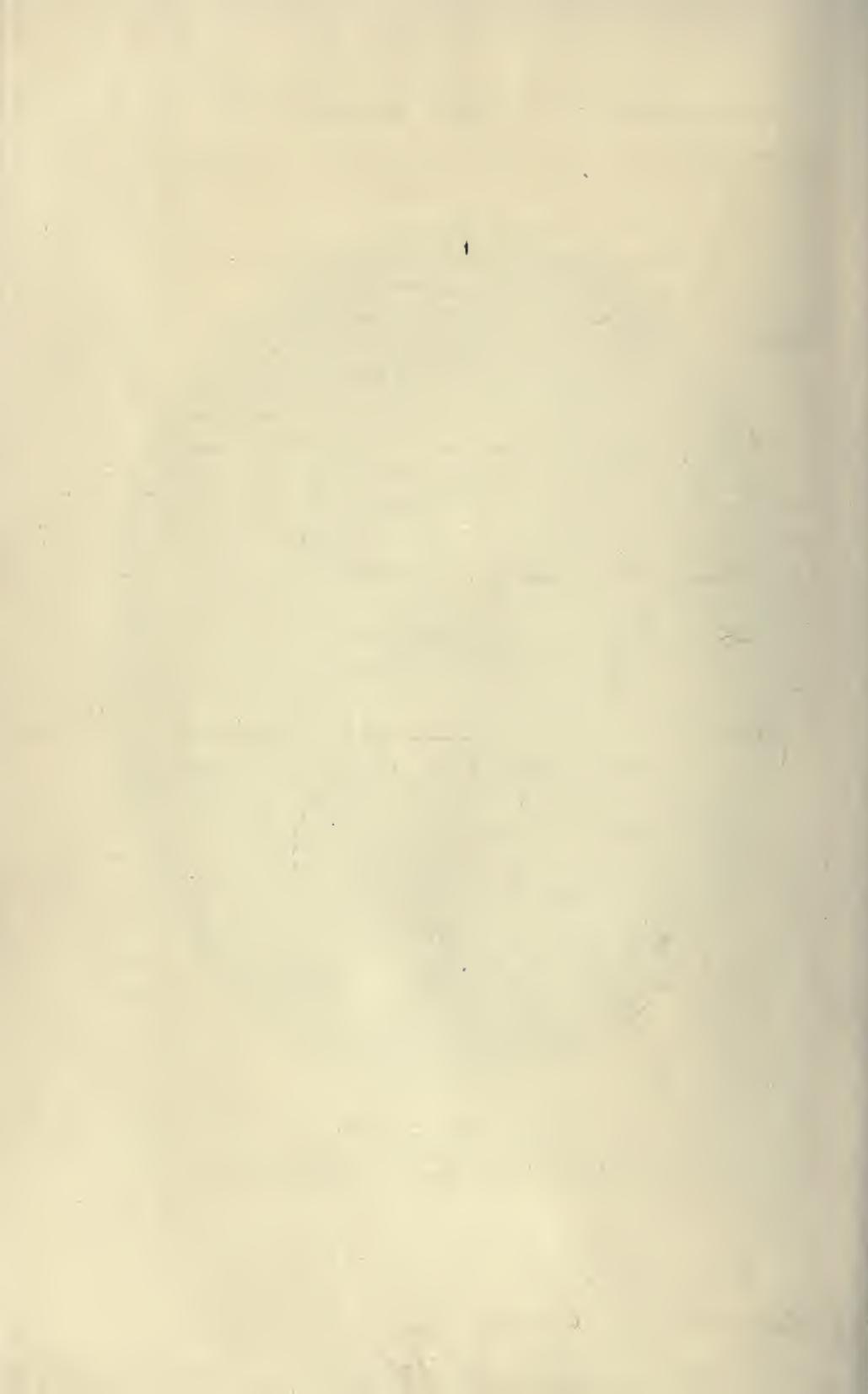
The week that followed was a week of blood and fire.

Street after street, quarter after quarter was stormed by the invaders and as obstinately defended by the federates. For the old barricades new ones were continually substituted; as many as five hundred were manned. Montmartre was captured at the outset. The worst combats were waged in the Faubourg Saint Honoré, the Boulevard Malesherbes, about the Madeleine Church, in the Rue Royale and in the Tuileries. Inside the large *salon* of the Tuileries, Bergeret held a council of war and gave orders for the apartments to be smeared with petroleum and fired. On the left bank of the river, Eudes did the same along the Rue de Lille, in the Cour des Comptes and the Palace of the Legion of Honour. Soon the conflagration commenced in the east of the city. Right up the Rue de Rivoli and as far as the Hôtel de Ville, vast furnaces blazed. The powder magazine of the Luxembourg Palace was blown up; and over the scene of devastation and slaughter volleyed and thundered artillery from without and within the fortifications. There were massacres on each opposing side. To the execution of their fellows captured by the Versailles troops, the federates retorted by putting to death the hostages they held in prison, among them being the Archbishop of Paris, Monsignor Darboy, a good man who had tried to play the part of mediator and had failed. Slowly still the invaders advanced, gaining the Pont d'Austerlitz. The final assaults were delivered at the Bastille, in Belleville and on the Place du Trône and at Père Lachaise. A livid sky, fog, and torrential rain covered up in their gloom the closing agonies of this gigantic *mêlée*. No mercy was shown by the victors, and none was asked by the vanquished. As many as seventeen



PRESIDENT THIERS

From an Engraving after Mme. DE MIRBEL



thousand presumed federates were slain fighting or were shot down after arrest, and thirty-five thousand were hurried away to prison. ✓

Monsieur Thiers had returned to Paris on the 22nd of May, radiant and happy. His star was in the ascendant. A day or two later, Delescluze, old, weary and worn out, mounted a barricade in the Boulevard Voltaire and let himself be riddled with the enemy's bullets. It was the end. On the 28th, Marshal MacMahon was able to post up at midday the news that the Commune had ceased to live. ✓

The majority of its chiefs escaped, among them Félix Pyat, Vallès, Miot, and Cluseret. Durand and Rigault were seized and shot in the mêlée. Jourde, Pascal Grousset, Assi, and Ferri were arrested, and the last was also shot. The same fate soon overtook Varlin and Gaston Crémieux. Of the rank and file that had fallen, not a few were innocent of all that might be charged against the heads of the movement, and some thousands must have perished victims of mischance or some base vengeance. Huge heaps of corpses were buried in trenches, without anyone's troubling to identify them. Those who were arrested were taken first to Versailles, where they underwent a preliminary examination, and were afterwards conveyed in batches towards Brest, Lorient, Cherbourg, and La Rochelle, with a view to their being transported. Théophile Gautier describes, in graphic language, the journey of one of these convoys. He says:—

“It was terribly hot. The sun's rays were like molten lead. The poor wretches, brought from Paris on foot by horsemen who involuntarily hastened them on, were unable to continue their way after the fatigue

of fighting. Scared, panting, dripping with sweat, they had been obliged to lie down as if they were a herd of cattle halted by drovers at the entrance to a town. . . . An ardent, inextinguishable thirst devoured these unfortunates, worn out by the intense heat, and the dread of approaching death, for many believed that they were to be shot at the end of the march. They gasped and panted like hounds in the chase, crying with hoarse voice: water! water! water! In such a state even beasts would have inspired pity."

And the arrests continued. They went on indeed for years, until the numbers of those tried approached fifty thousand. There were even denunciations of no fewer than three hundred and fifty thousand people. Not before 1875 did the Courts Martial cease to sit for the purpose of judging persons suspected of active participation in the Commune. A decade later, an amnesty intervened to close this most terrible episode of a terrible war. But it did not entirely efface on either side the bitter memory of mutual wrongs suffered.

III

THE PRESIDENCY OF THIERS

FROM the misfortunes of the war and its closing catastrophe, two men came forth with enhanced reputations, Thiers and Gambetta. And, of the two, Thiers, the champion of the national unity, received the greater honour. Like many famous statesmen in France, he was a southerner. Born at Marseilles in 1797, he studied for the Bar and came to Paris in 1820. In the capital he soon made himself a name, speaking, pleading, writing, to the admiration of not a few and to the surprise of all. His short stature and his eternal spectacles were a bizarre foil to his imperturbable self-possession and authoritative manners. Journalism and literature—his brilliant history of the French Revolution especially—facilitated his entrance into Parliament, where he successively rose to be Minister of the Interior in 1834 and Prime Minister in 1836. While Louis-Philippe was king, he remained for the most part in opposition; under the Second Republic, he supported Louis Bonaparte against Cavaignac; and, during the Empire, he ranged himself on the side of Parliamentary constitutionalism.

It was an irony of fate that he, as also Victor Hugo, should have helped largely to foster the idolatry which restored the Bonapartist dynasty. With his peculiar

talent of simplifying and illuminating all that he dealt with, though more often superficially, he charmed by his relation of the first Napoleonic campaigns, interested by the way in which he treated the more abstract questions of finance and policy, and gave to others the illusion he possessed himself of understanding everything. His mind was an inquiring one, but on the positive, materialistic side only. His intelligence was keen, yet limited in its scope. Conservative by natural bent, his reason forced him to play mainly a critic's part against the very man with whom he was in sympathy most nearly allied. Louis-Philippe, who feared him more than he loved him, found this modern king-maker embarrassing. Balzac called him the *enfant terrible*. Mérimée, at a later date, predicted that he would issue from his *frondeur* rôle only after a catastrophe. And, Cassandra-like, between 1864 and 1870, he continued to prophesy the cataclysm. His eloquence, less verbose than in the past, grew precise, but still was as passionate as ever. Urging, in speeches that lasted for hours without fatiguing his audience, a more serious preparation for the conflict with Prussia which he foresaw would happen, he in turn satirized the Imperial Government, which he characterized as a monarchy on its knees before the democracy, and then he appealed to the nation, exclaiming: 'I represent the national instinct.' His vision anticipated the unity of Italy followed by that of Germany, his fears, the loss of the Rhine provinces and the formation of a Triple Alliance. In those days, he was called by the short-sighted majority 'the anti-patriotic trumpeter of disaster.' The crowd even threatened to destroy his house in the Rue Saint-Georges. Within a month

afterwards, all that he had been foretelling had potentially come to pass.

When the Prussian invasion swept away Napoleon's throne, he made no effort to seize the reins of power. It was not lack of ambition which restrained him. Of this quality he had always had more than his share. But he knew he was the indispensable man; and, while accepting the mission of trying to persuade the Cabinets of Europe to intervene, he preferred to wait until solicited not only by one party but by all. In the Government of National Defence he was not included. It was the Bordeaux National Assembly which proclaimed him 'Chief of the Executive.' At this time he was seventy-three years old. At such an age most men have finished with life's activities. But, as he said to his friends:

'To-day, it is we who are the young ones.'

His good fortune was to have friends in every party except that of the fallen Emperor. Each and all hoped he would favour their pretensions. The Royalists fancied he was waiting only for them to choose between the two rival claimants of the Bourbon family, the Duke of Bordeaux, better known as the Comte de Chambord, and the Duke of Orleans, otherwise called the Comte de Paris. These two were the direct descendants of the last reigning kings, Charles X and Louis-Philippe. Both from patriotic motives, and doubtless, too, from a desire to put forward their title to the throne, the exiled princes had asked permission, when the war broke out, to return to France and serve in the army. Their request was not granted. However, Thiers had privately advised the *prétendants* to

form a *corps franc* and, in this capacity, to come and join the French troops. The advice, though not acted upon, was remembered; and it was thought that, when a fitting opportunity should be found, he would not oppose a return to the Monarchy. On the other hand, the Republicans did not forget his admission that the form of government they advocated was the one that divided the nation least. As a matter of fact, Thiers had little personal preference for either system; provided it were Conservative, and he were at the head of it, he would have been content to support the one or the other. If, as time went on, he lent his authority more and more to the maintenance of the *status quo*, it was because the Republican régime seemed to him more stable and more favourable to his own supremacy.

Another element of his strength was the attachment shown him by the army, for which he consistently professed and felt great admiration. His competence in military matters was small; but, in those days of defeat, it was not difficult to express one's self appropriately on the subject. He never tired of discoursing on war as he never tired of witnessing its pomps and parades.

Of course, as well as many friends, he had many enemies, though fewer, since he spared them as much as possible. The Socialists detested him. The Republican Lefts suspected he might abandon his neutrality and act the part that Monk did in England. The antagonism between him and Gambetta, born during the war, increased until his own fall. He regarded the great tribune as a *raging madman*; and Gambetta retorted by calling him the *sinister old man*. When deeply irritated, Thiers could show his teeth, even to

royalty. On one occasion, Louis-Philippe tried to get him in a ministerial combination that he disliked; and he declined. Ironically, the King said: 'You wish to make me believe you don't care for a portfolio.' 'Sire,' the *little bourgeois* answered: 'Whenever you have told me you were reluctant to assume the burden of the crown, I have always believed you.'

The Royalist majority in the new National Assembly would have made more haste to settle their differences, but that they wished the conditions of peace and the last episodes of the war to be arranged first, so that none of the odium and responsibility should be incurred by the restored monarch. The policy was a short-sighted one, since, with each year of Republican rule, there was a greater force of habit to overcome. Even in the early days they must have had misgivings; but at the moment it was not easy to quarrel with Thiers.

'What will you do with France when peace is signed?' the Comte de Falloux asked him.

'I don't know what we shall do,' replied Thiers. 'But I am sure that, with a ministry in which I shall have on my right my dear old friends Falloux and Larcy, we shall vanquish all difficulties.'

'But my conditions will be the Monarchy,' Monsieur de Falloux insisted.

'No doubt,' said Thiers. 'On that point we are agreed; but time is wanted, more than you or I imagine to-day.'

The fair interpretation to give to these words in the light of subsequent events is that the speaker was not averse to a Restoration—after his death. What cannot be denied is that during his tenure of the supreme

magistracy, he combated the various Royalist and the Imperialist groups, pitting them one against the other. As he remarked: 'There is but a single throne and there are three to sit on it.'

The government organized by the National Assembly at Bordeaux had been recognized by the Great Powers in the month of February 1871. Its members were chosen from the different parties in Parliament and, on the whole, represented their relative strength. Only three out-and-out Republicans belonged to it, Jules Favre at the Foreign Office, Jules Simon at the Education Department, and Ernest Picard at the Home Office. The last two were good appointments, the first, a less fortunate one. Favre was more of an orator than a statesman. Thiers chose him as having been Vice-President of the National Defence administration; but he was incapable of coping with a man of Bismarck's calibre and consummate ability.

Thiers. For some months the Chief of the Executive's functions preserved their temporary character; and then, in August, they were converted by the voting of the *Loi Rivet* into a regularly constituted Presidency, which was to last—so the law stated—as long as the National Assembly itself. This result was reached by the clever manœuvring of Monsieur Thiers, who threatened to resign if his powers were not more clearly defined. The Monarchist majority were at the time unprepared with an alternative, since the Legitimist *prétendant*, the Comte de Chambord, was not willing to accept the throne, unless the tricolour flag of the Great Revolution, which had since been the flag of France, were replaced by the older one of his ancestors. The Comte de Paris had not the same

scruples; but he could hardly allow his claims to be substituted for those of his relative, until the latter had formally renounced his rights or the whole Royalist party were in agreement. Neither of these solutions having been obtained, the Monarchist majority hastened to give Thiers what he asked for, lest Gambetta, who was waging a campaign in favour of dissolution, should succeed, and a new Parliament lessen their numbers.

The Rivet law legalized what in fact had characterized Monsieur Thiers' rule from its commencement. He was really, though not in name, both President of the country and Prime Minister. Having the right to speak in Parliament as often as he desired, he interfered in every important debate; and, either by the *suaviter in modo* or the *fortiter in re*, managed to get his will obeyed. It was a peculiar sight that of the *little bourgeois* playing the rôle of Parliamentary dictator, centralizing every department of the administration and having his word to say in all. He was fully persuaded of his universal capacity, and, to tell the truth, came near to universality.

On one occasion, speaking of a person who was soliciting the post of Director at the Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory, he remarked:

‘He is no more fitted for the place than I am for——’

There was a pause, during which the gentleman with whom he was in conversation exclaimed:

‘Aha! Monsieur Thiers, confess that you are at a loss to say what you cannot do?’

‘That’s true; that’s true,’ acknowledged Thiers, smiling.

A touching incident, during these same first months

of office, was his review of the army on the 29th of June—not the army as it had gone forth hoping to conquer, but as it had come back from the wars and with the enemy still around the walls of the capital. At Longchamps, one hundred and twenty thousand men, fifteen thousand being cavalry, defiled before him and the National Assembly. In spite of threadbare uniforms, they looked proud and once more confident. Those present were moved, seeing Monsieur Thiers, as the troops marched past, bite his lips, pull his spectacles up and down over his swimming eyes, press his fingers into the palms of his hands, tap with his foot, and draw up his short stature, at intervals, majestically. At last MacMahon came to salute him. Then the grand, little old man rushed down to meet the Marshal, took his hands, tried to speak, and, overwhelmed with emotion, burst into tears. MacMahon himself stood with cheeks that were suspiciously wet.

The preliminary peace signed at Versailles stipulated that the definitive treaty should be discussed and settled in Brussels. Negotiations were opened there in March; but, owing to the outbreak of the struggle with the Commune, Bismarck's demands became more stringent than they were originally, so that the month of May arrived without an agreement being come to on the separate clauses, and in particular as to the mode of payment of the five milliards indemnity. At last, the two parties removed from Brussels to Frankfort; and there, the disputed points being arranged, they put their signatures to the document that gave Germany the territory she coveted along the west bank of the Rhine. In this diplomatic encounter, neither Thiers nor Jules Favre scored as much as they might have

done, if they had not been harassed by the revolt of the capital. The only member of the French commission that appears to have held his own against the Chancellor was Pouyer-Quertier, who had taken the Finance Department when Picard resigned it to go to the Home Office. Cool, good-humoured and practical, he replied to Bismarck's thrusts by clever parries or return lunges that astonished the man of iron. It was his shrewdness which saved France the French-speaking valley of Suarcine in the vicinity of Belfort; and he enhanced this victory by securing also the retrocession of Villerupt with its important iron mines. Bismarck had just declared he would grant nothing more. Monsieur Pouyer-Quertier answered:

'If you were the vanquished, on my honour, I would not force you to become French; and yet you force me to become German.'

'What do you mean?' exclaimed Bismarck. 'Who talks of taking your Normandy? I don't understand you.'

'It's simple enough, Prince. I am one of the owners of the Villerupt forges. So you see that on this side you make me German.'

'Well, well!' said Bismarck; 'don't cry. I'll let you keep Villerupt. But don't ask for anything else, or I'll take it back.'

It was not an easy matter for Thiers to bring the assembly to approve the treaty, especially that part of it which yielded Alsace and Lorraine. But he had his way. Says a witness:

'He treated those who were not of his opinion as inept and ignorant of history and geography. With his usual lucidity, he gave a lesson of strategy to the

simple-minded ones of the Assembly, and did it so well that no one had the courage to make further objections. We believed at a certain moment he was going to sketch out the plan of the next campaign against Prussia.'

Difficulties were experienced, too, by the delimitation commission. Several times the new frontier posts were torn up by the exasperated population. On the confines of Beuville and Boulange, the French and German experts were one day awaiting the Mayor of the latter commune. Seeing him, at length, in the distance, walking very leisurely, the German commissary apostrophized him :

'Come, Mr. Mayor, you are late ; hurry up a little.'

The Mayor, a big, burly miller, slackened his pace rather than quickened it ; and, when he reached the angry foreigner, replied phlegmatically :

'Ah ! do you imagine I am so eager as all that to change my nationality ?'

In certain portions of France still occupied by the enemy, there were isolated cases of German soldiers being murdered by the people. All this and Bismarck's peremptoriness of tone in his successive communications to the French Government rendered the remainder of 1871 a period of the utmost anxiety to Thiers and his coadjutors.

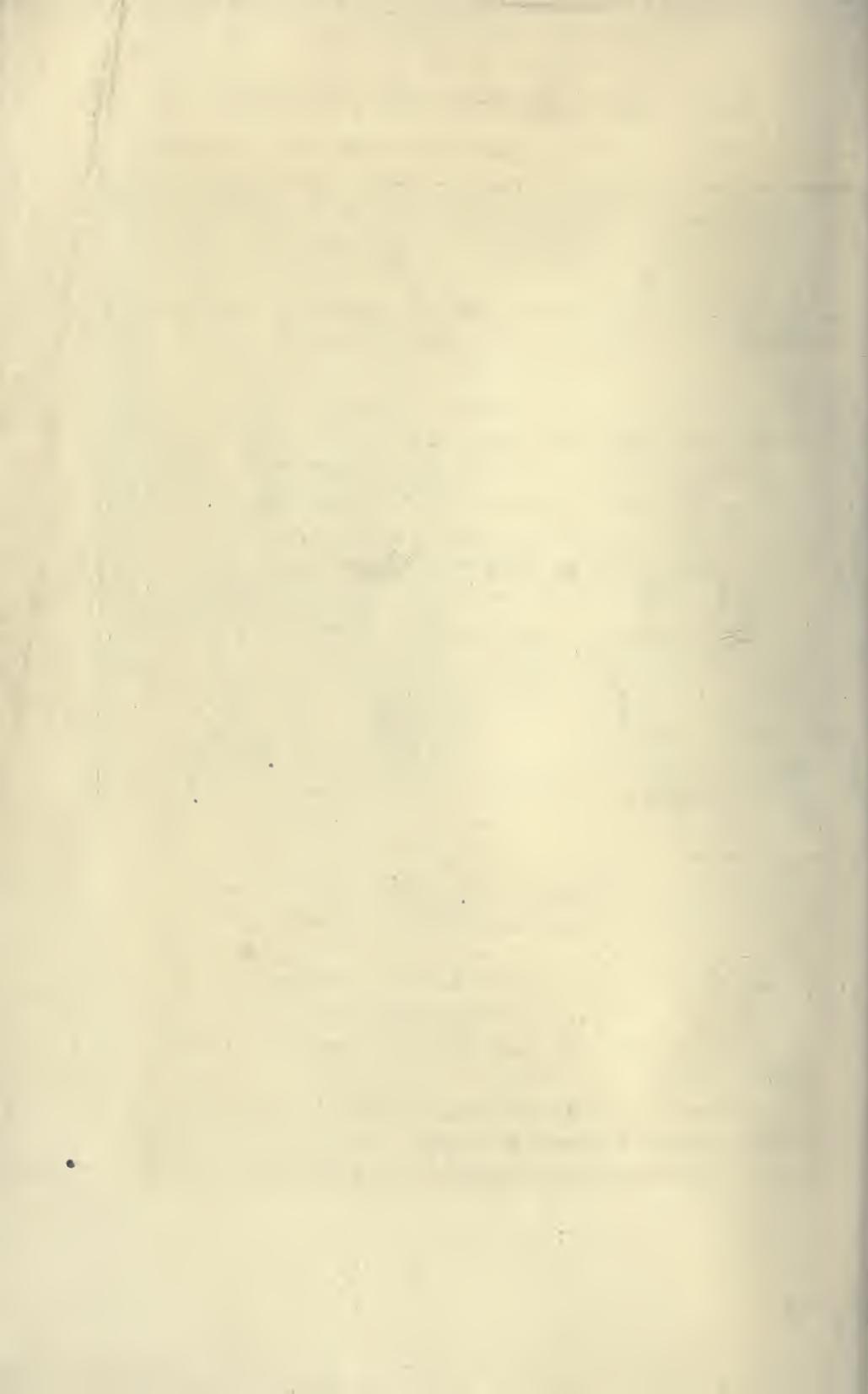
In the month of July, a petition of the Bishops asking for the Government's intervention in Italy to restore the temporal power of the Pope marked the beginning of the clerical agitation in politics, which, backed up by the Extreme Rights, was soon to become systematic. Monsieur Thiers endeavoured to give to the discussion of this petition a tone which,



Photograph: Druet

QUAI MALAQUAIS

From the Picture by RENOIR



while respectful towards the Vatican, should convince the newly established kingdom of his Government's friendly intentions. But he was unable to prevent the document from being sent for consideration to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Italy took umbrage; and, not long after, turned towards Germany, with the result that she ultimately joined to make one in the Triple Alliance.

A law on departmental organization, to which Monsieur Waddington's name was attached, and which was passed in August, had much happier effects, being the first step towards decentralization since the Constitution of the Year VIII under the first Republic. Its real innovation was the creation of a permanent departmental commission entrusted with the task of seeing that the decisions of the *Conseils Généraux* (sorts of County Councils) were strictly carried out; and it inaugurated an era of successful local activity practically unfettered by State interference.

The winter session of Parliament opened in December at Versailles, which continued to be the seat of legislature and the residence of the President. The *hôtel* of the Prefecture, where Monsieur Thiers officially lived, was sarcastically called the Palace of Penitence. At the opening sitting of the Assembly, the question of changing to Paris was agitated; but the motion was rejected by the Conservative majority, who, however, failed in their endeavours to pass a law adopting Versailles as the definite capital of France. In his message, the President exhibited a good deal of nervousness and ill-humour, attacking almost everything and every one. He was preoccupied with his plan of anticipating the payment of the indemnity, so

as to free the country of the invader. Besides the five milliards to be paid to the Germans, there was the balance of the war expenses to be met, amounting to another three and a half milliards. In addition to these responsibilities, a thorough reorganization of the social, educational and military institutions was necessary; and, standing in the way, there faced him the problem of the *régime*—Monarchy or Republic. The old man spoke wisely; but not a few found him tiresome.

The fact was that the several sections of the Assembly were gradually focussing their demands, and, in their separate action, were growing embarrassing. The Extreme Rights were absolute Royalists; the Rights, without epithet, somewhat less hidebound and more alive to present needs; the Right Centres, mostly Orleanists, unwilling to adopt the white flag but, for the rest, ready to rally round any branch of the Bourbons—even the Duc d'Aumale, who, with his brother the Prince de Joinville, belonged to the Assembly. The Left Centres were, in general, friends of Thiers; they had come to believe timidly in the Republic. Then there were the Lefts or moderate Republicans, with Jules Grévy, Jules Simon and Jules Favre as leaders; and lastly, there was Gambetta's party, the extreme Lefts, Radicals or Reds, themselves shading off into an incipient Socialist fag-end; all the Radicals denied the Assembly's right to frame a permanent constitution without a fresh appeal to the country; they were all, moreover, somewhat opposed to Thiers.

The Assembly, 738 in number, met in the huge opera-hall of the Castle, built by Gabriel for the fêtes of Louis XV. Its *fauteuils* were upholstered in red

velvet; its tribune, of mahogany, was approached by a double staircase of six steps; and the lofty galleries that overhung the floor served for the Press and the public. In his volume on the Government of Monsieur Thiers, Hanotaux gives an outline sketch of one of the sittings:—

“Monsieur Grévy, the Chairman, in his black frock-coat, with placid and occasionally sleepy face, is none the less attentive to the many representatives that come to consult him or merely to ask for tickets. On the benches are striking types of men, celebrated or well known: Monsieur de Lorgeril, the Breton bard; Monsieur de Belcastel, always ready to interrupt any one speaking; Monsieur de Tillancourt, who has brought with him from the Chamber of the Empire the reputation of a wordmonger; Monsieur de Lasteyrie, with his everlasting green shade; Monsieur Emmanuel Arago, whose stentorian voice all at once dominates the tumult; Monsieur Schoelcher, dressed in black and affecting the reserve and correct manners of the gentleman; Colonel Langlois, who rushes to the tribune on the least incident that excites his nerves and feelings; Monsieur Ernest Picard, copious and jovial; Monsieur Jules Simon, round of shoulder; Monsieur Jules Favre, with deeply-lined features and melancholy air; Monsieur Dufaure, hidden behind the high collar of his chestnut frock-coat; Monsieur Littré, shrivelled up beneath his blue velvet skull-cap; Monsignor Dupanloup, with satellites about him, distributing signs and orders to younger men that carry them to the four quarters of the edifice; Monsieur Gambetta, already stout, with head thrown back, lolling on his seat, absorbed in the debates; near him,

Garnier-Pagès, with his legendary collar; and, below him, the old Monsieur Corbon.

“Often the sitting gets lively. Not a few of the speakers wax passionate, from faith in the authority and force of what they say. On the right, the Duc d’Audiffret-Pasquier, keen, fiery, natural; Monsieur Ernoul, fluent and well-informed; Mgr. Dupanloup, who is listened to indulgently; Monsieur de Caznove de Pradines, who speaks amidst respect. In the centre, Monsieur Thiers, who, in spite of everything, casts his spell over the audience; Jules Simon, whose voice is caressing; Monsieur Dufaure, who drives home an argument like a peasant pushing a plough; Ernest Picard, full of verve, wit, and apropos. On the left, Monsieur Challemel-Lacour, sent to the Assembly in 1872, and whose biting vehemence will soon be a revelation; Jules Ferry, labouring and harsh, but vigorous and penetrating; Gambetta, whose appearance in the tribune is the signal for silence and whose voice raises a storm.”

No one who has visited Versailles in recent years and who has been struck with its sleepy aspect can quite realize what a busy hive it was during the transient revival of its ancient activity and splendour. The hotels were full of deputies, functionaries, journalists, office-seekers and dilettanti. Women in elegant toilets were everywhere. Wit, jests and laughter sparkled on every side, in spite of secret heartaches; and the President’s central figure and presence dominated and was felt throughout. Famous were his dinners and soirées, where enemies as well as friends were received. If the former was a Catholic, the host would recognize that the latest discoveries of

science agreed with the Bible; if a sceptic, he would talk of spontaneous generation; if a politician, he would listen to the honourable gentleman's proposals.

This notwithstanding, his relations with the Assembly tended to become more strained, in proportion as the conflicting parties it contained strove for the triumph of their opinions. Jules Simon's bill on compulsory education was adjourned *sine die*; and, more serious still, the President's fiscal project was defeated, which, in order to increase the revenues, aimed at establishing protective duties instead of an income tax, as the Free Trade Lefts desired. Thiers felt the latter blow keenly, since he could not realize his scheme of paying off the war debt in advance, unless the money he required were furnished quickly and easily. It was the first time the Assembly had refused to be persuaded by him. To mark his displeasure, he made common cause with his Ministers and resigned.

His Cabinet at this moment was not quite the same as when he came into power in 1871. Individual ministers had retired on personal grounds, and one had died. For a brief space, Casimir Périer, the father of the future President, had been at the Home Office. However, there were men with him still—Dufaure, de Larcy, Pothuau, de Rémusat (the last mentioned at the Foreign Office)—who offered a good front to the chiefs of the Rights, de Broglie, Saint-Marc Girardin, d'Audiffret-Pasquier, Bathie, Changarnier, de la Rochefoucauld, Buffet, who possessed either the influence of great names or talents of no mean order.

The whole situation was obscure. The Rights, who, for the nonce, had not voted against the President, were none the less wroth with him for having in his

latest speeches declared that a loyal essay of the Republic must be made. It was clear to them now that Monsieur Thiers would never, as long as he was in office, favour the Restoration. Yet, when the crisis was sprung thus suddenly upon them, having no concerted line of action ready, they reluctantly joined the delegation of the Lefts and begged him to take back his resignation. The quarrel was patched up; and the *little bourgeois* resumed his Presidency; but the peace was only temporary. Steadfast in their determination, the Royalists despatched another messenger, General Ducrot, to the Comte de Chambord, who was at Antwerp—their previous emissary, Monsignor Dupanloup, having failed—and inquired whether the claimant to the throne would consent to Thiers' being again overthrown and to the Duc d'Aumale's being appointed interinary Lieutenant-General of the country, pending arrangements for his return to his kingdom under the tricolour flag. Unfortunately for them, the Count remained inexorable on the question of the flag. Either he would come back under Joan of Arc's white flag or not at all. So the attempt at a compromise was once more unsuccessful.

Meanwhile, the President was threatened by the Bonapartists. Monsieur Rouher, a former lieutenant of Napoleon the Third—the Vice-Emperor he was called—had been returned to Parliament for Corsica, early in 1872. At once he began a vigorous propaganda throughout France. Pamphlets were sown broadcast to prove to the nation that their misfortunes were due not to the Empire but to the régime that had followed it. Newspapers were founded, the *Ordre*, the *Petit Caporal*, the *Armée*, addressing themselves to

the masses ; and the *Gaulois*, raising the Imperial flag, endeavoured to capture the schools. Daily meetings were held at the Café de la Paix, in the Boulevard des Capucines, nicknamed the Boulevard de l'Île d'Elbe. Some dignitaries of the Church favoured the new movement, Cardinal de Bonnechose playing the same part in it as Monsignor Dupanloup on behalf of the Royalists. The dethroned Emperor gratefully welcomed this ecclesiastic aid, while Prince Jerome Napoleon hobnobbed with the free-thinkers and dined with Renan. There were manifestations even in the bosom of the Académie Française. Several members wore violets—the Imperial emblem—in their button-hole ; and Camille Doucet, the Secretary, at the reception of Jules Janin, passed a eulogium on the Emperor.

As long as the agitation confined itself to these verbal efforts, Thiers shrugged his shoulders ; but, when the heads of it opened pourparlers with the German authorities, he lost patience. Attacked by one of the Rights for not governing with the majority, he exclaimed :

‘I am seeking for the majority, and I find only conspiracy !’

The summer session of the 1872 Parliament was the culminating period of Thiers' rule. Amid its intestine discords, the Conscription Bill, so dear to the President's heart, was finally passed. Thenceforward, by law, each Frenchman owed five years' compulsory military service to the State, the burden on the nation being lessened, however, by the possibility of a one year's *volontariat* in the case of the educated class provided with a University degree. If anything could make the old man's joy greater, it was seeing the

country's subscription cover the Government loan more than thirteen times over. With the Treasury coffers full, and the certitude of being able to discharge his liabilities, he was able to support with greater equanimity Bismarck's hauteur and irritation, which were partly caused by the quickness the French showed in recovering their spirits, their credit and their strength.

But Bismarck, the Legitimists and the Bonapartists were not the only thorns in his side. There was Gambetta, who, while sparing him personally, continued his campaign against the National Assembly, which he wished to send about its business. 'The Chamber,' said the orator, in a speech at Albertville, 'has reached the last degree of unpopularity, impotence, sterility and incapacity.' 'I feel, I announce the presence of a new social stratum,' he cried at Grenoble. It was the democracy he meant. Finally at Saint-Julien, he denounced the secret interference of the clergy in politics. 'There is a party,' he exclaimed, 'which is the enemy of all independence, light and stability. This enemy is clericalism.'

The inconvenience of Gambetta's strong language became evident when the autumn session began. It forced Thiers to hold himself a little aloof both from the Rights and the Lefts. Not even the statement made by the President of the great increase in the country's foreign trade and of a new commercial treaty with England sufficed to disarm the resentment of the Monarchists. The famous Pact of Bordeaux¹

¹ In February 1871, during an interview with the Duc de Rochefoucauld-Bisaccia, the Marquis de Juigné and the Marquis de Dampierre, chiefs of the Monarchist party, Monsieur Thiers had expressed himself as follows :

'I need your confidence. You must help me in our many difficulties to

was thrown in his face—the tacit agreement according to which he was supposed to be warming the place for the King whenever it should please the latter to return; and a motion was passed by the majority condemning the Grenoble speech. Gambetta, however, did not disarm. More than ever he demanded the dissolution of the Assembly. In vain, Monsieur Thiers compromised by getting a Commission appointed for the purpose of preparing a definite Constitution. The Commission turned against him, depriving him of the privilege he had hitherto enjoyed of defending himself at the tribune. He now was obliged to obtain a special permission in order to speak in the Legislative Chamber. And, to make matters worse, his Ministry, unable to support the strain of such incessant discord, lost a first one, and a second one, and a third one of its number.

‘Another leaf off the artichoke,’ exclaimed the Duc de Broglie, at each successive resignation.

The conflict dragged on into the spring of the

put our unhappy country on the path in which I wish to see her. It would be perilous and contrary to every rule of common sense, to all the inspirations of patriotism, to trouble the work of renewal that we have to accomplish, by planning the restoration to power of one or another of the parties that divide us, and by arousing against this party the enmity of those whose claims had been passed over. But it is evident to me that, if we are wise, our prudence will eventually bring us to the Monarchy when it is united, yes, gentlemen, to the Monarchy when united.’

This declaration was completed in the following month by a Parliamentary pronouncement, in which Monsieur Thiers said :

‘When the country is reorganized, we will come to you here and speak thus : “ You placed her in our hands wellnigh wounded to death ; we give her back to you convalescent. It is the moment to confer on her a definitive constitution ” ; and I pledge you the word of an honourable man that not one of the questions that have been reserved shall have been modified by any infidelity on our part.’

following year, when a concurrence of fortuitous events brought things to a climax. So far Thiers had managed, by utilizing the Centres with one or the other extreme section of the Assembly, to steer a zigzag course and attain his ends by his clever tacking. At last he found himself deserted by both Rights and Lefts.

With the former his breach was final. They gave him up as impenitent; and, as, on the whole, the by-elections were going against them and were reinforcing the moderate Republican party, they resolved that the President should be ousted at the earliest opportunity and his post given to some one that would be more malleable. It was a dog-in-the-manger policy, for neither Monarchist group had at present a candidate capable of carrying out a fresh *coup d'état*. The Bonapartists, who had concocted a second edition of the escape from Elba in a scheme that was to reintroduce Napoleon III into France through Switzerland and Annecy, where he might pick up a few regiments and march on Paris, were suddenly confounded by the death of the ex-Emperor in the January of 1873. As for the Legitimists, they were still in the dilemma created by Henri de Chambord's conscientious scruple; and even their forlorn hope, the Duc d'Aumale, having lost, by death, his only son, the Duc de Guise, preferred henceforward not to trouble himself with the question of dynasties.

The quarrel of the Lefts with the President was of another sort. They reproached him with truckling to the Rights; and to some extent the reproach was grounded. He had favoured the giving back to the Orleans family of the property, amounting in value to forty millions of francs, which they had been deprived

of by the late Empire. Nothing could be said against the return of the property; but the moment chosen was not opportune. Again, a law concerning higher education had been voted, which allowed the clergy to recover some of its ancient influence. And, lastly, Thiers had entered into negotiations with the Pope, sympathizing with his changed conditions at the Vatican, consequent upon the Italian occupation of Rome; and had offered to provide Pius IX with a residence in France and money to maintain him in it. These acts produced an impression among the Lefts that Monsieur Thiers was becoming reactionary; and they manifested their displeasure by opposing Monsieur Barodet, a candidate of their own, to the President's candidate, Monsieur de Rémusat, at a by-election in Paris. Monsieur Barodet was returned by a large majority. This result, which was unexpected, induced the President during a fresh *chassé-croisé* of the Cabinet that occurred at the time, to introduce one or two more Radical elements into it. The Rights immediately challenged him to justify his conduct, and, in the debate that ensued, proposed a vote of censure.

Game to the end, Monsieur Thiers fought his closing Presidential battle with one of the finest speeches he had ever made; but he spoke to men whose minds were fixed. They would not even allow him to be in the Chamber at the end of the discussion. In answer to his request, the Chairman, Monsieur Buffet, said:

‘Your presence at the Assembly, in any capacity, is formally prohibited by the law.’

‘And if I take my place in the President's tribune,’ retorted Thiers, ‘what can you do?’

‘I shall immediately order the tribune to be cleared

and all the others also, if necessary,' replied the Chairman.

The vote of censure was passed by a majority of sixteen; and the same day, May the 24th, the President resigned.

Although surviving until 1877, and exercising considerable influence after his fall, the *petit bourgeois*' task was done. Judging him on his conduct during the time that he held the destinies of France under his control, it cannot be denied that, having to deal with a situation more disastrous even than the one existing at the close of the First Empire, since the country was at this later date divided against itself, he succeeded, in a comparatively short period, in bringing order out of chaos, establishing a *modus vivendi*, and restoring the credit of the nation. His mistakes in the earlier stage of the Commune were excusable; his severities in the repression of the movement were less so; and yet even these may be partly explained by the irritating conviction that the terms of peace might have been less onerous, had a united front been opposed to the conqueror. In his policy of sitting on the fence, he certainly acted for the best of the country's interests. To have precipitated a Restoration when no Royalist or Imperialist candidate possessed the people's confidence as a whole—and Republicanism was increasing—would have been to risk another civil war. What he did was to give France breathing time, and to set her on her legs again; and the best justification of his wary statesmanship is the durability of the *régime* which it inaugurated.



PRESIDENT MACMAHON

From a Photograph by PIERRE PETIT

IV

THE PRESIDENCY OF MACMAHON.

ONE of Monsieur Thiers' most indisputable titles to the respect of his fellow-citizens was the ardour and pertinacity with which he set himself to pay off the war debt. It was his constant anxiety throughout his Presidency; and, by dint of skilful financing, he was enabled, while in office, to hand over three-quarters of the five milliards. In return for these advance instalments, the parts of French territory occupied by the Germans were evacuated sooner than had been stipulated by the Treaty of Frankfort. At Thiers' solicitation, Bismarck even went so far as to withdraw the troops from Belfort, which he was not obliged to remit to the French authorities until the last pfennig had been received. This took place just before the 24th of May. Thiers' political enemies, rendered cruel by the needs of their cause, snatched from him the satisfaction of completing his task. In a vote of the National Assembly thanking him for his patriotic endeavours, the Extreme Rights had associated themselves grudgingly. Commenting on their attitude, Jules Simon said to him, laughing:—

‘Now that your work is done, you must pronounce your *Nunc Dimittis*.’

Looking at his friend, Thiers answered pensively:

‘But they have no one to put in my place.’

‘Yes, they have,’ replied Simon, ‘they have Mac-Mahon.’

‘Oh! he will never accept,’ said the President. ‘I give you my word for it.’

Monsieur Thiers was mistaken. The Marshal allowed himself to be elected. The only other person seriously thought of for the reversion was the Duc d’Aumale; and, for the reason previously stated, as well as for others of a public kind, he declined the honour.

MacMahon was chosen because he was a soldier, not a politician, trained to obey as well as to command. ‘We shall only have to invite him, and he will make way for the King to come in,’ calculated the party of the Dukes. But the best-laid plans of mice and men—and even of Dukes—gang aft agley. The Marshal’s loyalty and simplicity were to prove as formidable an obstacle to the realization of their desires as the more astute policy of the *little bourgeois*.

No less physically than morally, the new President was a contrast to his predecessor. Tall, slim, blue-eyed, florid in complexion, with white moustache and close-cropped hair, he presented, in spite of his sixty-eight years, an altogether martial appearance in harmony with his frank, brisk manners. Irish in origin, his family had been settled for a century and a half in France, where it had become ennobled. His own career had been a brilliant one. During the conquest of Algeria he had greatly distinguished himself, and in the Crimean War his many deeds of prowess had been crowned by the capture of the Malakoff redoubt. A senator under the Empire, he continued his military exploits in the Emperor’s campaign against Austria, and was made Governor-General of Algeria shortly

before the outbreak of hostilities with Prussia. Being grievously wounded at the commencement of the battle of Sedan, he escaped the responsibilities of that defeat; and returned to the capital to take part in the repression of the Commune.

By tradition and sympathies a Legitimist, he was none the less content to accept any legally constituted régime. In his memoirs he confessed: 'Being a soldier, I have remained a soldier, and can conscientiously say I have not only honestly served successive governments, but have regretted them all—except my own!'

Gifted with energy, decision, boundless courage and clear common sense in his professional and private life, he was out of his element amid the intrigues and passions of public affairs. Thiers, whose wit was apt to be malicious, not infrequently made him the butt of his *bons mots*, the more appropriately as the Marshal occasionally perpetrated *bulls* due perhaps to his ancestry. The *little bourgeois* was not above inventing a few of these himself and fathering them on MacMahon.

'Aha!' he said on one occasion, standing with his back to the fire in his drawing-room as he was wont; 'have you heard MacMahon's last? He went to the hospital to see some sick soldiers.—'And what has been the matter with you?' he asked a patient.—'Scarlet fever, *mon général*.'—'Ah! bad thing that. It either kills a man or makes an idiot of him. I have had it; I ought to know.'

Among the Marshal's earliest official duties was the reception of the Shah of Persia, who came to Paris in July, and was welcomed with all the greater enthusiasm as it was the first time any monarch had visited the

French capital since the war. He was fêted everywhere, was taken to the old Opera, which was burnt down a few days later—happily the new one was in building—was able to admire Paris illuminated, Paris once more gay, and was finally entertained at a banquet in Versailles. His neighbour at table was Monsieur Ernoul, the Garde des Sceaux, an adherent of the Comte de Chambord. ‘Isn’t the question you are agitating at present in France, whether the King shall reign without governing?’ he asked. Monsieur Ernoul hastened to change the conversation.

The Shah’s visit almost coincided with the complete evacuation of French soil by the German troops. The departure began in August, when Nancy, the centre of the occupation, was abandoned; and, on the 13th of September, a week after the last instalment of the war indemnity had been paid into the German Exchequer, Verdun, the frontier town, saw the enemy march out and the French flag once again fly from the top of the cathedral towers. At this signal, the bells pealed forth in joyous chime; and, as if one hand had unstrung them, thousands of flags were unfurled to the wind. Windows and doors opened; a throng of citizens rushed into the streets, gazing eagerly towards the gates, which the French gendarmerie had just entered. An hour or two afterwards, two battalions of the line arrived with the Staff. At the sight of the soldiers, a thrill ran through the crowd. The sentry at the Gate of France advanced to meet the regiment. ‘Who goes there?’ he cried.—‘France.’—‘What regiment?’—‘The 94th’.—‘Enter when you please,’ was the reply.

In the month of October, an event much less agreeable to the nation, since it awakened painful souvenirs

of the war, was the court martial held on Marshal Bazaine for having surrendered Metz. The trial had been long in preparing. Indeed, Thiers seems to have been opposed to its taking place. Bazaine's previous record was so honourable that he would fain have spared him this shame. After his retirement, however, the Government insisted; and the Duc d'Aumale, as the senior General, was entrusted with the conduct of the proceedings. Being desirous of informing himself as accurately as possible about the topography of the locality in which the surrender had occurred, the Prince asked the Duc de Broglie, who was Prime Minister, to obtain the German Chancellor's permission for him to visit Metz and its environs, now no longer French territory. The application was transmitted, under pledge of secrecy, through Count Arnim, the German Ambassador to Paris. Bismarck, in a fit of petulance, not only refused the request but communicated it to the Press.

Bazaine's defence was clever without being convincing. He was undoubtedly influenced in his action by what had occurred in Paris. It is probable even that, realizing all chance of victory was lost, he wished to preserve his army for the re-establishment of the Imperial Government in some modified form. But this subordination of military to political considerations was not justifiable. He might have broken out of Metz; and, if he had suffered serious loss in doing so, it would have been compensated for by his being able to delay, if not to hinder, the enemy's march on the capital. Metz was not essential and Paris was.

The commutation of his death penalty into twenty years' imprisonment was largely due to a petition in-

spired by the Duc d'Aumale; the judge showed himself a merciful intercessor. Escaping from the Ile Sainte-Marguerite in 1874, Bazaine spent the last few years of his life in Spain, dying there in great poverty in 1888.

At this time, the Restoration advocates were pursuing their chimera with undiminished zeal. The Duc de Broglie, who had been the chief instrument in Thiers' undoing, had naturally been placed at the head of MacMahon's first Cabinet. For a short time, under the previous administration, he had been Ambassador to London, it being part of Thiers' policy to remove from the capital the more important chiefs of the Monarchist party; but he had given up his post and returned to Parliamentary life. In his strain of aristocratic Italian blood there lurked something of the Machiavellian quality which Gambetta cast at him tauntingly. Whether it was on principle or because he opined the Comte de Chambord would never recede from the position that had been taken, he showed himself more Orleanist than Legitimist, and would have preferred to see either the Comte de Paris or one of the latter's uncles on the throne. But he kept his preferences to himself and waited on circumstance.

Viewed from an outside standpoint, the question of white or tricolour flag seemed puerile and even absurd. Such was the view held by no less a person than Pope Pius IX. Speaking in October 1873 with Monsieur Keller, one of the Legitimist General Changarnier's acolytes, he said: 'So you think you are going to re-establish the Monarchy.'—'Yes, Holy Father, we hope and wish we may.'—'Well! you won't. Usually, I don't mix myself up in politics. But this time the

issue was so important that I sent and told the Comte de Chambord what my ideas on the subject were. The colour of the flag is of no great consequence. It was with the tricolour flag the French regained me Rome. You see good things can be done with it. But the Comte de Chambord would not believe me.'

To the Royal candidate this philosophic indifference was rank heresy. For him the tricolour was the omen of misfortune. Under its auspices two of his forbears had been chased from the throne and one had been put to a violent death. He had never quite pardoned Louis-Philippe for accepting it in 1830. Since he had no child and Louis-Philippe's son, the Comte de Paris, would inherit after him, he laid down, as a condition of his own restoration, not only that the banner of Henri IV and Joan of Arc should be substituted for the tricolour during his lifetime, but that it should be maintained by his successor. After much tergiversation, the Comte de Paris agreed. Unfortunately, the Royalists of the National Assembly were not prepared to do the same. They realized better than the illustrious exile did the attachment of the nation and the army to this emblem of liberty and victory. In the deadlock thus produced, each side hoped the other would yield; the Prince imagined his followers would at length come over to his views, and they, that he would accept the tricolour banner with the throne. Was it not his ancestor, Henri IV, who abjured Protestantism, asserting that Paris was worth a mass?

So the work of preparing the country went on apace. All that was humanly possible was done by the Rights to render public opinion favourable to the Restoration. Everywhere functionaries known or sus-

pected to be Republicans were removed and their posts filled by partisans of either the Royalist or Imperial parties. The Republican Press was gagged in the provinces, as in Paris. Even the Embassies were levelled up to Monarchist pitch. From Bismarck they did not meet with as much sympathy as might have been expected. Vexed by the change of Presidents, which to him was a step into the dark, he refused to acknowledge the notification of MacMahon's election, until fresh letters of credit had been accorded to the French Ambassador in Berlin.

The summer and autumn period of 1873, for all its useful legislation on the army and its amicable treaties made with the neighbouring Powers, was filled with political ferment. The Republicans were by no means discouraged by the measures taken against them, and had never been in better fighting trim. They gave blow for blow. And they were especially helped by the rallying to their side of Thiers himself. Between him and Gambetta the hatchet had been buried. The two late adversaries had smoked the calumet of amity and concord and now stood shoulder to shoulder. Every one was aware that the Royalists were meditating a blow at no distant date. Meetings and conferences succeeded each other continuously. On doubtful deputies flattery and solicitation of every kind were tried. Ladies canvassed; social life was turned topsy-turvy. Arithmetical computations were made and remade. Finally, it was concluded that Parliament might be asked to pronounce upon the burning question, and that a small majority would be obtained for the recall of the King—if the flag could be kept out of sight until he was seated on the throne.

Meanwhile, detailed preparations were made for the Monarch's official arrival. He was to cross the eastern frontier in a carriage, and take the train at the nearest station. A General's uniform, with the cordon of the Legion of Honour, and a Star having in its centre a fleur-de-lis instead of the Imperial Eagle, awaited him at the house of the Marquis de Dreux-Brézé. Gala carriages were built by the firm Binder; harness with the Royal arms was made by a saddler in the Rue Caumartin; and in the Rue Vivienne could be seen the flower-de-luced carpet intended for the Royal carriage, while the programme for the Royal entry specified the itinerary to be taken along the Paris streets, which were to be adorned with white flags, cockades, badges, and Venetian lanterns with the inscription: 'Vive Henri V.'

Amidst this fever of excitement a bomb suddenly burst. It was a letter from the Count addressed to one of his faithful henchmen, Monsieur Chesnelong, and published by his orders in the *Union* evening paper. In it the Count expressed himself so categorically on the very point that his adherents wished him to slur, that they were thrown into confusion and despair. Thiers was jubilant. On the evening of the publication he happened to be holding a reception; and, after reading the salient passage of the letter to his guests, he paused and, raising his eyes above his spectacles, said in his slickest tone: 'I should just like to see Pasquier's¹ wry face.'

On the reassembling of Parliament, the Government, realizing that something must be done to strengthen their position, and not daring, under the circumstances, to take the bull by the horns, and, of their own initi-

¹ The Duke d'Audiffret-Pasquier, President of the Right Centres.

ative, to substitute the Comte de Paris for his cousin, proposed that the Marshal's Presidency should be lengthened to ten years. While the motion was being discussed, the Comte de Chambord arrived incognito at Versailles. Only one or two intimate friends knew of his presence. It was a bold stroke, his thus venturing into the Assembly's head-quarters. His idea was that at this critical juncture he might persuade MacMahon to introduce him either into the Legislative Chamber or into the Satory Camp during a parade, and that in one or the other case his personal ascendancy might secure his being proclaimed on his own terms. He despatched a messenger to the President, begging he would come to him; but, to his bitter disappointment, MacMahon refused. Relating the incident in his memoirs, the Marshal says: 'I was surprised at this step, which I was far from expecting; and I replied that, entirely devoted as I was to the Comte de Chambord, I should be happy to sacrifice my life for him, but could not sacrifice to him my honour.' The President, in fact, esteemed that the Government's recent proposal, coming after the manifesto in the *Union*, deprived him of his liberty of decision, and that he could not act except at their order. He would only promise that, whenever Parliament should declare itself plainly and unmistakably for the Monarchy, he would offer no obstacle to its re-establishment.

Nothing was left for the Count but to sorrowfully return to his exile. He disappeared as quietly as he had come, and the Assembly went on with its deliberations. The Duc de Broglie's Cabinet carried its Bill, yet in a modified form; the Marshal's Presidency

\ was prolonged for seven, not for ten years. ✓ It was a Pyrrhic victory, for the Ministry was defeated almost immediately afterwards; and, when the Duke formed a fresh one, he was compelled to do so with the aid of more liberal men, chief among them being the Duc de Decazes, who, like himself, had been Ambassador to London, and who now returned to take up the Foreign Office. *Nolens volens*, the Assembly was being borne under the pressure of fate nearer and nearer to the triumph of the Republic.

The fact was that, notwithstanding the financial burden, the groping after a new order of things, and the frequent alarms caused by Bismarck's standing on the other side of the frontier with his big stick, which he raised threateningly at intervals, the nation was becoming more prosperous under the new régime. ✓ Even nature was clement in the years immediately following the war. Between 1872 and 1877, the mean temperature rose steadily; harvests were plentiful, the soil yielded everything in abundance, and industry had its share in the flush of material prosperity. The land was proving, as old Rabelais said, Elisha's barrel of oil that wasted not. Moreover, with the light heart so characteristic of their race, the French people were forgetting their troubles and were setting themselves with zest to the task of repairing their disasters. * The country, from one end to the other, became a humming hive, happy to be able to produce and save in accordance with its temperament. And, best of all, the appeal to all classes for the payment of the war debt had created a permanent interest in public affairs wider and deeper than had previously been shown, since a larger portion of the population were instructed and

were in a position to understand the issues that were being debated. Gambetta's electoral speeches had fallen on fertile ground, and were bringing forth fruit thirty-fold, sixty-fold, with promise of the hundred-fold. Concurrently with this individual renaissance, the various administrations laboured perhaps as they had never laboured before. Public works were undertaken in rail and water-ways, destined to provide more rapid communication between the length and breadth of the territory. MacMahon threw himself into the work of perfecting the army reforms inaugurated by Thiers, and of providing additional defences for the frontiers and the capital. East and west and north and south, fortresses and fortified camps sprang up as if by magic. The result was not always equal to the design, but what was attained reassured the country.

In Parliament, the great preoccupation was still the elaboration of a proper Constitution. What existed so far was merely provisory. The Government, though tinged with Liberalism, were anxious that a reform of the suffrage should accompany and precede legislation on their own attributes. The Duc de Broglie and his colleagues wished to limit the franchise so as to balance the influence of number by giving a larger vote to the representation of interests. Their Bill made the middle classes the predominating factor in elections. Opposed by the extreme Rights and by the Lefts of most shades, the project was thrown out and the Ministry resigned. It was a revenge for Thiers, and a mistake on the part of the Monarchists, who indeed lost an opportunity they never found again. As Gambetta said: 'If the Rights had had common sense enough to vote the Bill, the democracy's advent to power would



Photograph: Haudecœur

OPENING OF THE NEW OPERA HOUSE IN PARIS

From the Picture by DETAILLE

have been delayed for fifty years.' And he was near the mark.

Each change of Ministers in these times of rapid political evolution made fresh converts to the democratic cause. The next Cabinet was hardly organized under General Cissey when the Comte d'Haussonville broke with the extreme Rights by pronouncing himself in favour of the wider suffrage; and, a month or two later, this electoral basis was confirmed by the Assembly. Like the echo of a receding voice came the Comte de Chambord's protest in the *Union* against the confirmation of an order of things that relegated the old dogma of his family's privileges to limbo.

'I am willing,' he wrote, 'to seek, in the nation's representatives, vigilant helpers for the examination of questions submitted to its control; but I spurn this article of foreign importation, which is incompatible with our national traditions—a king that reigns but does not govern.'

Owing to the prosecution of the newspaper which had published this document, an important debate was raised in the Assembly—'one of the gravest and most moving ever held,' said Mr. Washburn's letter to the United States Government. 'It was the drama of Hamlet without Hamlet.'

Fourtoun, the Minister of the Interior, spoke of the Comte de Chambord as a person !! extremely honourable, but one that must submit to the common law. It was the very thing the *Prétendant* would not do; and, for this reason, he was being eliminated. One hundred and fifty-eight by-elections in three years had returned one hundred and twenty-six Republicans

to Parliament. All save the blindest Royalists saw whither the country was tending.

Playing a somewhat secondary rôle in Parliamentary life, since he was not allowed to speak in the tribune—the experiment with Thiers had sufficed—MacMahon, the good-humoured, affable President, made up for the exclusion of his voice by writing messages to the Assembly on other than official occasions. For the rest, he was prompt in the performance of his public duties. At the Cabinet's request, he endeavoured to imitate Monsieur Thiers' triumphal processions throughout France, and passed over the whole north and west. He was well received, yet without enthusiasm. The population suspected him, and with some reason, of lending his authority to what they considered retrograde doctrines. Not that he was a mere instrument in the hands of the Rights. He had his own ideas of independence. In a reception at Saint Malo, he said with his habitual *brusquerie* to the President of the Tribunal of Commerce: 'You remarked just now that there was no real government. That is not so. There is mine.'

The country had a government, it was true—a too harsh one even, since the state of siege was still maintained in the parts of France that had been occupied by the enemy, although the enemy was no longer there. What the country had not was a definite Constitution. The Republic was not yet legally consecrated. Such a Constitution the Marshal honestly desired to see established. Indeed, but for his insistence it is probable that the Restorationists, haunted ever by their dream of the impossible, would have kept on procrastinating until their majority had dwindled down to the odd man.

The Constitution, ultimately voted on the 25th of February, 1875, created two Legislative Chambers: a Senate of three hundred members elected by the Councils General for nine years and renewable by thirds every three years, and a Lower House elected for four years by universal suffrage. It also created a President of the Republic by name, elected for seven years by the members of the two Chambers.

To this triumph the doughty champions of the Lefts had contributed largely, and none more than Gambetta, whose oratory during the discussions electrified his audience.

Curiously, the Marshal thought that for a fresh state of affairs a new manner was necessary. Under his old title he had preserved tolerable neutrality in political matters. As *de jure* President of the Republic, he believed himself called upon to stem the tide of Radicalism. Add to this that, in the composition of his new Cabinet, he encroached upon the Prime Minister's prerogative of choice—with the best intentions—and the result may be imagined. Monsieur Buffet, a Bonapartist, deemed the Marshal was out-heroding Herod.

In obstinacy, however, Monsieur Buffet was about the Marshal's match. He is credited with saying: 'I will yield in nothing. I will compromise in nothing; and even though my eighty-six prefects were to die, I would not change one. At most, I would make a couple of permutations.' Fortunately, the National Assembly's days were numbered. A year after the vote of the Constitution, it disappeared to make room for the Chambers. Judged impartially, and allowances made for the inevitable strife of its rival factions, praise

may be assigned to it for having safely conducted the business of the nation through a period of unparalleled difficulty and danger. Many useful measures issued from its deliberations, in education, finance, criminal reform and the protection of the young; and, if the trail of intolerance left its mark on much that was done, it was a blemish that is rarely absent from legislation at any time and in any place. The worst that can be said of it is that it outlived its usefulness. And not a few Parliaments do the same.

It was during the last year of the Assembly's existence that the great scare happened which seemed for a moment likely to be justified by a repetition of the events of 1870. Alarmed or affecting to be alarmed by the continuous, steady improvement in the financial and military situation of France, the German Chancellor, who had already more than once hinted to the French Government that their policy did not seem to him calculated to further the cause of peace, inspired an article—or at least countenanced it—published in the semi-official *Post*, which was entitled 'The War in Perspective.' The writer asserted that if any alliance were formed between France, Austria and Italy, the Germans would at once take the field. Marshal MacMahon, it said, was desirous of attacking Germany before the expiration of the Assembly's powers, so as, if possible, to facilitate the return of the Monarchy after a triumph of the French Army.

The article aroused much comment; and there was a subsequent exchange of views on the subject between the German and the French Foreign Offices, which, however, did little towards allaying the general feeling of anxiety. While things were in this state, excite-

ment was suddenly raised to fever pitch by the publication in the London *Times* of an article by Mr. de Blowitz, that journal's Paris correspondent, condensing the opinions he had gleaned either from German diplomatists or from German newspapers. These opinions agreed in saying that Germany had made a bad bargain in 1870, and, since France was evidently meditating revenge, must hasten to declare war, march straight on Paris, and, from the vantage ground of the plateau of Avron, dictate a fresh treaty forcing France to cease her armaments and to pay a war indemnity of ten milliards. One Power alone could prevent this being done, to wit, Russia; and the Czar's approaching visit to Berlin appeared to be the pivot on which the question of peace or war would turn.

What Mr. Blowitz divulged in this way produced an immense sensation both in England and abroad. The British Cabinet under Mr. Disraeli was moved to take action. The Queen even wrote to the Emperor William; and, within a short time, such a chorus of international condemnation was heard that, however Bismarck might have been intending to act, he was now compelled to declare that Germany had no thought of making a war of aggression on France. In the European influence thus brought to bear on Berlin, that of the Czar was no less favourable to France than England's. To him and to the British Government, Monsieur Buffet's Cabinet expressed its gratitude for their timely interference, which, notwithstanding the Chancellor's denials, would appear to have been very necessary.

A good opening was made by the first Republican

Cabinet with Monsieur Dufaure at its head, supported by a majority of over two hundred, and with Monsieur Jules Grévy as the Chairman of the Lower Chamber. And the favourable impression was increased by a decree of the Marshal's, abolishing any further prosecutions arising out of the Commune, after an Amnesty Bill had been defended by Raspail and Clémenceau in the Deputies and by Victor Hugo in the Senate, which latter had rejected it. But this spring sky was soon clouded over through the action of the Conscript fathers, in whose bosom had taken refuge the ultra-conservative elements that had produced such discord in the National Assembly. At the same time, an Ultramontane movement of the Clericals made itself felt in the Parliamentary midst, with intent to subordinate the national clergy to orders received from Rome, and infeodate both Church and laity to Papal interests. During Monsieur Dufaure's nine months' ministry, MacMahon's pressure on the Cabinet was carefully concealed, the Prime Minister being as much opposed as the President to the demands of the Radicals. The only inkling that got abroad was through Monsieur de Blöwitz, who telegraphed it to the *Times*. But when Dufaure was forced by the Chamber to resign, and Jules Simon was reluctantly accepted by the Marshal as his successor, the struggle between the Lower and Upper Chamber became one of life and death. Attacked by the Bishops openly, and undermined by their creatures who were constantly working on the President's mind, Monsieur Jules Simon remained in office barely half as long as his predecessor.

MacMahon was now fully launched on his rash enterprise of schooling the Republican majority, and

bringing its members to a humbler behaviour. Two Bills were before Parliament, one on municipal organization, the other tending to the abrogation of the 1875 law concerning Press offences. To each of these, at the instigation of the Pope and clergy, the Marshal was opposed. The Papal Nuncio had even informed the President that the Vatican was determined to break off relations with France, if Monsieur Jules Simon remained Prime Minister. Both MacMahon and Jules Simon were in a difficult position. Mutually they esteemed each other.

‘What a misfortune,’ said the former to the latter one day, ‘that you persist in governing with the Chamber. If only you would consent to do without it, affairs would go on better, and I would keep you Minister as long as I remain President.’

‘I am a Republican,’ replied Jules Simon. ‘I govern with Parliament and with my party. Otherwise I should not be here.’

‘I know it,’ said the Marshal. ‘It is unfortunate.’

The Prime Minister did his best to keep the President’s person out of the Chamber’s debates; and, on the 4th of May, in reply to an attack, said:

‘As I have had the honour to sit for five months in the councils of the Government, I cannot help telling the Chamber that the deep respect I have always professed, in spite of political differences, towards the Marshal-President’s character, has constantly increased since I have had the honour of closer acquaintance with him, and I seize the opportunity offered to me of saying how much I respectfully admire his political conduct.’

In spite of this courteous deference, the President

addressed to him on the 16th of May, after the abrogation of the law concerning the Press had been voted by an enormous majority, an impertinent letter which left him no alternative but to retire, unless he commenced an open struggle with the Elysée.

This done, MacMahon chose, in the teeth of the Chamber, the Duc de Broglie, of all men, to constitute another Cabinet. And adding insult to injury, he spoke in his Presidential message of the majority's subversive ideas, asserting that the nation thought as he did. He was soon to receive a flat contradiction. Every one saw that an appeal to the country was imminent; and such, in fact, was the Marshal's intention. In order that the people might be induced to vote as they were desired, an electoral machinery was installed in all the constituencies for the purpose of converting the voters; and the whole prefectural administration was modified.

Then Parliament was dissolved. The elections, however, were put off to the latest date possible, bribery being practised in the meantime without shame or restraint. As Edmond About remarked: 'The masterpiece of the Broglie Cabinet was to have concentrated in five months all the arbitrary exercise of power that the Imperial despotism exercised in eighteen years.' The Marshal flung himself into the fray with the same impetuosity that he had formerly shown in his military campaigns, urging the army and the people to give him the victory. He stumped the country even, but, as often as not, obtained hisses instead of cheers.

In the middle of the fight Thiers died. He had been preparing to join forces with Gambetta when his end came. His funeral was perhaps the most silently

grandiose manifestation of mourning France has ever seen. No one talked, no one smoked in the vast concourse of spectators. Only an occasional cry of *Vive la République* burst from choking breasts. Even in his death Thiers was useful to the cause of the people he had served faithfully if not always wisely. The memory of his achievement, thus revived, acted as a stimulant upon the nation at large. When they voted, there was more of his influence in the urns than of MacMahon's.

The Marshal published a declaration in September, 1877, quite in the military style: 'My Government,' he said, 'will designate to you among the candidates those who alone may make use of my name.' A second one in October went further: 'The struggle is between order and disorder,' he said; 'you will vote for the candidates I recommend.' Neither Charles X nor Louis Napoleon had spoken so peremptorily. And yet when the results were totalled, the majority of more than a hundred on which the Government had counted was found to be on the side of the Republican Lefts. The reign of reaction was over. At last the President understood, or nearly so. He would have been glad to resign, himself, but was persuaded to remain at his post. After trying one or two patchwork combinations and uprightly refusing some insidious suggestions that he should hazard a *coup d'état*, he gave Monsieur Dufaure practically *carte blanche*; and the year of the 1878 Exhibition was inaugurated with a Ministry fairly representing the nation's opinions.

In the last year of his Presidency, the Marshal recovered the dignity which his Don Quixottish tilting on behalf of a doomed exclusiveness had caused him

to lose. He even seconded the Ministry's efforts to banish politics from the army. At the fêtes held in the Elysée at his own expense during the Exhibition, he pleased both Republicans and Monarchists by his bearing and the good taste of his display. Similarly, at the close, he managed to strike a key that rendered his language harmonious, when he spoke of the country's renascent prosperity and invited all to join in a common devotion to the public weal. Although not a financial success, costing as it did some fifty-five millions of francs and gaining only seventeen and a half, this World's Fair was in every other respect a good asset in the nation's credit. It raised public confidence to high-water mark, restored the people's self-esteem, and, for the first time since the war, brought foreigners in large crowds to the capital. One of its monuments remained after the close and still exists as a souvenir—the Trocadéro, now a museum of comparative architecture and a meeting-place for large concourses of the public.

There was one man whom MacMahon could not forgive, the acknowledged chief of the Republican Lefts, Gambetta, whose popularity had been steadily growing and was now immense throughout France. It was to him he owed his defeat, and he remembered it. Not once was the leader of the modern democracy invited to the Elysée in all the receptions of the festal year. However, Gambetta was worthy of some attention. It was he who had kept the nation's courage from sinking during the years of humiliation; he who, while standing aside for other ambitions to pass in front, had refused no labour, in or out of Parliament, requiring self-sacrifice. Acquainting himself with every detail

in the various governmental departments, he was always able to advise with authority in technical difficulties of whatsoever kind. He had been and was still an agitator, but of the most honest sort, speaking as he thought in the open, and despising all intrigue. And, as he grew older, his mind became chastened, his expression became cautious. The demagogue evolved into the statesman.

At present, it was the turn of the Senate to be affected by the new social stratum. Although protected by a suffrage of the second degree, the same change that had come about in the composition of the Deputies began to occur in that of its own body. At the elections held in January, 1879, to replace a retiring third of its members, sixty-six out of eighty-two seats were captured by the Republicans, who thus converted their minority into a majority of between forty and fifty. The almost immediate consequence was to enable the two Chambers to adopt a resolution calling on the Government to dismiss those functionaries who had made an illegal use of their powers in the 1877 elections. There was even talk of impeaching certain ministers. The Cabinet obeyed the injunction and the work of revocation began. Being invited to counter-sign each list of those condemned, the Marshal submitted, until the names of some favourite Generals were handed him, among them those of Bourbaki and Du Barail. These he refused to give up, and he was right. Had he consented, he would have punished soldiers who had simply obeyed his own orders—the orders of their hierarchical superior. ‘If I were to sign,’ he said, ‘I should not dare to kiss my children after.’

Instead, he did the only thing that was left for one

as loyal as himself to do. He resigned the Presidency. During his *Septennat*, his position had been a curious one. On the one hand, he was played upon by the Extreme Rights; and, his personal sympathies being with the Monarchy, had done what was in his power to render the Restoration possible. On the other hand, being inaccessible to intrigue, he had opposed any step that was not outwardly constitutional, so that, in a different way, he continued the policy of Thiers and favoured the Republic.

At first, the people came to the new order of things through distrust of the old. They had suffered too much from the war and its consequences to readily return to a one-man rule. The slower methods of collective legislation seemed to them the safer. And then there were certain intellectual agencies in operation which contributed to confirm them in this faith. One of these was Freemasonry, recently reorganized. Under the Empire, it had been used as a support of the Imperial administration. Prince Murat, Marshal Magan, and General Mellinet had been in succession its Grand Masters. But this function was abolished in 1869, and replaced by an annual presidency. A few years earlier, in 1865, all declarations of creed had disappeared from its rites and ceremonies; and, after 1871, its action turned more in the direction of free thought and sociology, while political and educational questions became its chief preoccupation. These changes were clearly manifested in 1875, when Littré and Jules Ferry were received into a Masonic Lodge. At his initiation, the former put forward an explanation of his Positivist doctrine, which Jules Ferry accepted; and, on the same occasion, Louis Blanc and Gambetta,

who were also members, made up the quarrel which had separated them in the discussion of the Republican Constitutional Laws.

Allusion has already been made to the renaissance of prosperity in the nation within a year or two after the war. This improvement was maintained throughout the decade. Manufactured cotton tissues, which at the end of the Empire amounted to 124,331,000 kilograms, increased until, in 1876, the numbers were 157,859,000. The importation of wool for home consumption went up between 1869 and 1880 from 108,000,000 kilograms to 151,000,000, while the exportation of woollen tissues between 1869 and 1876 swelled from 262,000,000 kilograms to 317,000,000. By 1880, the Post Office had raised its deliveries from 357,000,000 letters (in 1869) to no fewer than 530,000,000; and, in the same interval, articles of special commerce increased their import and export value from 6,228,000,000 francs to 8,601,000,000.

The loss of Alsace-Lorraine deprived the country of a portion of its mineral wealth; and yet the output which, in 1869, including these provinces, was worth 156,000,000 francs, rose in value within five years to 270,000,000; and proportionate augmentations appeared both in the pig-iron and wrought-metal industries. Before the end of the decade, the length of the country's railways had been extended by more than 6000 kilometres; in navigation the tonnage showed an addition of nearly a million tons; and the trade of the various ports was more than doubled, passing from 6,034,000 tons to 13,322,000. Parallel to the rise revealed by these figures was that in the receipts of the Savings Banks, which, in the ten years ending with

1880, passed from 711,000,000 francs to 1,280,000,000. The contrast is just as striking, if the last budget of Napoleon the Third's reign is compared with the one of 1880. The receipts of the former were 1,961,000,000 francs and the expenditure was 1,904,000,000; the receipts of the latter were 3,530,000,000 francs and the expenditure 3,364,000,000. All through the *Sep-temnat*, the lesson of these statistics was being read, marked and inwardly digested by the people whom they concerned; and, in the dwindling numbers of the Assembly's reactionary members and the consequent gain of the several Republican parties, the conclusions drawn were seen.



PRESIDENT GRÉVY

From a Photograph by PIERRE PETIT

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20, 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1,000

V

THE PRESIDENCY OF JULES GRÉVY

WITH the abdication of Marshal MacMahon, the Presidency of the Republic lost its pretensions to dictatorship, which Thiers had exercised by the force of circumstances, and his successor partly by imitation and partly by a trick of his trade. Jules Grévy's advent to the office inaugurated a state of things that reduced the President's rôle to an action much more limited, played chiefly behind the scenes, and that conferred a corresponding increase of power and responsibility on the Cabinet and its head. ✓

Born in 1807, Monsieur Grévy had adopted law as a profession, and gained a solid reputation at the Bar in a practice of over forty years. His first experience of political life was during the short Republic of 1848, when he belonged to the Constituent Assembly. Under the Empire he was forced by his opinions to hold aloof from public affairs; however, towards the end of the sixties, the electors of his native Jura sent him to represent them in the Chamber of Deputies. When the war broke out, he retired to Tours, and stayed there until he was returned as one of the members of the National Assembly. Chosen almost unanimously by his colleagues to preside over their deliberations, he proved himself to be a model chairman, his imperturbable coolness and self-command

enabling him to dominate even the most tumultuous sittings, while his tact, impartiality and sound judgment procured him the respect of all parties. His oratory was characterized by force, soberness and coherence. Thiers, who was a good appraiser of eloquence, said of a speech of his made when the question of the '*Septennat*' was being debated: 'It is the finest and most powerful I have ever listened to in the forty years I have been in Parliament.' On the dissolution of the National Assembly, he was again chosen to preside over the Lower of the two Chambers that replaced it, and continued in this position until he was raised to the higher functions.

Somewhat plain in its general aspect, his face was set in a frame of closely clipped beard and whisker that left chin and mouth bare, while towards the top of his head the hair thinned off to baldness. The stolidness of his features was matched by the impassibility and coldness of his manners. Of decision, as of prudence and moderation, he had his full share. No sooner was he in possession of his Presidential dignity than he went straight to the Elysée in Paris and took up his residence there, doing this on his own initiative, although the Legislature continued for some months longer to sit at Versailles. The profound knowledge he had acquired of the political world, allied to his own qualities, enabled him to use his attributions on the whole wisely; but his mental horizon was not a wide one; and new men and modern ideas inspired a certain amount of distrust in him, with the consequence that he occasionally allowed his prejudices to guide him. This was especially seen in his treatment of Gambetta. His parsimony and

nepotism were later revelations. For the moment, his virtues showed in the foreground, and caused the honour done him by his fellow-countrymen to be well received both in France and abroad.

Being renewed at the end of its period, his Presidency lasted for nine years, and was the longest in the Third Republic's annals. In the interval, there were no fewer than eleven Ministries, three of de Freycinet, two of Jules Ferry, the others of Waddington, Gambetta, Fallières, Brisson, Goblet and Rouvier. These ephemeral Cabinets were mainly due to the divisions of the Republicans themselves, which rendered their majority unstable. To some extent also, Monsieur Grévy's bias favoured the see-saw. Sympathizing rather with the Extreme Lefts, who were the minority, he did not always trouble himself to seek among the Moderates combinations that might have been more capable of resistance.

The worst effects of such frequent changes in the Government were seen in the country's foreign policy, in which mistakes were made that no after-efforts could altogether repair. In home affairs the drawbacks were less serious, though felt. However divided in their aims, the various fractions of the Republican party co-operated easily enough in matters of immediate practical benefit. Besides continuing the improvement of university and school education, they restored the liberty of the Press, gave a measure of decentralization to municipal life, legalized the existence of professional and trade syndicates, conferred on the public the right to assemble freely, introduced divorce once more into the marriage code, and reformed the assessment of taxes.

As a gift of *joyeux avènement*, the year 1879 brought with it a partial amnesty of the imprisoned Communists. Louis Blanc and Victor Hugo tried to obtain a complete measure; and, perhaps, this would have been the more graceful act, especially since no possible danger could have accrued to the State from its being accorded; but the animosities on either side were not yet sufficiently appeased for the larger clemency. Some twelve hundred out of thirteen thousand condemned still remained in confinement or banishment. In the capital, subscriptions and committees were organized to provide the returning exiles with funds; and a literary *matinée* was given at the Théâtre Historique, on the 28th of May, for the same purpose, with the two Coquelins and Mounet-Sully among the performers. The Town Council voted a hundred thousand francs, and altogether about two hundred and fifty thousand were collected. Paris thus set the example in a laudable attempt to heal up old sores.

The first Cabinet, that of Monsieur Waddington, was overweighted by men of stronger calibre than the Prime Minister. Jules Ferry, who was at the Education Department, had taken up Gambetta's cry, 'Clericalism is the enemy'; and introduced into the Education Bill that he had elaborated a clause which excluded the Jesuits from teaching. There was ground for this in the fact that the Jesuits, in France especially, had always aimed at crushing all independent thought and enslaving the nation to their Order; nor could they logically complain if their arms were turned against them. Yet, as Paul Bert, himself a free-thinker, argued in the debates, it would have been more consistent with the principles of liberty to use different weapons at

this moment in combating their influence. Ill supported by the majority of the Chamber, and obliged at times to depend on the Rights, Monsieur Waddington resigned in December. A few months previously, the Bonapartists had suffered a great disappointment through the death of the Prince Imperial, who was killed in South Africa whilst fighting in an English expedition against the Zulus.

At the moment of the crisis, as before, Gambetta, who had been elected to the Chairmanship of the Lower Chamber, was the acknowledged chief of the Republican Centres; and recourse should have been had to him rather than to another. But, since the Cabinet had gone out on somewhat general grounds, Monsieur Grévy, lacking any special indication, summoned one of its members, Monsieur de Freycinet, who re-formed and patched it up, as Monsieur Clémenceau put the matter, without making it more homogeneous. Monsieur de Freycinet was a man of varied talents, clever in debate and conciliating in behaviour. His suave style, together with his physical peculiarities of voice and bearing, caused him in later years to be dubbed the little white mouse. But it was his misfortune, as it had been that of his predecessor, to have no comprehensive policy and to miss the opportunity of doing things consistently. This was seen when the amnesty question cropped up again in a proposal to achieve what had been begun and to have a clean slate. At first he washed his hands of the business, and the Chamber rejected the Bill. Four months afterwards, when Gambetta intervened and showed with his usual eloquence that it was imperative old grudges should be forgotten, he veered round and helped the law to pass.

A considerable event in the history of French revolutionary socialism was the foundation in 1880 of the *Intransigeant* newspaper by Henri Rochefort, the famous democratic Marquis, who, after figuring in the Government of National Defence, had cast his lot in with the Commune and been transported for life. Escaping from his confinement in company with some other prisoners, he took refuge in England, where he remained until all danger of further prosecution was over. For a number of years, the *Intransigeant* was edited by its fiery owner with verve and violence against every Government, whatever their opinions. Read with avidity by the working classes, it exercised an appreciable influence on their votes until its systematic vituperation grew stale and at length ceased to be taken seriously. In its latest phase it seems to serve as a sort of satiric pick-me-up giving cabby an appetite for lunch.

Towards the close of the year, difficulties arose in connection with the decrees concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits; and Monsieur de Freycinet followed Monsieur Waddington's example and retired. Jules Ferry, a politician who knew his own mind, now came to the head of affairs. His name is inseparably associated with the extension of his country's colonial empire. During his first premiership, he succeeded in establishing a French protectorate over Tunis. For some time, the Algerian frontier had been suffering from incursions committed by the pillaging tribes of the Krumirs. In order to have a free hand for action against these marauders, the French Government, in May 1881, imposed on the Bey of Tunis the treaty of Bardo, by which he acknowledged the suzerainty of the

Republic. Then, under the control of General Saussier, a campaign was undertaken during which Sfax was bombarded, and Susa, Kabes and Kairwan were captured, the last-mentioned town being the sacred city of the Tunisians.

The expedition was not popular in France at the time of its being carried out. Both Parliament and people were timid, having in memory the consequences of Napoleon's unhappy adventure in Mexico, and fancying that a policy of colonial expansion would enfeeble the strength of their home army. Jules Ferry, on the contrary, was convinced this expansion was one of the best ways, if not the only one, to restore the national prestige and to give an impetus to the country's trade. Despairing of being able to convince the majority of the soundness of his views, he concealed his intentions as far as possible, while putting them into practice; and, in engaging hostilities and making treaties, went beyond what Parliamentary sanction warranted. The distrust he aroused by this method was so strong that, when the entry of the French troops into Kairwan was announced, members of Parliament received the news with ironical exclamations and disdainful smiles. The whole thing seemed to have the flavour of a joke, with, however, consequences unpleasant to the one they considered as the jester. The Extreme Lefts attacked him bitterly, asserting that he was alienating Italy and Spain, who had interests in Tunis, and was setting his country in a disadvantageous light before Europe. Results have shown that Jules Ferry was right in esteeming Tunis to be a profitable investment. It is a rich territory and, instead of costing France money, brings her in every year an important asset of

wealth. In the November of 1881, Monsieur Ferry was practically alone in his anticipation, so he contented himself with what he had attained and returned to the ranks.

Gambetta was now the only man that could be appealed to. Even in his chairmanship of the Chamber he had been looked up to as the real leader of the majority. The quadrennial elections having to be held in the latter end of the summer, he had put forward in May his favourite scheme of voting by the *scrutin de liste* as a substitute for the older *scrutin d'arrondissement*, the latter system being supposed to give undue prominence to persons and not enough to principles. In the former there was presumably less likelihood of local attachment to certain candidates being the determining factor in elections. The Bill was passed in the Chamber, but the Senate rejected it, notwithstanding that Gambetta had defended the Upper House against the Extreme Lefts, who advocated its suppression. During the election period, his platform was the one adopted by the Republican Union, and comprised, among other reforms, a reduction of the five years' military service, administrative decentralization and taxation of incomes. His party came back to Parliament with an increase of fifty votes. Monsieur Grévy understood the hint, and Gambetta was at length Prime Minister. Most of his colleagues were untried men, but he chose them well, for nearly all of them, Waldeck Rousseau, Rouvier, Spuller and Paul Bert subsequently made their mark as statesmen.

During his long waiting, Gambetta had matured a number of measures, nearly every one of which was destined under his successors to become law. His

foreign policy was based on maintaining a good understanding with Great Britain in Eastern affairs, and would, if he had continued in office, have preserved the condominium in Egypt and prevented the strained relations that ensued between the two nations. Potentially, at least, his Ministry merited the epithet of *great*, which has sometimes been applied to it and which the three brief months of its existence hardly allowed it to gain. Gambetta lacked opportunism. He forgot that the bulk even of members of Parliament have their dose of egotism; otherwise, he would scarcely have thought of trying to do away with the practice—the time-honoured abuse—of deputies being employed as mediums for obtaining concessions and favours. His proposal to entrust the Prefects with such petitions lost him his popularity, and the remembrance of his past services vanished like a dream. At once, he found himself accused of double-facedness; the dread word of *coup d'état* was pronounced; and, over this question of parish-pump significance, he was deserted by those who had been his warmest political friends.

The change back to Monsieur de Freycinet was not an advantage, albeit his Minister for Education, Monsieur Ferry, managed to settle in Elementary Schools the conditions under which religious instruction might be given in hours not devoted to ordinary work, a solution praised by Mr. Mundella as being the most generous one in educational records. Monsieur de Freycinet's curiously hesitating mind was responsible for the French defection at the bombardment of Alexandria. The consequences of this fault appeared almost immediately; and Monsieur Clémenceau, whose trenchant, incisive criticism, when the year's credits were being

discussed, exposed all the Prime Minister's weakness, had no difficulty in adding another laurel to those he had already acquired as the '*Feller of Cabinets.*'

At the close of 1882, during the equally transient administration of Messieurs Duclerc and Fallières, Gambetta died in his modest house at Ville d'Avray. The circumstances of his death have never been clearly determined. He is said to have accidentally shot himself in the hand, while cleaning a revolver. The wound was not a serious one; but, acting on a constitution enfeebled by hard work, it set up inflammation. There were rumours of suicide from motives of a private character. Perhaps, the eventual publication of a remarkable series of love-letters written by the great tribune to a lady that he was much attached to may help to elucidate the mystery. His funeral was a repetition of the honours shown to Thiers, with a greater thrill of popular emotion, since he was cut off in the flower of his age, Thiers at the natural term of his career. In the last years of his life, jealousy had somewhat covered up his claim to public gratitude. At his grave, it was his patriotism, devotion to the country's good, power and enlightened intelligence that people remembered and mourned,

The year 1883, which was troubled throughout, did not begin well. Monsieur Duclerc and his colleagues were not in good odour either at the Presidency or in Parliament or among the masses. The pupils of the Lycées, imitating their elders, though for a different cause, manifested their sentiments by snowballing the Minister of Public Instruction. At the Lycée of Louis le Grand, there was even an organized revolt of the elder scholars, resulting in one hundred and fifty of



Photograph: Druet

PORT OF BORDEAUX
From the Picture by MANET

them being dismissed. This, it is true, happened in March, when Monsieur Duclerc had disappeared to make room for Jules Ferry's resumption of the first rôle. The youthful rebels in each instance were sons of Monarchists, Imperialists and Reactionaries, who blamed the Government for wobbling in their foreign policy, which Prince Napoleon, by means of bills stuck all over Paris, asserted to be the outcome of their atheistic persecution. The Chamber's dissatisfaction was caused mainly by the humdrum programme of the Cabinet. In order to do something, the Ministers, who were, on the whole, victims of the situation, arrested Prince Napoleon, and proceeded to take from the various princes of families having reigned in France the right to serve in the army. The chief personage affected by the decree was the Duke d'Aumale, who was obliged to quit his command in the east at Besançon.

In March also there were violent demonstrations of the unemployed, with Louise Michel as their leader; carrying a black flag, they rushed to the assault of a baker's shop. Louise Michel, who had been a governess, under the Empire, donned a National Guard's costume and armed herself with a rifle at the time of the Commune. Like the poor Rossel, she was led away by her imagination and enthusiasm, wrote in the *Cri de Paris*, was wounded and taken prisoner. To her sex she owed it that the death she claimed, with proud disdain, was commuted into penal servitude. Returning from New Caledonia, she now provoked the Government into sending her for another six years into confinement.

With Jules Ferry once more at the helm of the State, the country's colonial activity recommenced. The establishment of a protectorate over Madagascar

and the conquest of Tonkin were both essentially his work. During his previous ministry, he had endeavoured to place French influence on a more satisfactory footing in the island of the Hovas, basing himself on a treaty concluded in 1841. The difficulties that had brought about his interference still existing in 1883, he despatched an expedition under Admiral Pierre, who bombarded the coast, and took the towns of Majunga and Tamatave. As these demonstrations of force failed to convince Queen Ranavalo, the campaign was continued in the following year under Admiral Miot, who compelled the Hovas to acknowledge the French suzerainty, and to accept a French resident minister at Tananarivo.

Tonkin was a more serious business. Hostilities had arisen there first in the year 1873. The circumstances were these. A French merchant, Monsieur Jean Dupuis, trading on the Yang-tse-Kiang, had found that the Red River was navigable, and had several times gone up it as far as Mang-Ho, where he entered into relations with the Chinese mandarins and the Tonkinese. This displeased the Court of Annam, with which Admiral Dupré was at that date endeavouring to negotiate a treaty of commerce; and the Annamite mandarins made representations at Saïgon, the capital of French Cochin-China, asking that Monsieur Dupuis might be kept away from Tonkin.

Thereupon, Admiral Dupré sent to Hanoi the naval lieutenant Francis Garnier, who had already explored part of Indo-China and along the Mekong River. Garnier set out from Saïgon on the 11th of October, 1873, with two gunboats and one hundred and eighty men. Arriving at Hanoi, he tried to arrange the diffi-

culty by pacific means; but, failing in this, he had recourse to hostilities; and, on the 20th of November, he captured the Hanoï citadel, and took prisoners a thousand of the Annamites. Next, he advanced into the delta of the Red River, and, within a month, was master of it. Now, however, the Annamites appealed to the Black Flag tribes, who attacked Hanoï in December. Garnier repulsed them, and started in their pursuit. Unfortunately, he and a brother officer, Monsieur Balny d'Avricourt, fell into an ambuscade and they and their men were killed.

The expedition, in so far as it had taken the offensive, was disavowed by the Duc de Broglie's Government, Garnier's instructions having been merely to see that Monsieur Dupuis undertook to observe the articles of the treaty existing between Tu-Duc, the King of Annam, and the French Government. Consequently, Monsieur Philastre, the French Commissary at the Court of Annam, now proceeded to draw up a fresh agreement with Tu-Duc guaranteeing his independence on condition of his opening the Red River to navigation and his acknowledgment of French sovereignty over Cochin-China.

For some years after, the *statu quo* remained exactly as the events of 1873 had determined. Then, the French Government having reason to complain of the King of Annam's inobservance of the treaty conditions he had signed, sent out the Commandant Rivière to hold in check the Black Flags, who, aided by the Annamite mandarins and a number of Chinese, were raiding on the borders of Cochin-China. Rivière retook Hanoï; but, his force being only a small one, he was in turn surrounded and besieged in the citadel. In the

meantime, negotiations had been opened between France and China with reference to the latter's suzerainty claims over Tonkin and Annam and the obligations they involved; but, before these had produced any result, the news came of Rivière's death in a desperate sortie. Disregarding now China's demand that the French should evacuate Tonkin, Admiral Courbet's squadron captured the forts at the mouth of the River Hué, and a *de facto* French protectorate was imposed upon the territory in dispute. Both fighting and negotiating still went on, the struggle at length becoming one with the Celestial Empire. In the last month of the year, two strongholds, Phu-Sa and Son-Tay, were stormed by Admiral Courbet, a success which rendered it more easy for Monsieur Ferry to obtain the war credits that were required. The remaining fortresses held by the enemy fell into the hands of Generals de Négrier and Brière de l'Isle; and, at Tien-Tsin, China signed an agreement binding her to abandon Tonkin, and to subscribe also to whatever arrangements should be made with Annam.

But hardly had the signatures been exchanged when, in June, a column of French troops was surprised at Bac-Le and serious losses inflicted. An ultimatum was immediately presented at Peking, backed up by a naval demonstration; and, as the Chinese resisted, Admiral Courbet destroyed the arsenal of Foo-chow, together with twenty-two vessels, and blockaded Formosa. This was in August, when Parliament was not sitting; and, consequently, hostilities were carried on without war having been regularly declared. A slight advantage gained by the Chinese at Tamsui, where Admiral Lespès was repulsed and suffered some loss,

stiffened the Celestials' upper lip; and they refused in October Monsieur Ferry's peace overtures, although the French had practically reduced the Tonkinese to submission. So the war went on. Early in the new year Generals de Négrier and Brière de l'Isle drove back the Chinese along the Loch Nan Valley, and, after five days' fighting, seized Lang-Son. Here de Négrier stayed while his colleague returned to relieve Colonel Dominé, whose force was besieged at Tuyen-Quan on the Claire River. By dint of hard fighting, he carried out his purpose; and de Négrier, then advancing, marched on That-Ké and blew up the Gate of China. Simultaneously, French troops under Rear-Admiral Lespès and Colonel Duchesne disembarked at Formosa, while Courbet blockaded the mouth of the Yang-tse-Kiang and cut off communications between China and Shang-Hai. These operations produced an impression on the Celestial Court, which now made an offer, through Sir Robert Hart, to ratify the Treaty of Tien-Tsin. But again two sudden attacks of the enemy occurred to thwart the efforts of diplomacy; and both Generals within a few days of each other were repulsed, de l'Isle at Bang-Co, de Négrier, who himself was wounded, at Lang-Son, which latter place had to be evacuated.

In Parliament, these reverses were badly received and sufficed to upset the Cabinet. Both Monsieur Clémenceau and Monsieur Ribot pronounced violent speeches, accusing Jules Ferry of lying and treason. Such charges made in the heat of debate simply meant that the Prime Minister had again outstepped Parliamentary sanction and that circumstances had momentarily combined against him. The fears of the

Chamber, however, were exaggerated. A few days after their hostile vote, news came saying the expeditionary forces had been able to redeem their losses, and that Li-Hung-Chang had consented to the departure of the Chinese troops from Tonkin.

Jules Ferry's work was done. Misunderstood at the time, it was recognized later as being that of a master-mind. The fresh interests he created in the Congo and north of Africa and in the Far East were a useful salve to the nation's pride and a productive investment for its energy.

It remained for the Elisha who took up Elijah's mantle to conclude the final peace of Tien-Tsin, which secured the conquest, and to provide for its future development. The one chosen was the Chairman of the Lower Chamber, Monsieur Henri Brisson, a man who in his long career (he is to-day once more presiding over the Deputies' debates) has earned a reputation for uncompromising honesty and simplicity of character, for absence of vaulting ambition and for devotion to Republican principles of an advanced but consistently reasonable kind. Often thrust aside by competitors knowing better how to flatter the foibles of their fellows, he has had the almost unique distinction of being fetched out of his voluntary retirement and honoured for his virtues alone.

The year 1885, which was marked by the death of Victor Hugo and the public obsequies of this renowned poet and novelist, saw also a renaissance of the parties that his writings of the mature period had done so much to discredit. The Chamber's quadrennium was at an end; and a new Parliament had to be elected. Converted at last to Gambetta's *scrutin de liste*, the

retiring members made it into a law before going to consult their constituents ; but, like many other experiments, it yielded something differing widely from what they expected. The Republican Centres lost heavily, and the two Extremes gained in proportion. In reality, there was not so much a Monarchist revival as a manifestation of popular discontent with a condition of affairs not well understood ; to some extent also, the retrograde movement was due to the Moderates' being frightened by the sweeping programme of the Radical-Socialists, which advocated the abolition of the Senate and the Presidency of the Republic, the disestablishment of the Church, the suppression of a permanent army, and the adoption of communal autonomy, international arbitration, a progressive income-tax and other measures of similarly drastic character.

Monsieur Brisson, who had tried his best in the old Parliament to liquidate the complicated situation that he had come into, found himself in the new without a working majority. A good deal of the opposition was from men that had once been his supporters. They wanted him to undo what Jules Ferry had done. Courteously but firmly he refused. Though not personally a partisan of the Tonkin campaign, he felt bound to stand by the consequences. He had not to consider, as his opponents did, whether France would have been wiser to concentrate her colonizing efforts instead of dividing them. In presence of the *fait accompli* he decided that the only thing possible was to go forward and make the most of the advantages they might obtain from it. This attitude rallied just sufficient votes for its approval ; but, since the funds required to maintain the *statu quo*

were reluctantly granted, he abandoned his task to others.

The resignation of the Cabinet happened to coincide with the Presidential election. The way to the Elysée was again open after seven years; but there was no one to dispute with Monsieur Grévy the privilege of re-entering. Had Gambetta lived, he would in all likelihood have been preferred. Monsieur Brisson might have been, had he willed. In spite of his not being a candidate, nearly a hundred admirers in the two Chambers gave him their suffrages. On the whole, it would have been better for Monsieur Grévy if he had contented himself with his first Presidency. The second was of but short duration, and finished, like MacMahon's, with a compulsory exit.

Amidst the strife of tongues that had monopolized public attention throughout the twelvemonth, the decree giving to the various University Faculties in the country the right to receive gifts and legacies and to fix their own programmes passed almost unheeded. It was a step in the direction of greater independence for the higher teaching bodies; and, as such, was completed by the creation in December of a University Council in each academic centre. Previously there had been too much waiting on the head Educational Department both in school and college, a state of things hit off by the story of the Minister who is reported to have taken his watch out of his pocket while speaking at a meeting and to have said: 'At this moment every pupil in our Lycées all over the country is engaged in the higher classes on a Latin theme.'

In the following year, Monsieur Goblet, the Minister of Public Instruction in a third de Freycinet Cabinet,

continued the Government's concessions to new ideas by courageously assigning to modern languages a larger share in the school curriculum. Up to the time of the Third Republic, the Latin and Greek classics were the chief pabulum with which the youthful mind was fed while at school. One and only one modern language was introduced on tolerance into the Lycées, and was taught by anybody and anyhow. Monsieur Bréal, the eminent university professor, relates, though the story has a Pickwickian flavour, that, in those days, a Polish refugee, being recommended to the French Minister, was offered a professorship in a provincial school. The beneficiary ventured to observe he was a Pole, not a German; but his objection was good-humouredly overruled. He went and took possession of his post and kept it for some years. At length, under the new order, a modern language inspector arrived at the school and began questioning the pupils in German. To his astonishment they spoke another tongue. It was Polish.

Since the death of the Comte de Chambord in 1883, the Royalists had looked upon Louis-Philippe's grandson, the Comte de Paris, as the rightful heir to the throne. At present he was living undisturbed in France, either at his Château d'Eu or in Paris. In the May of 1886, the Count's daughter Amélie was married to the Crown Prince Charles of Portugal; and to the grand fête held on the occasion at the Galliéra mansion in the Rue de Grenelle, the Count invited the *Tout Paris*, including the foreign ambassadors in the French capital. These latter, however, did not attend. Probably more an eddy on the surface than an under-current, there was a considerable amount of excitement aroused.

Paris has always had a weakness for the pomp kings bring in their train. But the Republican press took fright; and the Government, a little alarmed too, induced the Chambers to vote the banishment of every direct descendant of families having reigned in France, and, besides, the deprivation of every collateral descendant of the right to hold any public function or rank and grade. The second article of the law took from the Duc de Chartres and the Duc d'Aumale, the brother and the uncle of the *Prétendant*, their titles of General, which they had retained, though retired in the year 1883.

The Minister for War, at the moment, was General Boulanger, soon to loom on the political horizon as a sort of dictator. His military career had been exceptionally brilliant and rapid. Distinguished by skill and bravery during campaigns in Kabyl-land, Indo-China, and throughout the Franco-German War, he had shown great ability at the War Office. By an irony of fate, the Duc d'Aumale, under whose command he once served, had helped in his advancement. The General had now to pronounce sentence against his former benefactor. This he did with a certain disregard of bygone relations; and his hauteur appeared the more undefendable in the light of letters of effusive gratitude which he had written to the Duke and which were inconveniently published by some Royalist journals. At first he denied their authenticity; then perforce acknowledged the paternity. Fair-minded people were disagreeably impressed by his disingenuousness. Among a certain class, however, represented by the *Intransigeant* and the *Lanterne* newspapers, he acquired immense popularity. At the review of the 14th of



Photograph: Bulloz

VICTOR HUGO

By RODIN

July, he was the hero of the day. President, deputies, and even the Tonkin troops were eclipsed. The public had no eyes except for him and his black charger, and cheered him all the way back to the War Office.

The Duc d'Aumale did not accept his exclusion without a vigorous protest, which had no other effect than to provoke the Cabinet to send him also in exile. Better inspired in December, he made the soft answer that turneth away wrath by publishing his intention of presenting the nation with his fine Château of Chantilly and all its art treasures. It was a noble act and a noble gift. The Republic acknowledged it in 1889 by recalling him from banishment.

Except in the domain of education, Monsieur de Freycinet's third Ministry was not able to accomplish very much. The Prime Minister played second rôles better than first ones. He had not Thiers' knack of managing a fickle majority. There was a deficiency in the budget; and the proposals made to meet it, which included a more decided Protectionism plus an Income Tax, clashed with too many private interests for a harmonious settlement. Monsieur Goblet was still the innovator. After proceeding to further rejuvenate the ancient classical system by leavening it with a large admixture of science and modern literature, he grappled with the thorny question of the presence of the clergy and Religious Orders as professors in State elementary schools. By his influence it was made impossible for any but laymen to hold a State educational employment. Thenceforward, the Orders were only to inculcate their tenets in establishments of their own.

Before Christmas, Monsieur Goblet stepped into Monsieur de Freycinet's shoes, his chief having for once

shown firmness in endeavouring to save the Sub-Prefects from extinction. In France, there are subs in every office high or low. Some are doubtless necessary; others hold what are with reason esteemed to be sinecures. Candid critics assert that Sub-Prefects are merely Prefects' letter-boxes. But Monsieur de Freycinet was not willing for them to be extinguished. Nor have they been so far, though their utility is as much contested as ever. However, the deputies on this occasion voted their suppression—and suppressed Monsieur de Freycinet instead.

Monsieur Goblet was an eminent jurisconsult. He possessed moreover a talent of terse oratory, and, in opposition, had the reputation of being somewhat bitter. When in power, he was a plain and straightforward legislator. Perhaps he could hardly do otherwise than keep General Boulanger as his War Minister, since he took over the Cabinet almost intact. At any rate, the General was an embarrassing inheritance. His popularity had gone up by leaps and bounds. For the first few months, everybody had been talking of his fine presence, his frank, open manners, his genial conversation, his faculty of assimilation, his wonderful memory and his gift of showing off to advantage. His fame spread from the capital to the provinces and abroad. Bismarck saw in him an instigator of the expected *revanche*. Either real apprehension or a desire to feel France's pulse caused the German Chancellor to demand fresh military credits and to put the frontier in readiness, as if hostilities were about to break out. Monsieur Goblet made no counter-demonstration and displaced no troops. None the less, great anxiety and effervescence prevailed in the country, which was

increased when in April a French police agent, Monsieur Schnaebele, was arrested just over the border as a spy and carried off handcuffed to Metz. The French Government immediately instituted an inquiry and addressed a complaint to the Berlin authorities. Among Monsieur Schnaebele's papers were found letters from Herr Gautsch, the German Commissary at the frontier, fixing appointments with his French colleague. These letters being equivalent to a safe-conduct, the arrest was illegal. The Chancellor, in reply to Monsieur Herbette the French Ambassador's protest, consented to release Schnaebele, but accused him of corresponding with an Alsatian that was implicated in an affair of high treason. The charge was never cleared up. The one thing evident throughout the incident was the French Government's peaceful attitude under trying circumstances.

General Boulanger was the only member of the Cabinet who was restive during the crisis. Restrained by his fellow Minister at the Foreign Office, Monsieur Flourens, from writing to the Czar to enlist Russia's support in case of an attack by Germany, he announced in the spring that a mobilization of troops would be essayed in the autumn on the west and south of France. The publication of this news months in advance was not necessary, and was a mistake, especially as the Chauvinist press gave it a significance that did not belong to it naturally. The feeling of uneasiness it aroused among those who were not carried away by the popular infatuation for Boulanger was responsible for the determination, exhibited by the majority during the budget discussions in May, to demand a more considerable reduction in the military

credits than Monsieur Goblet was prepared to accede to. The General was thus the cause of the Ministerial discomfiture. He was also one obstacle that blocked the way for nearly a fortnight to any reconstitution of the Cabinet. The various chiefs consulted by Monsieur Grévy were not in agreement as to the advisability of the General's being included in the new combination. Another difficulty was the uncertain character of the Parliamentary majority. Both Rights and Lefts had strengthened their representation in the two or three years preceding, so that it was not easy for the moderate Republicans to legislate without relying somewhat on one of the two wings. Attempts were made at a coalition that would include Monsieur Clémenceau; it was even thought for a moment that the brilliant leader of the advanced Radicals would be at the head of the next Ministry; but he would have nothing to do with the General. At last, Monsieur Rouvier, whose speciality was finance, contrived to secure helpers by an eclectic choice that favoured the Rights and Centres more than the Lefts.

This he did after a visit had been paid to the President by the leader of the Rights, Monsieur Mackau, who informed Monsieur Grévy that his party were ready to abandon their systematic opposition, provided there were no loans or fresh taxes, and no laws against the established religion and society. After all, General Boulanger was left out, to the great displeasure of the Chauvinists, who, with Monsieur Déroulède at their head, thronged in noisy demonstration round the train which in July was conveying the General to his military command at Clermont-Ferrand, loth to let

him go. It was what would be called in French a *fausse sortie*. He was soon to return to the scene of his recent triumphs and play out the rest of his rôle in a new dress.

One of those calamities which periodically come to startle our civilizations and plunge numerous families into mourning happened while the President was still endeavouring to find his last Prime Minister. The Opéra Comique was burnt down on May 25th, during the first act of Ambroise Thomas's *Mignon*. Mademoiselle Merguillier and Monsieur Soulacroix were just finishing their duo: *Oui, voilà pour ce soir ma nouvelle conquête*, when sparks began to fall behind them on the stage. At first the spectators thought it was a trifling accident; but, when the curtain of the frieze fell on to the footlights, and a lustre crashed down on the top of that, actors and public fled to the exits. In a few minutes, the flames were everywhere, driving back terrified groups, who scrambled to the balconies and upper windows of the building, where some of them leapt down into the streets below and were either killed or seriously hurt. The work of rescue was difficult, the firemen being much impeded in their heroic efforts by the explosion of the pyrotechnic store-room. One volunteer, a typesetter named Tierce, after twice entering the conflagration and saving two lives, lost his own in a third attempt. More than a hundred victims perished in the disaster, without counting the injured.

Monsieur Rouvier had come into power, pledged to effect economies; and, a thing that does not always befall, even when such pledges are given, he effected them. A man of shrewd common sense, he was more

disposed to welcome proposals of immediate practical utility than those which provoked controversy on party lines. This was seen in the amicable arrangements that his Foreign Minister, Monsieur Flourens, made with Great Britain concerning the New Hebrides and Leeward Islands and the neutralization of the Suez Canal. At the time, he was studying the question of a *rapprochement* between France, Russia and Great Britain which might counterbalance the Triple Alliance, just then brought to the fore by the interview of Crispien and Bismarck. Inside Parliament, projects like that for the Metropolitan Railway, fated to be shelved for another ten years, were discussed, the suppression of the window and door tax also, a survival of centuries less favourable to light and air, not even yet done away with. Meanwhile the Revolutionary Socialist party under Monsieur Joffrin were preaching a crusade of the masses against the classes, and Boulanger's friends within and without the Chamber were doing their utmost to render another *coup d'état* possible.

Jules Ferry, his unpopularity notwithstanding—at the annual review, cries of *Vive Boulanger* had been mingled with some that were less complimentary to himself—continued in trenchant platform oratory to condemn the misguided patriotism which allowed itself to be led away by men of swollen ambition and unwholesome vanity and would run behind the car of a *Saint-Arnaud de café-concert*, a *miles gloriosus*. And, in the midst of the country's preparations for the Centenary Exhibition of 1889, there was need, as he said, of tranquillity and co-operation.

His warning was opportune. The Comte de Paris, now the forlorn hope of the Monarchists, had recently

declared himself a convert to the plebiscite, and was disputing with Victor Napoleon, the Neo-Bonapartists' candidate, such chances as seemed to be offered by the Chauvinists' coquetting with Boulanger.

The Wilson scandal was on the point of becoming public. It was as though the two *Prétendants* had had an inkling of the thing beforehand. In the early days of October, General Caffarel, a staff officer at the War Office, was suddenly dismissed from his post and retired from the army, on a charge that was specified only as dishonourable conduct. General Boulanger, to whom he owed his appointment, took no pains to disguise his opinion that the cashiering was a manœuvre aimed at himself by his successor. Compelled to notice this criticism, the Government inflicted thirty days' arrest on the General, whereupon his liege newspapers raised a hubbub and, worse still, entered on a campaign against the President of the Republic, whose son-in-law, Monsieur Wilson, was discovered to be mixed up in the affair. General Caffarel having been arrested, a judicial inquiry was opened, which revealed that he had been in regular relations with a clandestine agency for the purchase and sale of Government decorations. The agency was kept by a woman named Limouzin, who operated through the General, together with Count Andlau, a Senator, and—Monsieur Wilson.

As soon as Parliament reassembled, a committee of investigation was demanded and reluctantly granted. Its proceedings were, however, overshadowed by the trial of Madame Limouzin and General Caffarel, which began on the 7th of November. An unpleasant incident occurred in connection with two letters that had been written by Monsieur Wilson to the female prisoner

three years previously. The letters had been in the hands of the police, but were taken out of the *dossier* by the Prefect, Monsieur Gragnon, before it was transmitted to the Court of Justice. Though they were not important in themselves, so manifest an encroachment of privilege on the claims of equal justice produced a painful impression on general opinion. To confess the truth, Monsieur Grévy also showed want of tact. His son-in-law being undoubtedly implicated, it would have been more dignified of him to resign his official position as soon as he became cognizant of the facts, and to leave the question of his resignation to be settled by Parliament. Instead of doing so, he provoked a ministerial crisis, permitted a political agitation to aggravate the situation, then announced his intention to quit the Presidency, but changed his mind almost immediately and remained at the Elysée.

This *volte face* was mainly due to the fierce attacks made by both Radicals and Boulangists against Jules Ferry, whom the two Chambers in Congress seemed desirous of choosing as President. The most insulting epithets were hurled against him, while Déroulède, haranguing the crowd on the Place de la Concorde, coupled in his eulogiums the unfortunate occupier of the Elysée and General Boulanger. Monsieur Grévy fancied it was still possible for him to stay where he was, and interpreted the street agitation as a mark of real sympathy. The Chambers were compelled to undeceive him. They adjourned their sittings until the Presidential message—of resignation they meant—should have been received. The hint was taken, and the required abdication was given, but grudgingly and with recrimination against those who forced him.

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It was a sorry ending to an honourable public life. During the years in which he had presided over the nation's destinies, he had done what he conceived to be his duty. He was, however, a square individual in a round hole, since he had but small affability and bonhomie, and lacked the fine intuition which a man needs, if he is to succeed in the highest position of the State. He regarded his office too much as an investment, hid himself from the people, saved money out of his President's income, and, at the close, allowed himself to be entangled in the meshes of a movement directed against the existence of the Republic. His energy was spasmodic, not continuous, and, on the whole, was inappropriate to the event. With a broader mind and more sensibility, he might have exercised greater influence on the working of the Parliamentary organism, and perhaps, too, have nipped in the bud the latest phase of bastard hero-worship.

VI

THE PRESIDENCY OF CARNOT

SADI CARNOT, who, on the 3rd of December, 1887, was chosen to replace Monsieur Grévy, was an outsider on the list, since he owed his election chiefly to the inability of the various sections of the Republican party to get in one of their more representative men—Ferry, de Freycinet or Floquet. But the choice was a good one. A grandson of the great Lazare Carnot of First Revolution fame, he was brought by his father, Hippolyte Carnot, into contact with the Saint-Simonians, learnt at an early age the carpenter's trade as something to fall back upon in life in case of need, and was taught to sympathize with those that toil and are poor and suffer. After completing his studies at the Ecole Polytechnique, he became a civil engineer. Made known to Gambetta at the time of the war through his having offered to the Government of National Defence an improved mitrailleuse of his own invention, he was returned, together with his father, to the National Assembly, and from that time sat continuously in Parliament, rising gradually to ministerial rank, and at length holding the position of Finance Minister. During the Wilson scandal it came out that he had safeguarded the National Exchequer and refused to be cajoled, under circumstances of great delicacy, when Monsieur Grévy's son-in-law was en-



PRESIDENT CARNOT

From a Photograph by PIERRE PETIT

deavouring to obtain money to back up a private company. The accidental revelation of this conduct, so creditable to him, undoubtedly contributed to form the opinion which guided the majority of senators and deputies in Congress.

When called to occupy the highest magistracy in the country, Monsieur Carnot was a comparatively young man, being only fifty years of age. Tall, dark, somewhat military in bearing, calm in demeanour, retiring in manners, and with a look of much benignity in his eyes, he stood then, as he had always stood, aloof from the quarrels of controversial politics. Though a convinced Republican, he was conciliatory towards views different from his own; and, during a period if anything more disturbed than that of his predecessor, so acted as to elevate the dignity of the Presidency to a higher level than it had previously attained.

The firmament was anything but serene in the days following his entrance into the Elysée. Jules Ferry, though rejected, was none the less regarded with such animosity by that portion of the community in which the plebiscite was an article of faith that, almost immediately after the Presidential election, a man named Aubertin attempted to assassinate him. At the other political extreme, the Socialists, more compact than ever, had framed a definite charter. Manifestos were in vogue, so they published theirs. It comprised autonomy for each commune (a revival and extension of the Paris Commune project), international federation, arbitration between one nation and another as well as between individuals, the transformation of permanent armies into sedentary militias composed of all citizens above twenty-one, abolition of the death

penalty and limitation of the right to punish to necessities of social defence, organization of universal suffrage so as to respect the rights of minorities, an equality of rights for legitimate and illegitimate children alike, disestablishment of the Church and the suppression of all ecclesiastical subsidies, and absolute liberty to think, speak, write, assemble, associate and work. In addition to these claims, there were others more properly socialistic—the transformation of all monopolies into public services, the nationalization of all private property, the progressive taxation of wealth, the abolition of inheritance in any but the direct line, and insurance and pensions for old age, accidents, etc.

Intermediary between the advocacy of personal rule dependent on a popular vote and this Socialist gospel with leanings towards Collectivism, there was yet another question pending that was a sort of connecting link—revision of the Constitution. For opposite reasons, not a few persons in and out of Parliament were persuaded that the Constitution devised during MacMahon's rule was imperfect. Revision was therefore favoured by fractions of each Parliamentary group.

And then the Wilson trial was still exciting public opinion. The lobbies of the Palais de Justice were crowded with spectators, whose curiosity was tickled by the social status of the defendants and the rapid and extraordinary changes that occurred. Everything was novel and dramatic. The telephone had been used to surprise the secrets of one of the accused; an examining magistrate was seen to stop questioning a witness, to go and lunch amicably with him, and then to rise from table and serve him with an arrest-warrant, which was forthwith put into execution; the Court of

Appeal and that of the Chancellor were at loggerheads, not to speak of accusers and accused appearing alternately in the witness-box and at the Bar. Ultimately Monsieur Wilson and his accomplices were condemned to fine and imprisonment, but the sentence was quashed by a higher tribunal.

In forming his first Ministry, Monsieur Carnot took a leaf out of the book of Congress. After some unsuccessful conversations with the fighting chiefs of the Chambers, he summoned an outsider also, Monsieur Tirard, who was at the head of the Exhibition Committee, and, like the President, had so far made himself more useful than conspicuous. Monsieur Tirard soon found colleagues, and would, under ordinary circumstances, have probably furnished a satisfactory record. But General Boulanger was again to the front. In February, his *fidus Achates*, Monsieur Thiébaud, put him up as a candidate in half a dozen by-elections, without his protesting; and, when the Minister for War asked him to disavow the use made of his name, his reply was rather an approval than a condemnation. Being removed from his command, he came to Paris under the auspices of what was called the *Republican Committee of National Protestation*, and allowed himself to be nominated in a further series of by-elections. For this breach of discipline he was retired from the army. Free now not only to be elected, but to sit, he was returned by large majorities in two departments, and at once took position as a Revisionist before his fellow deputies.

The Chamber was in a quandary. Influenced by the Wilson scandal, and by the hitches constantly happening in the working of the Parliamentary system,

the majority had passed a resolution in March in favour of the supposed panacea of the evils they wanted to cure. Monsieur Tirard had opposed the vote; and now Monsieur Floquet, presumably a Revisionist, having abandoned his chairmanship of the Chamber to Monsieur Méline, was at the head of affairs.

It was not a pleasant situation. For General Boulanger seemed to be conquering capital and provinces together. In Paris, Paulus, the celebrated music-hall artiste, had rendered him an idol of the masses by singing in his honour: *En revenant de la Revue*, and *Pioupious d'Auvergne*. In the country at large, he was styled Joan of Arc's son, whose mission it was to revenge the nation's wrongs. The famous Committee, with its red pink as an emblem, determined to put him up as a candidate in every by-election; and, for this purpose, despatched to the four quarters of France photographs, bills, newspapers and proclamations, plus agents commissioned to organize sub-committees in even the smallest villages. Money was spent without stint. The election that sent the General to the Chamber cost two hundred thousand francs. Private donors, the Count Dillon among others, poured out their treasures at the idol's feet. For writing the preface—if he did write it—of a book called the German Invasion, Monsieur Rouff, the publisher, paid him a hundred thousand francs. Literally, it was his golden age.

For some weeks after taking his seat as a Deputy, the General enjoyed, outside the Chamber, the triumph of having his carriage escorted by admiring crowds, and, inside, of being regarded with envy and apprehension, meanwhile leaving the Government to pursue

their social legislation ameliorating the position of women and children in factories and insuring workmen against injuries received while carrying on their trade. But the moment arrived when Monsieur Floquet, being invited by the Revisionists to state his intentions, was compelled to answer that he did not think the time was ripe for a change of the kind. This was Boulanger's opportunity. In a long speech, violent in tone and language, he taunted the Prime Minister for not honouring the pledges given; and, since the majority did not support his demand, he rose in the Chamber, five weeks later, and laid before the deputies a Bill for the dissolution of Parliament, flinging the while his own resignation in their faces. This scene surpassed the preceding one on account of the strong language employed. Monsieur Floquet accused the General of dancing attendance in ante-rooms, and the General retorted with the counter-check quarrelsome, calling Monsieur Floquet a liar. Of course, there was a duel; but the civilian had the better of the soldier, wounding him somewhat seriously in the neck; an inch more to the right and the consequences would have been fatal. It happened that the encounter took place on the day Monsieur Floquet was to inaugurate Gambetta's statue by Aubé, erected on the Place du Carrousel. The Prime Minister composed his speech in the morning just before going to fight. Time, place, circumstances combined to make the ceremony an impressive one. The loss of the great tribune had never been more keenly felt.

Almost as fertile in incidents as the earlier ones, were the closing months of this critical year. The Comte de Paris, finding it necessary to outbid rival ambitions,

was sending messages to the French people, offering to confer local independence on the communes as the price of their accepting him. The General was scattering his pamphlets, charging his former colleagues in the Chamber with being wild beasts, epileptics and other monstrosities. The *Intransigeant* was ordering Monsieur Carnot, whose recent visit to the south-east seemed to prove he was the right man in the right place, to quit the Elysée and yield the Presidency to their conquering General, who had just been returned in some fresh by-elections held on the 19th of August. To obtain this result, the Duchess d'Uzès spent no less than five hundred thousand francs. Then strikes had broken out during the summer, that of the Exhibition workmen threatening to compromise the great World's Show which was preparing; and the idlers that were wandering about with nothing to do availed themselves of the funeral of Eudes, one of the Commune's heroes, to create grave disturbances on the Place Voltaire. One of these rioters, who was arrested for bludgeoning a policeman, was found to have a card on him with the words: 'General Boulanger thanks you for your offers of service and takes good note so as to have recourse to them when required.' It would appear that the Revision crusader was not very scrupulous in recruiting his adherents.

And since misfortunes never come alone, twice during 1888 the affairs of the French Panama Company awakened public anxiety, thousands of small capitalists having invested their savings in the enterprise of Monsieur de Lesseps for piercing the American isthmus. In June, the Company, being in want of money, had been allowed by Government to issue

lottery bonds to the value of seven hundred and twenty millions of francs. Not quite half of them were taken up; so in December an application was made to Parliament for leave to delay payment of the coupons, bonds and other debts during a period of three months. This request was refused. It was the commencement of the crash that subsequently ruined many modest families in France.

Under pressure of the Boulangist movement, Monsieur Floquet judged it would be wiser after all to take the wind out of the General's sails, and bring forward a scheme of revision at once. He proposed to renew the Lower Chamber by thirds every two years, instead of integrally every four, and to adopt the same system for the Senate, depriving the Upper Chamber of its power of dissolution. With a view to rendering the Ministers less dependent on snatch majorities, he inserted a clause that no Cabinet should be compelled to resign within a space of two years, except by a formal decision of Parliament to the effect that they had lost the confidence of the nation. Thirdly, he projected a State Council formed by the two Chambers from a list presented by the various professions, which was to have a consultative voice in the framing, discussing and passing of laws. ✓

Before the scheme came on for debate, the General, pursuing his plan of campaign, which consisted of getting himself returned at each by-election, played his trump card by contesting a constituency in Paris. The poll was held on the 27th of January in the New Year. For a whole week, the capital was smothered with bills of most motley colours. All the public buildings were covered to a height of five and six

Here. yards; and even church steps were carpeted with them. When the votes were counted, it was found that Boulanger had received eighty thousand more than his competitor.

Monsieur Floquet, who had expected a very different issue, was now met by the champion of a Revision dwarfing his own to insignificance. Under the major one, Parliament went by the board. The rule of one man, checked only by universal suffrage, was its sole essential article. Ministerial responsibility disappeared. The door was open for absolute monarchy—and the referendum.

The Republicans at length perceived that, whatever other causes were contributing to the reaction, they had taken a false step in substituting, without safeguarding its employment, the *scrutin de liste* for the *scrutin d'arrondissement*. In the few years that had elapsed since the change, they had steadily lost ground. If the *scrutin de liste* had not laid the egg of Boulangerism, it had helped to hatch it. For this reason they hastened to revert to the older method; then, classing both major and minor Revision in the category of things it was more expedient to postpone indefinitely, they left Monsieur Floquet in the lurch.

It was an awkward time for Cabinet-making or mending. The Exhibition was to throw open its doors in two or three months. General Boulanger and his friends were still on Parliament's flanks, and Monsieur Floquet, before resigning, had entered into negotiations with the Trade Unions of the Seine Department, who were supporting the demands of the Revolutionary Socialist workmen, made in their congresses of the preceding year-end. These demands aimed at an

eight hours' work-day, the establishment of a minimum wage to be determined for each locality, the suppression of bargaining in hand-labour, and a State responsibility for the maintenance of children, old men and invalids in the working class.

Opinions were divided as to what Monsieur Carnot ought to do. Should he organize a fighting ministry or an Exhibition one? Waldeck Rousseau and the Moderates were for the first solution, Monsieur de Freycinet, through the mouth of the *Temps*, for the second. The President ultimately inclined to the second; and he once more had recourse to Monsieur Tirard. Nevertheless, Monsieur Constans, the Minister for the Interior, was not a man to be trifled with, as the Boulangists and the working-men's syndicates soon discovered. He at once put his foot down on street manifestations, and next proceeded boldly against the Patriots' League and its leading spirit, Paul Déroulède.

The League was originally an association patronized by all the chiefs of the Republican party. It owed its existence to the war; and was intended to keep alive the memory of the lost provinces, and to work by legitimate means for their recovery. Gradually it had drifted away from its primitive uses and had been deserted by men of prudence. In 1887, it had gone over to the General and become a mere agency on his behalf.

A minor incident of international reference furnished Monsieur Constans with a favourable occasion of striking a blow at the League. In January, a Russian enthusiast named Atchinoff, desiring to introduce the Greek religion into Abyssinia, landed with some of his

fellow-countrymen on the French territory of Obock, and installed himself at Sagallo. The landing being unauthorized, he was ordered to leave; and, as he declined, a French man-of-war bombarded his camp, killed six of its occupants and forced the remainder to depart. A little less zeal on the part of the Foreign Office, at the time under the control of Monsieur Goblet, would have equally well effected its object and spared the Cabinet the necessity of presenting excuses to the Russian Government. In circumstances of the kind, a political opposition that respects itself usually abstains from embarrassing criticism. The Patriots' League had no such scruples. Through its accredited spokesmen, Messrs. Déroulède, Laguerre and Richard, it not only blamed the Ministry but travestied the facts and commenced a campaign of calumny. The prosecution of the League was therefore decided on; and the Chamber's permission was secured to comprise several deputies in the number of defendants. The debate was one of exceptional acrimony. General Boulanger did not speak; but, three days after, he made up for his silence by pronouncing at a grand banquet at Tours an oration containing, amidst much fantastic abuse, a programme intended to rally the Catholic Conservatives to his standard.

By the French Constitution, offences such as the League was accused of are tried by a tribunal known as the Haute Cour and formed from the members of the Senate. In the impeachment drawn up for this one to consider, Boulanger was included, as belonging to a so-called secret society that was plotting against the State. To the surprise of his friends as well as of his enemies, he did not stay to brave the ordeal. On

the 1st of April, he quitted Paris in disguise and escaped across the frontier to Brussels. At first, people hardly believed the news. After all the lofty talk of the previous twelve months, this anti-climax fringed on the ridiculous. The flight was certainly not counselled by the lesser chiefs of the movement, although some of them chivalrously accepted the onus of it. Monsieur Thiébaud, who, as much as any one, had contributed to the hero's victories, did not hide his disappointment. 'When a man,' he said, 'embraces the cause of the nation against an exploiting oligarchy, it is not in order to enjoy himself.' Monsieur Constans had the most reason to be proud. It was his initiative which had pricked the bubble. In excuse of his action, the General wrote from the Belgian capital that he was willing to return and be tried before a jury, but not before his political adversaries. The apology was a plausible one, the objection was pertinent; perhaps, however, the real motive was his fear of being separated from the lady on whose tomb he subsequently shot himself, and for whose sake he had divorced his wife, while he was Minister for War. The proceedings of the Haute Cour lost their interest through the disappearance of the principal defendant, and not even the somewhat theatrical attitude of the Procureur-General, Monsieur Quesnay de Beaurepaire, afterwards to become more notorious in the Dreyfus affair, sufficed to retain the public's attention. Some spasmodic efforts at revival occurred later, but life had gone out of the Boulangist movement.

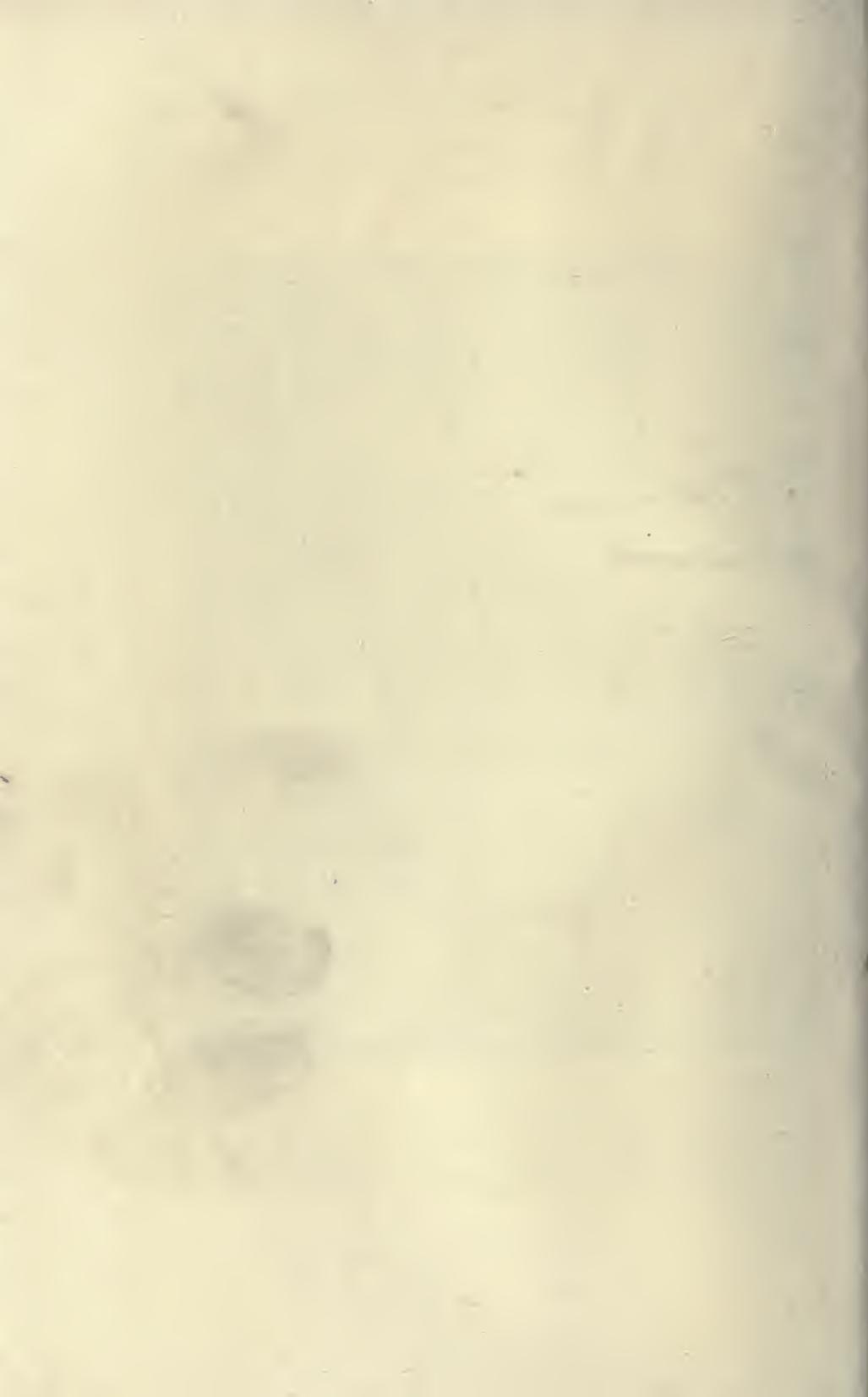
Politically, there was now no further obstacle to hinder the success of the Exhibition. And yet clouds hovered in the atmosphere which darkened for many

the approaching festivities. Early in March, a panic had been created at the Bourse by the suicide of Monsieur Denfert-Rochereau, manager of the Comp-toir d'Escompte, one of the most important banks in France. A rush of depositors immediately ensued; at one moment, indeed, it seemed as though the whole of the Paris market would be involved in the disaster. Fortunately, on account of the semi-official character of the establishment, Monsieur Rouvier, the Finance Minister, intervened to the extent of inducing other banking establishments to lend their credit, and some of the worst consequences were partially averted. For the holders of Panama shares there was no such luck. The Company having suspended its payments, a large number of petty investors, who had risked their economies in what looked to be an undertaking of the soundest kind, saw their hopes of profit vanish with the placing of its affairs in the hands of a liquidator. How irremediable the situation of the Company was only came to light little by little; this gradual revelation diminished the shock without lessening the loss.

The promoters of the Exhibition had been stimulated in their endeavours by the desire to make their work worthy of its centenary character. Larger and more varied than its predecessor of 1878, more compact and original than its successor of 1900, the 1889 World's Show, with its Eiffel Tower three hundred metres high, its huge Gallery of Machines stretching across the Champ de Mars, its two spacious side galleries devoted respectively to the Arts and Sciences, its quaint street of Cairo, and charming edifices in the Trocadéro and on the banks of the Seine, not to speak of its water railway realizing a speed of over a hundred



Photograph: Rudloz
NIGHT VIEW OF A PORTION OF THE 1889 EXHIBITION
WITH THE TROCADERO IN THE BACKGROUND
From the Picture by ROLL



kilometres an hour, presented a variety of structure and colouring that was at once harmonious and dainty. And in the gloaming of the May evening, when the tinted fountains began to play, those who had assisted at the sights of the day were for a brief spell transported into a region of fancy and fairyland. The same impression was renewed on the 14th of July, when, from the gates of the Bois de Boulogne right up the Avenue and down the Champs Elysées, myriads of rainbows and iridescent fireworks rose and hovered in the air, suggesting a *rapprochement* of old and new, and opening the vista backward on the century that Chevreul, the great chemist, just dead at the age of a hundred odd, had seen pass away, and forward on the future with its vast promise of fresh power and conquest in every domain of human activity.

Almost the last act of the Legislature before the General Elections in September was to reduce the five years' military service to three, while maintaining for those that possessed a degree from one of the higher educational institutions a period of one year only. A law of greater permanence that figures to its credit was one providing for the reclaiming of children morally abandoned by their natural guardians. It also passed a Bill forbidding plural candidatures, intended to check the manœuvres of Boulanger's remaining partisans. In August, the trial of Boulanger, Dillon and Rochefort was held by the Haute Cour. None of the accused were present. All three were found guilty of plotting against the State's security, and the General, besides, of embezzling the secret funds. The sentence of imprisonment pronounced against him restored him a modicum of popularity during the elec-

tion period. When, however, the results were declared and it was known that the Republicans had a majority of over a hundred and fifty, he was definitely dropped by those who had been his firmest supporters. The *Soleil* newspaper wrote that Boulanger's trace would vanish like a vessel's wake. The *Gaulois* said a briefer *good-night*.

This turn of the tide gave food for reflection to a portion of the Rights, who, seeking how they might render their opposition more useful to their own ideas, resolved they would cease contesting the Republican Constitution and form a group of independent *ralliés*. Their secession reduced the Royalists and Imperialists to a mere fraction. It was so much gained to be rid of the danger of a revolution; but the profit would have been greater had the Republicans themselves been more disciplined, less disposed to split up into sections on trivial grounds, more capable of producing a durable government.

The Exhibition closed in November amidst fêtes that were justified by its unique character and financial success. It left behind it a real satisfaction, arising both from gratified *amour propre* and the evidence that the nation's pulse was beating as vigorously as ever. Monsieur Carnot had done his part, now entertaining the Shah, now presiding at the banquet of the eighteen thousand mayors invited by the Town Council, now opening the new Sorbonne, which had replaced the old University on the same site in the Quartier Latin, where the youth of the schools had assembled ever since the days of Abelard.

Monsieur Tirard's Cabinet survived the elections, but only for a few months. The personality of Monsieur

Constans, who was the real inspirer of its policy, imposed a change, the rather as talented younger men, like Ribot and Bourgeois, were coming into prominence, and Monsieur Méline, with his ultra-Protectionist doctrines, was winning disciples. Its last days coincided with the arrest and condemnation of the young Duke of Orleans, son of the Comte de Paris, for violating the law of banishment. Having reached the age at which Frenchmen are required to do their military service, he came to Paris and claimed his right to be enlisted. His step was ill-advised. Instead of arousing any excitement or sympathy, it made people laugh; and the boys in the street called him Prince Gamelle, or Porringer, a name which has since stuck to him. The authorities probably thinking that, if they merely reconducted the Duke to the frontier, he would repeat his prank, sent him to the Police Court, which sentenced him to two years' imprisonment. Monsieur Carnot, of course, remitted his penalty after a few months' incarceration. Whether this incident accentuated the differences between the Minister for the Interior and his nominal chief is not certain. At any rate, Monsieur Constans resigned shortly afterwards. The Prime Minister tried to make good the loss by taking Léon Bourgeois in his place; but the thing did not work; he had wound the clock up badly, said the journalists, alluding to his former profession.

For a fourth time, Monsieur de Freycinet was placed at the head of affairs, with some of the younger bloods, Fallières, Rouvier, Bourgeois, Ribot, to help him, and Constans back at his old post of the Interior. Dame Fortune was kind to him and to the country during the first of his two years of office. At home, everything

was tranquil, even the manifestation of the 1st of May ; and, abroad, arrangements were being made with England respecting Dahomey, Madagascar, the basin of the Gambia, Zanzibar and the Sudan. In Dahomey, King Gléglé had for a while contested the validity of treaties he had made with France ; and, taking prisoner the Lieutenant-Governor, Monsieur Bayol, had forced him to assist at some of his horrible sacrifices. Troops were sent, and, temporarily, submission was offered.

More piquant than creditable was the publication of the *Coulisses*, or side-scenes of Boulangism. The author was a Monsieur Terrail-Mermeix, who had been returned to Parliament for one of the most aristocratic quarters of Paris. He revealed what was already suspected, that the Orleans family had subsidized Boulanger, that there had been a real plot to bring about a *coup d'état*, and that Boulanger, while on active service, had paid a visit to Prince Napoleon. Almost simultaneously with these documents was published Cardinal Lavigerie's letter to his clergy, advising them to frankly accept the Republic, as Pope Leo XIII had done. The advice was needed ; for, during the Boulangist struggle, most of the priests that had influence had used it against the Government.

In Parliament, social legislation was the order of the day ; miners were being protected in their labour ; large families of the working class were relieved from taxation ; poor communes were allowed to combine for the carrying out of works of public utility. With all this, the credit of the country was good, a large three per cent loan contracted by the Finance Minister being covered more than fifteen times over.

At the beginning of the new year, Monsieur

Clémenceau first put forward his doctrine, since become famous, of the Revolution of 1789 being a block that must be approved or disapproved altogether. The occasion was a great debate over Monsieur Sardou's play of *Thermidor*, which, in its first performances at the Comédie Française, had evoked such strong protestations on the part of some of the public that Coquelin, who was playing the rôle of the comedian Labussière, was obliged to quit the stage, and the play was suspended by the order of Monsieur Constans. In his piece, the dramatist had handled the Revolution rather severely; and Monsieur Clémenceau in his speech retorted on the eighteenth-century ancestors of the Monarchist members by asserting that they were either siding with France's enemies at the moment of the Revolution or were engaged in the Vendée rebellion, stabbing their mother-country in the back. The controversy was not one that politics could settle. It is patent enough to the student that the Revolution, in sweeping away injustices of the worst kind, was itself guilty of injustice. But it was a political reaction; and, as Clémenceau boldly owned, in politics there is no justice.

Scarcely had the emotion excited by this storm in a teacup been calmed when the public were again fluttered by the news that the Empress Frederick of Prussia was about to visit Paris, intending to invite the French artists to the Berlin Exhibition. She arrived and, during her sojourn in the capital, went with the German Ambassador, Count Von Münster, to see the Gallery of Mirrors at Versailles, where the old Wilhelm I had been proclaimed Emperor, and from there to Saint-Cloud, to inspect the ruins of Napoleon's

palace. These excursions, which were innocent enough, aroused the ire of the ever-zealous and too-susceptible Déroulède; and, in company with the members of the ex-League of Patriots, he proceeded to place a wreath of flowers on the grave of Henri Regnault, in front of which the Empress had paused a few days before at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Some Chauvinist journalists next dipped their pens in gall: and false interpretations were put upon the motives of both the Empress and her son. Certain German newspapers replied in biting tones; and, but for the conciliatory efforts of the English Press, mischief might have been made. Even as it was, the artists who had promised to exhibit at Berlin withdrew their consent through the medium of the painter Edouard Detaille; and the German Government, answering tit-for-tat, instructed the Governor-General of Alsace-Lorraine to cease his complaisance in granting passports.

Monsieur Méline, the French MacKinley, had not yet reached the goal of his ambition, which was to achieve the conversion of France to Protectionism; but he was making progress. His method was more open to criticism than his doctrine. During the long discussion over the Customs duties, which occupied most of the spring session of 1891, he showed that he regarded Protection too much as a remedy for every deficiency instead of as a legitimate weapon of defence. His Free Trade opponents, Léon Say, Leroy-Beaulieu and Lockroy, jostled with him bravely. There was even some hurling of epithets, the apostle of Protection being called the Torquemada of Beetroot, and Monsieur Leroy-Beaulieu, the bishop of Free Trade.

In the domain of capital and labour, the conflict of

interests continued to multiply its effects. An international congress of miners held in Paris early in the year had decreed the cessation of all work on the 1st of May, and a popular manifestation on behalf of the workmen's charter, the eight hours day and a minimum wage. Everything passed off quietly, except at Fourmies, where the troops, to stop a riot, fired on the crowd and caused loss of life. Regrettable as both outbreak and repression were, the Government had done no more than their duty, so that the same deputies who once a week had what was termed their Workmen's Wednesday, devoted to the study of social legislation, were compelled to approve the minister Constans in his endeavours to preserve order.

Monsieur de Freycinet was less happy in dealing with the Turpin affair. Turpin was an inventor who had offered his country the secret of manufacturing melinite. The offer not being accepted, he sold it to the English firm of Armstrong. This was in 1885; and now, some years after, he was arrested, together with Triponé, an artillery captain in the territorial army, whom he had denounced as the author of certain thefts, and was condemned to five years' imprisonment. Monsieur de Freycinet's own action in the matter was both inconsistent and unsatisfactory. Either Turpin ought to have been tried earlier or not at all. Technically, he had committed no offence; and his condemnation was obtained only by straining justice. True, there was the question of patriotism; by playing on this chord, the Prime Minister obtained from the Chamber a grudging subscription to his action; but his position was by no means strengthened.

A second step was taken, in the July of 1891, to-

wards the Franco-Russian Alliance. The French fleet, under Admiral Gervais, sailed to Cronstadt, after visiting Norway and Sweden. There the Czar, who welcomed the officers and men in person, listened standing to the *Marseillaise*, and spoke words that seemed to imply willingness to join hands with France, if not in formal alliance, at least in an *entente cordiale*. To this journey, which was prolonged as far as St. Petersburg and Moscow, where the visitors met with enthusiastic receptions, additional emphasis was given by Queen Victoria's also personally passing a review of a French squadron at Portsmouth in the following month. The Emperor of Germany evinced his recognition of its importance by relaxing the recent severity displayed in Alsace-Lorraine, and by prudently neglecting to notice a fresh anti-German explosion of feeling over the performance of Wagner's *Lohengrin* at the Opera.

Three political personages who had been much spoken of in the close of the eighties died this year, Jules Grévy and Boulanger in September, and Prince Joseph-Charles-Paul, called Jérôme Napoleon, in March. The Prince, who was a son of the King of Westphalia, was a man of keen intelligence; and during his life had posed with some success as a Cæsar-demagogue. Liked by the Emperor Louis-Napoleon, he had opposed the Empress Eugénie, and made himself the rallying centre of a small circle of *frondeurs*, including Emile de Girardin, Sainte-Beuve, Taine and Renan. A poor soldier, a bad administrator, an incorrect but persuasive orator, he was always committing some indiscretion, from the consequences of which he was wont to escape by travelling abroad. Continuing his

plots after the fall of the Empire, he was exiled by Thiers, and ultimately so discredited himself with the Imperialist party that even his son Victor was compelled to disavow him. From the Crimean War, in which he temporarily held a command, he brought back his nickname, Plon-Plon, which stuck to him as long as he lived.

In spite of the Pope's counsels, and in spite of Cardinal Lavignerie's efforts to show the Catholic clergy the peril of their behaviour, the Bishops for the most part had not abandoned their habit of defying the civil authority and setting themselves up as judges of its acts. In September, a pilgrimage of French working men, led by the Comte de Mun and Cardinal Langénieux, arrived in Rome, and, at the same time, another one, largely French too, composed of Catholic youths. At St. Peter's, the pilgrims were able to acclaim the Pope as King without any notice being taken; but, when, during a visit to the Pantheon of Agrippa, one of them wrote in the visitors' book *Vive le Roi-Pape*, three arrests were made. For the rest of the day, the carriages transporting pilgrims were pursued and hooted by the crowd, who lustily cheered the Royal Family. The news of this display of bad taste spread through the peninsula and provoked an expression of hostile feeling against France, which considerably annoyed the Cabinet. Monsieur Fallières, as Minister of Public Worship, sent a circular to the Episcopacy advising them to discourage manifestations of the kind as being prejudicial to the interests of the Church. The Archbishop of Aix replied in an exceedingly virulent letter accusing the masters of the day of missing no opportunity to attack

and insult the Catholic faith, which had been the making of Italy and France. 'Peace is sometimes on your lips,' he said, 'but hatred and persecution are always in your hearts.' The tone of this missive contrasted singularly with the humble solicitations made some while before by the same Monsieur Gouthe-Soulard with a view to obtain his episcopal appointment. It was in fact only too common that, under the Republic, the very men who as simple priests went hat in hand to the Minister and pledged themselves to be pillars of the State were no sooner in possession of their mitre and staff than they turned round on the power that had raised them to their dignity. As it was impossible to tolerate such language from a paid official, the Government summoned him before a Court of Appeal, which condemned him to a fine of three thousand francs. His offence was aggravated by the fact of his having on this occasion written a book, with a number of his brother bishops to help, in which the tone was still more arrogant. As a counter-effect, arose the demand for disestablishment, which, though failing for a while to win over the majority, went on gathering impetus from each repetition of clerical anathemas. That disestablishment would come at no distant date was seen by the nature of the Bill brought forward to submit all the Religious Orders to restrictions and taxes they had previously escaped. It was the thin end of the wedge, which twelve years later was to be driven straight in.

The Prime Minister, nathless his skill, did not get the deputies to vote his proposal. The new year had begun; and after a couple of twelvemonths they wanted a change. On the whole, Monsieur de Frey-



Photograph: Bulloz

CLEMENCEAU ADDRESSING A MEETING

From the Picture by RAFFAËLLI

cinet had cut a better figure in his last spell of office and had scored some notable successes, not the least of which was his fine speech during a strike of thirty thousand workmen in the north of France, a speech that contributed to the settlement of the quarrel. The Marquis de Rochefort, according to habit, was discontented; and, as a New Year's gift, made such outrageous charges against Monsieur Constans that they were noticed in Parliament during a famous sitting called the *Séance des Gifles*. Monsieur Laur, one of the interpellating deputies, had a box on the ears from the Minister attacked, Monsieur Castelin, a punch from Monsieur Delpech; and Monsieur Laur, passing on his cuff with interest, flung a volume at Monsieur Mir.

Faithful to his custom of applying to an outsider when the old stagers refused, President Carnot asked Monsieur Loubet to try what he could do as Premier, and he accepted. There was very little displacement of portfolios. De Freycinet remained at the War Office. The principal disappearance was that of Monsieur Constans, who shortly after exchanged politics for diplomacy and went as Ambassador to Constantinople, where he has since been, rendering as good service to his country as he did during the period of Boulangism. Monsieur Loubet, who was of farming stock, had made his mark at the Bar and in Parliament by dint of sheer hard work, and was more noted for affability and sterling sense than for any particular brilliancy of talent.

Partly, no doubt, because of his origin, and partly too on account of the greater power of the Trade Unions, who inaugurated their Bourse de Travail in

this year, he exhibited in his opening statements a larger preoccupation with the social problem than most of those who had preceded him. The democratic *régime* was more unreservedly preconized as having for its condition of existence the sovereignty of universal suffrage and the absolute independence of civil society, and for aim the equitable distribution of charges and advantages, and the progressive elevation of all to a proper level of moral and material welfare. The same accent of sympathy with the masses was perceptible in the projects for the betterment of their lot. A good slice was taken from the Socialist programme, even as far as a National Pension Fund, which, however, is still only partially realized.

If no more than one of Monsieur Loubet's reforms became law while he was Prime Minister, to wit, the regulation of women and children's work in factories, the fault was not his. When anarchists begin to throw bombs, members of Parliament are apt to shrink back into their human egoisms. And 1892 was an anarchists' year. Within two months, no fewer than five outrages were committed, four by the same man, Ravachol, and the fifth by some accomplice, to avenge his arrest. The first three explosions were not very serious; but the last two, in the Rue de Clichy and at the Véry Restaurant situated in the Boulevard de Magenta, where Ravachol had been arrested, were much more destructive, one of them causing loss of life and limb. For a while, Paris assumed the aspect of a city under martial law; theatres and museums were barricaded, troops filled the suburbs, and the police were everywhere. Gradually the panic lessened; notwithstanding Ravachol's execution, how-

ever, two other bomb outrages occurred before the end of the year, one of them resulting in the death of five people.

In the meantime, the conflict between Church and State was producing disorders of another kind. Since many of the clergy had taken the habit of attacking in their pulpits the so-called godless Republic and its schools of perdition, a number of free-thinking citizens had begun to attend the preaching of these militants and to contradict them. Frequently the sermon ended with cat-calls, the *Marseillaise*, and a battle of chairs. This was the case in several parts of France. Instead of being places of worship, the churches were gradually becoming political platforms. Leo XIII, whose notice had been drawn to the frequency of such disturbances, now spoke out more plainly and commanded the Bishops to make no further ado, but to bow to the existing form of government without recrimination. At the same time, he dissolved the Union de la France Chrétienne, a fighting association patronized by Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, with the hope of thus silencing the noisier of the Catholic laity. But, as Ferdinand Fabre has shown in his novels, the Pope's power over Catholic Christendom is less than that of the Jesuits. And in France the Jesuits have always fought with desperate energy against any authority threatening their own. Violating the edict of expulsion, they had come back into the country, and were again extending their operations. In the north they had founded, under the title of 'Notre Dame de l'Usine,' a huge, clerical, reactionary union, which they intended should capture all the workmen. With a view to accomplishing this end they exerted pressure

on employers to prevent them from engaging any but members of the Union. It was clandestine manœuvring the civil power had to contend against at present, manœuvring of men who claimed liberty for themselves and denied the smallest parcel of it to their fellows.

The year 1892 being the centenary of the proclamation of the First Republic, the event was celebrated by special fêtes in September. In Paris, the grand procession to the Pantheon, and a cavalcade along the boulevards, exhibiting a retrospective history of military uniforms and dress, attracted crowds of admirers.

By now, Monsieur Carnot was a well-known figure in public ceremonies. Like other potentates, he had been laid hold of by the caricaturists who, unable to rob him of his amiable features, represented his somewhat angular person and precision of manner under the movements of an automaton. His receptions at the Elysée were very different from those of Monsieur Grévy. There was a good deal more etiquette observed. As the deputies used to remark to each other: 'With Monsieur Grévy, we were just as if in our own homes; but, with Monsieur Carnot, we feel we are at the Elysée, in the house of the President.'

Behanzin, the King of Dahomey, having broken the treaty of 1890, an expedition had just been sent against his capital, Abomey. General Dodds was at the head of both land and river forces; and the flotilla operating on the Ivory Coast was under a separate command, that of the Admiral of the squadron. The dual control being a hindrance to quick and effective action, vigorous protests were made in the Chamber; but Monsieur Cavaignac, the Minister for the Marine,

defending rather the traditions of his Department, which was jealous of the War Office, refused to modify anything; and, when the deputies insisted, he retired, like Achilles, to his tent, leaving his portfolio to Monsieur Burdeau, the Vice-President of the Lower Chamber.

Burdeau belonged to the younger band of rising politicians—Etienne, Jamais, Delcassé, Millerand. Both he and Monsieur Jamais, who was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, were prematurely cut off before they had given the full measure of their abilities.

It was hard on Monsieur Loubet that the liquidation of the Panama Company developed, while he was Premier, into a scandal that compromised Parliament itself. And Fate was unkind, for neither directly nor indirectly had he been concerned in its antecedents. If any blame could attach to him, it was only on account of his reluctance to yield to the popular demand for every responsibility to be uncovered. There had been, as he found, delinquencies even among Ministers, and he naturally wished to shield old colleagues.

But under a democratic *régime* it was not possible to hide things as when aristocracy ruled. Already for months certain organs of the opposition Press had been harping on the fact that, though the embezzlement of the Company's money was averred, the Government tarried and dallied, and no prosecution was begun. At last, in November, Monsieur Ricard, the Minister for Justice, was obliged to announce that four Panama directors and one contractor were to be prosecuted; and Monsieur Floquet, the President of the Chamber, cutting short the accusations aimed at himself, ex-

plained that, while he had received nothing personally from the Company, 300,000 francs had been distributed, according to his instructions, among the newspapers supporting the Government's policy. This was plain and straightforward ; but, two days later, a Boulangist deputy rose and declared that the law of 1888 authorizing the Panama Company to issue the seven hundred millions' worth of bonds had been passed by means of a three million bribe, paid to various members of the majority through a financier. The name was not mentioned ; but, as the Baron Jacques de Reinach had died just before under suspicious circumstances, the allusion was sufficiently clear.

A Parliamentary commission being appointed to investigate this charge, Monsieur Delahaye, the accuser, now entered into details and stated that between five and six hundred persons in all had been bribed, that eighty-three millions out of the seven hundred had been spent in floating the loan, and that the Baron, having received nearly ten millions, had disposed only of three in a legitimate manner.

At first, the Government, anxious to minimize the scandal, did very little to facilitate the task of the Commissioners, who, to tell the truth, encroached on the domain of the legal courts. But, after Monsieur Loubet had been disavowed by the Chamber for declining to allow the exhumation of the Baron de Reinach's body, in order for it to be seen whether the death was due to suicide, Monsieur Ribot, becoming Prime Minister, bowed to the inevitable, and most if not all the truth came out. It would have been better to let the whole be known sooner. Through the policy of reticence, not a few reputations had been

smirched that were perfectly honourable; and, in the same reprobation, very different degrees of culpability had been confounded.

Among the papers of a bank that had operated for Baron Jacques de Reinach, the Commission of Inquiry discovered a number of cheques, representing more than three millions, that had served to pay certain politicians for their votes in Parliament. The counterfoils of these were procured, and, by the indications they gave, it appeared that Monsieur Rouvier and two other Ministers, Jules Roche and Antonin Proust, together with two deputies, had in some way been mixed up in the transactions—in what capacity was not certain. In the Senate, there were five members implicated also—Monsieur Devès, once interim Prime Minister, Monsieur Thévenet, a former Minister, Monsieur Albert Grévy, brother of the late President, Monsieur Léon Renault, an old Prefect of Police, and a Monsieur Béral. Then there were the contractor and four Directors of the Company, Monsieur Eiffel, and Messrs. Fontane, Cottu, Ferdinand and Charles de Lesseps. A Monsieur Sans-Leroy, once in the Chamber, who was accused of changing his opinion about the bond-emission against a solatium of two hundred thousand francs, and Monsieur Baihaut, once Minister for Public Works, who owned to having been bribed, with two lesser men, Messrs. Gobron and Blondin, completed the list.

There had been two intermediaries in the acts of corruption; one, the famous Cornelius Herz, who for so long at Bournemouth baffled both physicians and detectives; he had once been high in favour, held the cross of a *Grand Officier* in the Legion of Honour,

and had acquired large monetary interests in newspapers. The other was a humbler agent, Arton.

Both Chamber and Senate gave the authorization necessary for the prosecution of those belonging to their body; and the trials took place. That of the Directors and engineer of the Company, on the score of misappropriation of the shareholders' money, was a foregone conclusion. The two de Lesseps were condemned to five years' imprisonment and a three-thousand franc fine; Monsieur Eiffel, to two years' imprisonment and a twenty-thousand franc fine; and Messrs Fontane and Cottu, to two years' imprisonment. Of the politicians tried for bribery nearly all were eliminated either by the Examining Magistrate or the Court exercising the functions of a Grand Jury. Only Monsieur Baihaut and Monsieur Blondin were condemned, the former to five years' imprisonment and a seven-hundred-and-fifty-thousand franc fine, the latter to two years. Charles de Lesseps, figuring likewise in this second trial, had a year's imprisonment inflicted on him.

Besides the victims who, through their necessary official connection with the Panama loan, had been dragged into a Court of Justice and whose careers were more or less blasted by the calumny of unscrupulous adversaries, there were some whose accidental relations with one or another of the guilty brought them into disrepute. Among these was Monsieur Clémenceau. He had played, in the earlier stage of the scandal, almost the same rôle as Monsieur Loubet, endeavouring to circumscribe it; this friendly intervention was exploited against him to such good purpose that he lost his seat in the Chamber. Both he and Monsieur

Rouvier had to wait years before again attaining a front rank in politics.

Misunderstood at home and abroad, the Panama affair was briefly this. It was originally undertaken under the auspices of the engineer of the Suez Canal as a perfectly *bonâ fide* and practicable scheme; and the capital asked for was furnished with enthusiasm by the French of all sorts and conditions that had a little money in reserve. An initial mistake was made by the Directors in underestimating the material difficulties, and a second in not exercising a severe enough control over the funds. When the crisis came, the Government's anxiety to save the situation was extreme. The loan was absolutely needed, and they gave it their full support in Parliament. The expenses of flotation were very considerable, and the line was hard to draw between services that ought to be remunerated and those that ought not. On the side of the Directors, the question was more a business one, on the deputies' side, mainly a moral one. Corrupt acts were incontestably committed, but both the gravity and extent of these were enormously exaggerated by rancorous opponents of the Republic, who, posing as patriots, did not hesitate to demean their countrymen in the eyes of the world.

It was in this spirit that a newspaper, *La Cocarde*, which existed by blackmailing and publishing false news, announced the appearance in its columns of documents said to have been stolen from the British Embassy and to prove that a number of prominent politicians were in the pay of England. The matter was at once taken up in Parliament, where the documents were asserted by Messrs. Millevoye and Dérout-

lède, two of Boulanger's faction, to have been handed to them by a half-breed of the island of Mauritius, named Norton. It was manifest, at first sight, that the papers were gross forgeries, too gross to deceive any one—unless he were almost an imbecile. The two deputies who had let themselves be hoaxed were forced, amidst the derision of their colleagues, to quit the Chamber; and Norton, with Ducret of the *Cocarde*, was tried and sent to prison.

This happened in June, when another of Monsieur Carnot's new men, and of a peasant origin, had succeeded Monsieur Ribot, who, after two months and a half, had resigned during a dispute between the Senate and the Chamber over the Budget. In France it is permissible for any member of either the Upper or Lower House to propose an increase of expenditure, a custom which has contributed not a little to the almost annual growth of the National Debt. The Senate, more economically inclined than the Deputies, protested against the tendency to incur liabilities without the means to meet them, and refused to sanction one of the items. So Monsieur Ribot, being unable to reconcile the disputants, gave up. During his Premiership, Jules Ferry had died, within a month after being installed in the Chair of the Senate. The Panama trouble had made a change in the chairmanship of the Deputies; Monsieur Floquet had retired, and Casimir Périer took his place.

In July, Paris was in a commotion owing to an epilogue of the Carnival. On the Shrove Tuesday, a procession known as that of the *Quatre-z-Arts*, had exhibited some female figurants very scantily dressed, who were subsequently prosecuted and condemned for their

breach of decency. Straightway the bubbling students of the Quartier Latin gathered round the Luxembourg and made a hostile demonstration against Monsieur Bérenger, a worthy senator celebrated for his laudable zeal in the protection of youthful virtue, but occasionally laying himself open to ridicule through excess of prudishness. The demonstration, which was at first quite harmless, assumed a more menacing aspect through the police losing their head. A student, named Nugent, while quietly seated outside the Café d'Harcourt, was fatally injured by a constable flinging a matchstand at him. A riot followed, in which the Prefecture of Police was stoned and all the windows were broken. Barricades were constructed with omnibuses, tram-cars, and benches, along the Boulevard du Palais and neighbouring streets, and the whole quartier was sacked. The rowdier elements in the later phases of the disturbance were recruited largely from the unemployed, who themselves were encouraged by the Trade Syndicates; and, as the agitation spread to the Working Men's *Bourse*, this had to be occupied by the military and temporarily closed. When the effervescence fizzled out, it was recognized that Monsieur Lozé, the Prefect of Police, had not shown himself equal to the emergency. He was therefore *fired* and Monsieur Lépine reigned in his stead.

During the same month, France was at war with Siam. Her Indo-Chinese Empire being contiguous, she had several times had to complain of incursions on the territories of Annam and Cambodia. Siamese outposts had advanced to within forty kilometres of Hué; others threatened to cut off Tonkin from Annam. The French Government claimed that the left bank of

the Mekong should be accepted as the eastern boundary of their possessions in Indo-China ; and, to enforce the demand, despatched first some columns of Annamite sharpshooters to drive back the Siamese. The latter retaliated by reoccupying Khône Island, which they had previously evacuated, and capturing Captain Thoreux together with some of his soldiers. These incidents, and the murder of a French inspector, decided the Cabinet to make a naval show of force. As the Siamese had declared that they would oppose the entrance of French ships into the river Menam, an order was sent to Admiral Humann to remain outside pending negotiations ; but, for some reason or other, it miscarried. So the *Inconstant* and the *Comète* sailed over the bar under the enemy's fire and anchored at Bangkok. Enraged by this, the population pillaged a French river-transport ; and, when, in consequence, an ultimatum was presented, the Siamese Minister slighted it. A blockade of the mouth of the Menam was now executed. It effected what negotiations had failed to do. Siam gave the guarantees required from her, and the King signed a treaty with the French diplomatic agent, Monsieur Le Myre de Villiers.

1893 was an election year. Its summer months were a buzz of canvassing and speechifying, during which the various leaders propounded their plans for the people's good and their own. Monsieur Casimir Périer said wisely that France was traversing a period of transformation, wherein all that had been was no longer, all that would be did not yet appear, and that what men of small perception considered as a disorder would perhaps be a new order of society. Monsieur Dupuy defended his policy of union ; Monsieur



PRESIDENT CASIMIR PÉRIER

From a Photograph by PIERRE PETIT

Godefroy Cavaignac and Monsieur Spuller supported the Premier; certain *ralliés* like Messrs. d'Arenberg and Pion also. Among the Socialists, Jules Guesde, speaking in the name of the National Council of Workmen, put forward his State control of all the means of production. The August polls were gratifying enough to the Republican coalition, whose three hundred and eleven members had a decent advantage over the hundred and twenty-two Radicals, fifty-eight Rights, forty-nine Socialists, and thirty-five *ralliés* together.

Before Parliament met, the Russian fleet visited Toulon in October. It was nominally the return of the compliment paid by the French fleet in going to Cronstadt. In reality, it meant more. When Admiral Avelane, his staff and some of his men arrived in Paris, on the very day, as it happened, that Marshal MacMahon died, they were received with an enthusiasm never perhaps previously aroused by the presence of representatives of any foreign Power. From that moment, the Franco-Russian Alliance was made, at any rate as far as the French were concerned. They gave themselves heart and soul to their Slav friends; and a seal was placed on the tacit agreement by the Russians' attending the Marshal's funeral, a courtesy shown by the special instructions of the Czar.

Although of pleasure and promise to the nation, the Russian week did nothing for Monsieur Dupuy. Either because he had not properly proved the new men of his party, or because he was goaded into bad humour by the onslaughts of Messrs. Jaurès and Millerand, the authorized spokesmen of the Socialists, he threw up his post after the first skirmish.

The honour of leading now fell to Jean-Casimir Périer, who had never yet been in a Cabinet. This lack of ministerial experience may to some extent account for what happened in the next twelve months, during which he was to fail so signally in the use of a great opportunity. He belonged to a family of statesmen. Both his father and grandfather had been Ministers, the former under Thiers, the latter under Louis-Philippe. Born in 1847, he had only just finished his studies in law and literature when the war was declared. Enlisting as a volunteer, he soon rose to captain's rank and distinguished himself particularly at Bagneux, where he drove out a body of Prussians and rescued from the enemy Major Dampierre, who had been mortally wounded. For this exploit he was made a Knight of the Legion of Honour. Entering Parliament in 1876, he filled with credit one or two secretaryships of State before being chosen to the chairmanship of the Chamber of Deputies. A man of high principles and upright conduct, he combined, like his immediate forbears, liberalism of ideas with authoritativeness in their application. While possessed of generous emotions, his sharp, clear notions of what was and was not realizable in practical politics caused those that knew him least to think him cold. In any case, however, there was no mistaking his meaning; and both at home and abroad the plainness and vigour of his utterances were remarked.

The young Parliament had hardly got to work when its labours were disagreeably interrupted one December afternoon by an anarchist outrage. The election of one of the members was being discussed and the person in question had just gone back to his seat when

a bomb was flung from the Strangers' Gallery and exploded amidst a cloud of dust, scattering nails and bits of iron in every direction. Several deputies were struck, one of them, the Abbé Lemire, being seriously cut in the neck ; and, among the spectators, quite sixty received wounds, for the most part happily of a superficial character. The thrower of the bomb, a man named Vaillant, was among the injured. He was arrested on leaving the hospital and condemned to be guillotined.

This fresh example of preaching by dynamite was bound to provoke reprisals. If most of those for whom the bomb was intended exhibited phlegm, if Monsieur Dupuy, the Chairman, simply said: 'The sitting continues, gentlemen,' and the Prime Minister sat still with folded arms until it could be seen what had occurred, none of them had any wish to go through a similar experience. In consequence, a law aimed at incentives to physical violence, when published in the press, was speedily passed, and justice was armed with stronger weapons against the individuals who regarded society as good only to be destroyed. Apparently the *Companions* were determined to profit by their opportunities before these edicts were ready, for explosion after explosion took place in the early months of 1894. Emile Henry's bomb at the Hôtel Terminus was followed by others at the Hôtel Saint-Jacques, in the Faubourg Saint-Martin and the Madeleine Church. A man named Pawels was the presumed author of the last three. In the explosion at the Madeleine, he himself was killed. The month of April brought still another at the Restaurant Foyot in the old Rue Tournon, where Laurent Tailhade, a well-known poet

and at the time a sympathizer with ideal anarchism as proclaimed by Elisée Reclus, almost lost his life, an innocent victim in lieu of the criminal, who was not discovered. And the worst anarchist deed of the year was yet to come.

Notwithstanding the black side of things in a year which from such events has been nicknamed *l'année maudite*, the general prosperity of the country was demonstrated by the ease with which the conversion of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Rentes into $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was managed by the Finance Minister, Burdeau. In colonial enterprise the activity had become so great that a special portfolio was assigned to it. The penetration of Central Africa was being attempted, in the outset attended with some mishaps resulting from over-zealous officers' exceeding their orders. One of these, Colonel Bonnier, fell into an ambuscade near Timbuctoo, and was slain by the Tuaregs.

During the remaining years of the century, France's colonial expansion often placed her in delicate relations with other Powers having interests in Africa, and more especially with England. The two men who in turn guided the country's foreign policy in this period were Monsieur Hanotaux and Monsieur Delcassé. Both of them were included in the rearranged Cabinet of May, when Casimir Périer retired. Not even the latter's modest reforms, his firmness with the Church, his intelligent acceptance of improvements both in army and navy were able to prevent the eternal *chassé-croisé*. He and Monsieur Dupuy politely changed places once more; and, in the second Dupuy Ministry, Hanotaux became Minister for Foreign Affairs and Delcassé, Minister for the Colonies.

Monsieur Hanotaux was soon called upon to deal with the situation resulting from the French and English conventions passed with the Belgian Congo Association and the incursions made by some of the Association's agents while hunting for ivory across the Ubanghi and the fourth parallel, which had been fixed as the boundary between French and Belgian territory in 1887. A Government grant of nearly two million francs was made for the placing of gunboats on the river Ubanghi with a view to protecting the frontier. As to the French and English claims in the Sudan and on the Nile, much obscurity prevailed owing to the *de facto* rights acquired by England in Egypt after the cessation of the two nations' concerted action. These rights had never been acknowledged by France, and Monsieur Hanotaux' conduct from first to last was based on the assumption they did not exist *de jure*.

For the moment, however, relations between France and England continued to be friendly; and the Chambers, having time to occupy themselves with home matters, put on the Statute Book a law providing for miners' old age pensions, the funds being supplied partly by the miners themselves, partly by the colliery owners.

This was in June, when Monsieur Carnot was just starting on the journey that had such a tragic ending. If he had lived till December, he would have completed his seven years' presidency. Although his popularity, of a quiet but genuine kind, had been maintained without a single hitch through his whole term of office, he had decided not to ask for a renewal of his mandate. The visit, therefore, he was paying to Lyons, and to the Exhibition being held there, was one of his official farewells. Sunday was the great day, with an

evening banquet in the Palace of the Bourse, offered by the Municipality. At nine o'clock, the President, after a speech in which he exhorted his hearers to co-operate in the work of progress and justice, left for the theatre, where he was to make a short appearance. The distance was not great ; but the streets were thronged ; so, with the Mayor and two Generals of his suite, he got into a landau, which set off at a slow pace amid the acclamations of the multitude, whose enthusiasm was so spontaneous that the guards allowed the causeway to be invaded.

Suddenly a man approached the carriage and sprang on to the step with a paper in his hand, seemingly a petition. Underneath it was concealed a poniard ; and this, before his intention could be guessed, he plunged into the President's side, inflicting a wound that penetrated the liver.

The assassin was immediately arrested, while Monsieur Carnot was conveyed with all speed to the Prefecture, where he expired a few hours later. His murderer, an Italian named Caserio Giovanni Santo, who in August paid with his head for his crime, was a young journeyman baker, twenty-five years of age ; and apparently committed the deed in order to avenge Ravachol, Vaillant and Henry.

On the 1st of July, the dead President was borne with the honours of a national funeral to the Pantheon, where, not so long before, the ashes of his ancestor, Lazare Carnot, had been translated. In his modest way, he had given the best of himself to his fellow-citizens, and had conferred on the functions he held a distinction which forced the respect of all. And France was not ungrateful.

VII

THE PRESIDENCIES OF CASIMIR PÉRIER AND FÉLIX FAURE

IN selecting Casimir Périer to follow Carnot, the Versailles Congress thought they were likeliest to have a strong, as they knew he was a fearless man. Genuine uneasiness prevailed in their minds in consequence of the long series of attacks upon law and order; and there was a feeling that, in the decisions to be taken, the initiative of the Elysée ought to count for more than had been the case under its two previous occupants.

The new President's qualities have already been spoken of. They were accompanied by a certain impatience and a nervous sensitiveness which a good deal neutralized them. It was perhaps the consciousness of these defects which caused him to plead his *nolo episcopari*, and to yield only after repeated solicitations.

When his predecessor had offered him the Premiership, he was similarly reluctant. 'I am a fighter,' he answered, 'and my place is rather on the benches of the Chamber.' This fighting note was perceptible in his first Presidential message. 'Penetrated with the sentiment of my responsibility,' he said, 'I shall esteem it my duty to see that the rights conferred on me by the Constitution are neither ignored nor allowed to lapse.'

Such language, the form of which was less happy than the substance, did not please the Extreme Lefts, who detected in it a dictatorial tone; and they were all the bitterer in blaming the further legislation against anarchists which Caserio's crime had the effect of hurrying through Parliament. To Monsieur Brisson and his friends these additional penalties seemed susceptible of being used against harmless citizens. Their fears were chimerical, since, of the thirty *Companions*, including Sébastien Faure and Jean Grave, who were forthwith arrested and put on their trial, all escaped from the net except one or two avowed offenders against the law.

In the Socialist Press, a dead set was made against the President from the commencement. His wealth, his name, his dislike of their doctrines aroused the ire of the apostles of the new gospel. One of them, Monsieur Gérault-Richard, wrote a violent article in the *Chambard* entitled *A bas Casimir*, which brought him before the Seine Assizes in November. Jaurès, the greatest orator of the Socialist party, defended him by himself abusing the Périer family and the capitalist class with equal violence. Gérault-Richard was fined three thousand francs and sentenced besides to a year's imprisonment. This mild martyrdom sufficed to get him elected in January as one of the deputies for Paris, and his durance vile was curtailed.

The autumn of 1894 had a heavy death list of celebrities. The Comte de Paris—Philippe VII, the Royalists called him—died in September at Stowe House in England, leaving in his will a request to be buried at Dreux. Napoleon's Minister, Victor Duruy, famous as an historian also, passed away two months

later ; and, in December, Ferdinand de Lesseps and Burdeau, the Chairman of the Lower Chamber. The last was only forty-three. His life had been a most meritorious one. After working in a factory as a child to support his widowed mother, he was helped by a bachelor uncle in his efforts to study, and, succeeding in distinguishing himself at the University, he obtained a professorship of philosophy at a *Lycée*, previously, however, fighting for his country in 1870 and gaining by his bravery the ribbon of the Legion of Honour. Entering politics, while still young, he rapidly reached eminence, and his abilities promised even greater things, had he lived.

The end of the celebrated engineer of the Suez Canal, on whose old age the Panama disaster weighed heavily, recalled a story of the former enterprise, dating back to 1858. Four hundred millions' worth of shares had been issued, half being offered to France and half to foreign countries. The French shares were all taken up, but only a portion of the second half. Fearing the undertaking might fall through, Monsieur de Lesseps asserted, at an interview with the Egyptian authorities, that the whole sum was guaranteed. His French colleagues hesitating to support him in this diplomatic fib, he went to Napoleon, confessed what he had done and begged for an intervention that should keep the work in French hands. The Emperor at once wrote a letter to Mohammed Saïd, the Viceroy of Egypt, with the result that the eighty-five millions lacking were subscribed.

From political reasons, the death of Alexander III of Russia, which likewise took place in December, gave rise to considerable anxiety. Every one was

asking what effect it would have upon the *rapprochement* that the late Czar had fostered between his own country and that of France. Fortunately, Nicholas II soon made it clear that he intended to pursue the same policy towards the Republic that prevailed in his father's time, unhindered by his marriage with a German princess.

Useful as were, in the same autumn, the foundation of a High School for feminine industries and the establishment of the Clichy siphon system for dealing with the capital's sewage, they attracted but little notice, whilst the arrest and court martial of Captain Dreyfus, on an impeachment of having delivered important military secrets to a foreign Power, provoked a widespread and somewhat exaggerated commotion. The officer's social position and fortune introduced an element of mystery into the affair. He was rich; and, since he was neither a gambler nor a rake, money could hardly be assigned as a motive. But he was a Jew; and that for the anti-Semitic Press was enough. By the general public the verdict of guilty pronounced upon him was received with some surprise, yet without being seriously questioned. It was supposed that the seven officers who condemned him must have had in their possession ample demonstration of his treason.

A few indeed thought that solitary detention for life was too great a punishment, especially as, through the closed doors of the court martial, rumours crept that the culprit had excused his conduct on the ground of his desire to obtain more important documents from the enemy. Perhaps in no affair of controversial importance did legend ever grow up so quickly. Of the degradation ceremony diverse reports were pub-

lished forthwith, the anti-Semitic journals relating that Dreyfus had owned his crime, others that he had strongly asserted his innocence. But by none was any sympathy shown. Even his stoicism, which all remarked, was interpreted against him.

Almost overlapping this painful incident, came the sudden collapse of the Dupuy Ministry; and, on the next day, the 15th of January, the resignation of the President of the Republic. Neither the one thing nor the other had any connection with the Dreyfus affair, or, in fact, with each other. The Government's discomfiture was due to a dispute in the Chamber over the Southern Railway's privilege, which the Company claimed to have prolonged to 1956, whereas the Prime Minister affirmed that 1914 was the latest date. The quarrel was a trivial one; nor would Monsieur Dupuy's giving up office have affected the President, if he had not been chafing during the preceding six months both at the grossness of the abuse poured upon him and at the growing strength of the Extreme Lefts and the Socialist contingent voting with them. He saw at this juncture that he must either form a Radical Cabinet or dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country to give him a more moderate Chamber of Deputies. He was not willing to adopt the first course; and those who had placed him at the Elysée did not seem to favour his having recourse to the second.

His abandonment of the Presidency was adversely judged both in France and abroad. Yet, in truth, if blame were merited, it was rather on account of his having originally accepted a post for which he was little fitted. From Monsieur Casimir Périer's standpoint, the case was probably this: he consented to assume the chief

magistracy under circumstances that would have made a refusal cowardly; and he laid it down again as soon as he discovered he could not conscientiously hold it longer.

Three names were now submitted to Congress, those of Brisson, Waldeck Rousseau and Félix Faure. It was the last candidate who was carried, through the preponderance of the Moderates in the Senate. François-Félix Faure, to give him his full name, was the son of a small furniture-maker in Paris. In his boyhood he learnt the tanner's trade, whence his after nickname of the '*petit tanneur*.' Establishing himself in Havre as a fellmonger, he throve there, and became Chairman of the local Chamber of Commerce, having, like the rest of his contemporaries, shared in the war. Elected deputy for Havre in 1881, he continued thenceforward to sit in Parliament as a Moderate, interesting himself more especially in economic questions, railways and the navy. In the Jules Ferry Cabinet of 1882-3, and the Tirard Cabinet of 1888, he held undersecretaryships of State, was Vice-President of the Deputies in 1893, and Dupuy's Minister for the Marine in 1894. This portfolio he exchanged only for the higher dignity at present conferred on him. It is said that his entrance into politics was facilitated by Coquelin, the actor, who in his private box at the Comédie Française, introduced him to Gambetta.

An old Crimean veteran, Marshal Canrobert, finished his long life of nearly ninety years in the month of January. His romantic marriage to Flora MacDonald took place in the flowery days of the Empire. He met her at a ball, where she asked him to dance. But the Marshal knew more of the doings of Mars than of



PRESIDENT FÉLIX FAURE

From a Photograph by PIERRE PETIT

Terpsichore, and was compelled to delegate his waltzing to a young officer, with the remark: 'Remember that a Marshal of France envies you to-night.'

Among the first preoccupations of the new Prime Minister, Monsieur Ribot, was a law on espionage resulting from the Dreyfus trial; and, before the end of January, he signed a treaty with the United Kingdom, delimiting the British Colony of Sierra Leone and the northern part of Liberia from French Guinea and the Upper Niger. He had also the Madagascar expedition on his hands, credits for it having been voted in the previous December. Queen Ranavaloa being still unwilling to submit to French ascendancy in her island, and some of her people using reprisals against subjects of the Republic that were established there, the Government had decided to send a force of fifteen thousand men to support the troops already stationed on the coast, who had seized Tamatave.

The command was given to General Duchesne, on account of his experience in the Tonkin campaign; and under him served Generals Voyron and Metzinger. The plan was to march on Tananarivo, the capital of the Hovas, and there to dictate terms to the Queen and her Prime Minister, Rainilairivony. A beginning was made in May, when the fort of Ambohimarina was captured and the retrenched camp of Midiane too, these *coups de main* being followed up by the taking of the citadels of Marovoay and Traboujy and Amboto. Progress then was slower, owing to the nature of the country through which the army had to march; the abundance of marshes engendered malaria and dysentery among the soldiers, causing heavy mortality. However, on the 30th of June, two Hova camps

were surprised on the river Beritzoka, and nearly five hundred tents with a cannon and the Queen's flag fell into the hands of the French. From there the army forged ahead towards Imerina, meanwhile gaining a victory on Mount Beritza. The final combats were waged in the defiles of Tsinainondry, and beyond them at Sakkafal and Ilafy; Tananarivo was stormed on September 30th, and a treaty of peace signed in October.

During the spring and summer of 1895, foreign affairs had full discussion in Parliament. The young Czar presented Monsieur Félix Faure with the Imperial Collar of St. Andrew; and, the *entente* with Russia strengthening the country's position, Monsieur Hanotaux, who was at the Foreign Office, was urged by the colonial party to send a mission towards the Nile with a view to joining France's possessions in Central Africa to her territory on the north-east coast, thus weakening England's hold on Egypt. In the British House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey replied with a declaration that showed his Government were determined, if possible, to prevent any portion of the Egyptian Sudan from inclusion in the French sphere of action in Africa.

Monsieur Hanotaux was at this moment a rising statesman of the younger generation, and had the good luck to belong for some years to nearly every ministry that was formed. Much of his reputation was acquired through the Russian alliance, although it was rather the work of the nation than of one man. Intelligent, discreet in speech, with considerable literary talent, he enjoyed, while in office, the popularity of being slightly feared. Events subsequently deprived him of this

enigmatical renown, consoling him with his election to the Academy and his leisure for writing history.

Either from a desire to safeguard her Indo-Chinese Empire or in consequence of her friendship with Russia, France joined the Czar and the German Emperor in May, in order to protest against the conditions imposed by Japan upon China at the conclusion of the war just terminated between these two Powers. Japan was induced to forgo her claim on Port Arthur, which, as it appeared later, Russia coveted for herself. Praised at the time, this diplomacy was less fraught with advantage to the Republic than Monsieur Hanotaux' settlement of the irritating fiscal conflict with Switzerland. For a couple of years, the two nations had been engaged in a war of tariffs which had considerably injured their commerce, French exporters suffering greatly. By the compromise effected, the old relations were resumed on an improved basis.

The presence of French warships at the inauguration of the Kiel Canal in June was a hopeful sign for the future ; but it did not prevent the ancient soreness from being felt on the occasion of the Germans having their annual celebration of the victories of 1870. In this year, it happened that the President assisted during the same month at the French military manœuvres in Lorraine. An apropos story was related in the papers of a peasant living at Detwiller near Saverne, who had a fine white cock, with a magnificent red crest, and who patriotically painted the bird's tail blue. This seditious tricolour displayed by the Gallic volatile was reported to the Prussian authorities and they ordered the peasant to destroy his fowl. As he refused, they themselves proceeded to cut off the cock's head.

In home affairs, the Ministers had to look round for means to meet an ever-increasing expenditure. A more effectual taxation of the Religious Orders was one of their remedies, and some slight modification of the Customs duties was attempted, while fervent Lefts like Jaurès and Camille Pelletan were preaching an Income Tax crusade. More modest and more practical, the Abbé Lemire, a broad-minded Catholic priest-deputy, introduced a little Bill to simplify marriage formalities, in which red-tapism had long exercised its maximum restrictive power. Even now the documents required for a wedding in France are enough to discourage the most loving couple in the world.

In the spring, under the auspices of the Comte de Chambrun, a Musée Social had been opened in Paris, denoting that social problems were at present awaking the attention of serious minds. Unhappily, strikes and lock-outs were as frequent as ever. At a Carmaux glass-factory, employers and workmen fought with these weapons for the greater part of the year. It was during this long struggle that Madame Dimbourg made a gift of £4000 for the purpose of founding a co-operative works under the workmen's sole control. The enterprise was begun at Albi, and furnished one more example of the isolated efforts being made in various parts of France to establish a brighter world of labour.

In mid-autumn, Monsieur Ribot, with the Southern Railway question still simmering, grew disheartened and passed his hand to Monsieur Léon Bourgeois, the Radicals' nominee, who managed to constitute a homogeneous Cabinet, eliminating even Hanotaux and taking as Foreign Minister Berthelot, the eminent chemist.

Pasteur, the latter's *confrère*, was just dead. He had been ailing for some little while, and had been obliged to excuse his absence from his usual haunts by a pun half French, half English: *J'étudie maintenant*, he said to a sympathizing friend, *la théorie des at(h)omes*. A national funeral attended by the President of the Republic, the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia and Prince Nicholas of Greece honoured the ashes of the great physicist.

By dint of sheer hard work, Monsieur Félix Faure won golden opinions in the first eighteen months of his Presidency. Later he exposed himself to criticism by an etiquette that many Republicans deemed overweening. Less sensitive than Casimir Périer, he bore philosophically the prying of gutter-journalists into his past life. One of these told a story of Madame Faure's father, which the President frankly acknowledged and corrected. His wife was the daughter of a notary who had been condemned for a misdemeanour. Brought up by her uncle, a senator named Guinot, she had married the Havre fellmonger only after the story had been told him, so that neither husband nor wife had any reason to be ashamed of their conduct.

Newspapers that raked up such details in the hope of scandal were of the class that had no sale without them. It was about the same time that *La France* announced, on the arrest of Arton, the late Baron de Reinach's agent in the Panama emission, that it possessed the list of a hundred and four deputies, all guilty of corruption of the worst kind. Called upon to justify the assertion, its editor was forced to admit that the list existed merely in his own imagination.

As soon as Monsieur Bourgeois and his colleagues were

in harness, they subordinated everything else to their grand scheme of substituting for the old system of taxation, imperfect enough yet practical, the Income Tax preconized by unpractical theorists in divers countries as the ideal contribution to State needs. If Félix Faure had talked to Gladstone on the subject during their interview at Cannes in the spring, the grand old man might have told him that it was the most cordially detested tax in Great Britain. Monsieur Jaurès was delighted with the prospect; and poured out floods of oratory in praise of Monsieur Doumer the Finance Minister's pet project, while Messieurs Méline and Léon Say, the latter speaking a few weeks before his death, were equally eloquent against it. Not wishing to discuss this panacea proposed for the betterment of the national revenue, the Senate politely gave Monsieur Bourgeois warning to quit towards the end of April. Berthelot had already gone back to his laboratory, after the vote of the Egyptian Debt Commission allowing England to borrow five millions for her expedition against the Mahdi. As in Parliaments the most useful measures generally get through without much noise, so, in this short one, a Bill was passed enabling a married woman to dispose of her personal earnings. It was a triumph for Women's Rights before Feminism was greatly talked of in France.

Monsieur Méline, who now came in for a second innings, had some soundly sensible convictions, notwithstanding his tendency to carry Protectionism beyond its legitimate employment. He believed that a country's prosperity depends primarily on all the resources of the land being utilized, and consistently endeavoured to keep the land in cultivation and the

people on the land. He realized that this policy had secured French prosperity in the past and that no theory of economics was worth a fig which militated against it.

Journalists related that his election to the Chairmanship of the Lower Chamber in 1888, whereby he attained prominence, was really due to a grudge nourished by one of the deputies against Clémenceau, who, as his competitor on the occasion, received an equal number of votes but was set aside, being the younger. The one vote which would have given Clémenceau the majority was that of a bicycling member that had the habit of putting away in his tail pocket little rolls from the Chamber refreshment buffet, which rolls Clémenceau used playfully to abstract whenever possible. To pay out his tormentor, the bicycling deputy voted for Méline.

Back at the Foreign Office, Monsieur Hanotaux had to face a serious uprising of the Hovas, requiring energetic action, if French supremacy were to be maintained in the island. Transforming into annexation pure and simple the ill-defined *régime* that had so far prevailed, he entrusted General Galliéni with the task of completing the submission of the population, recalled the civil Governor, Monsieur Laroche, and made the General supreme ruler.

The Left Centres being at present to the fore, the Duc d'Orléans thought the moment opportune for writing a loving epistle to his faithful subject, the Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier, reminding him and all it might concern that there was an heir to the throne. But this manifesto and the Baron Legoux' plebiscite banquet fell flat; nor was there much more interest manifested

when, two or three months later, the Duke married Marie-Dorothée, an Austrian Arch-Duchess of Royal blood. The fact was the nation had discovered that their Republicanism was no bar to dealings with other Governments, though Royalist. Just then it was the Autocrat of *all the Russias* who manifested his willingness to drink to the health of Marianne. There was even some humour in the situation.

After paying official visits to the Courts of Denmark and England, the Czar arrived with his bride in Paris on the 10th of October. Unusual solemnity and magnificence characterized the fêtes held in their honour. Government and population vied with each other in demonstrations of cordiality and joy at the presence of the two Sovereigns. The toasts exchanged seemed to be the long-awaited recognition of an offensive and defensive alliance between the two countries. To the bridge that was to span the Seine opposite the Invalides the name of Alexandre III was given by the young Nicholas, who laid its first stone, and simultaneously set in full swing the preparations for the 1900 Exhibition. To fix in every mind the souvenir of the day, a pyrotechnic display was devised for the same evening, which made of the Trocadéro, the Champ de Mars and the Eiffel Tower one vast firmament of coruscating flame. Altogether, the Russian week, as it was styled, was a fine burst of national sentiment that must have impressed the two Imperial visitors and their suite. As for the material advantages accruing, they would appear to have been more on the side of Russia than of France, since, from this date forward, Russian finances were largely replenished from French money.

In November, a Parliamentary interpellation anent a pamphlet written by a man of letters named Bernard Lazare first awoke people to the consciousness that belief in Dreyfus' innocence existed outside his own family. Some time before, Madame Dreyfus had petitioned for a fresh trial on the ground that there had been a miscarriage of justice ; but her request had been ignored. The interpellation drew from the Premier the statement that the case, having been legally judged, could not be reopened ; and, his answer being considered as final, the public for the most part dismissed the matter from their thoughts and turned to smile at the permission granted to girls above the age of fifteen to attend classes at the Beaux Arts. ' Another feminist victory,' they said ; and few persons, if any, imagined that, when another autumn had come round, the Dreyfus affair would have aroused a seething of passionate controversy dividing France into two hostile camps.

The year 1897 began with nothing more exciting than the amusement afforded by a recently elected deputy, Doctor Grenier, who had become a convert to Mohammedanism, and whose costume, with his genuflexions, prayers and ablutions inside the precincts of Parliament and in the streets of Paris, tickled for a while the risibility of his fellow-citizens. A slight New Year's flutter, too, was caused in literary circles by the birth of an Academy rivalling with the Académie Française. Founded by the late Edmond de Goncourt, it was limited to ten members, and confined its patronage to prose writers, unkindly excluding poets.

Spring discussions in the Chambers were mainly on sugar, which the bounty system favouring artificial

exportation caused Frenchmen to pay dearer for than the foreigner to whom this article was sent in large quantities. Amidst these debates—varied by complaints of continued clerical, not to say Papal, interference in French politics, which, if it was no longer directed against the Republic as an institution, sought ever to combat its elimination of dogmatic religion from the schools—occurred the disastrous fire at the Jean-Goujon Street Charity Bazaar, in which more than a hundred persons, including some of the highest aristocracy, lost their lives.

It was in the early days of the cinematograph, before the risks attending the use of this form of magic-lantern entertainment were fully known. In a flimsy construction of wood and vellum, over a thousand visitors were gathered on a bright May afternoon. A sudden explosion—and, in a few moments, the whole area was filled with a mass of smoke and blazing material. The terrible nature of the catastrophe and the number of noble families plunged into mourning evoked world-wide sympathy. Strange to relate, the Duchesse d'Alençon, the Empress of Austria's sister, who was one of the victims, had ordered a picture of Joan of Arc at the stake to be painted for the sale by Benjamin Constant. The picture was executed and delivered at the Duchess's house, but had not been conveyed to the bazaar when the fire broke out. At the funeral service in Notre Dame, which was honoured by representatives of all the Powers, a sermon was preached by Père Ollivier, who declared that the calamity was a judgment of God on the country for its sins. Evidently, the good father's mentality was no whit superior to that of the primitive savage

who supposed the Deity to be angry when it thundered.

The shock of the Duchess's death hastened that of the Duc d'Aumale, to whom she was nearly related. He expired on the 7th of May, three days after the fire. In him the Royalists lost the one member of the Bourbon family who, if a Restoration had been feasible, would have known how to make kingship compatible with modern conceptions of national sovereignty and individual liberty.

At the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, the French Government's delegate, General Davout, the Duc d'Auerstadt, was welcomed with great heartiness. In spite of the coolness in diplomatic relations over the Egyptian question, there was a sincere desire in Great Britain to be friends with the Republic; and Monsieur Faure's interview with Queen Victoria in the spring, as she passed through France on her way to the Riviera, was interpreted as of good augury.

The President's Court duties were rather heavy this year. Having luckily escaped from an attempt made on his life, he paid in August, with Monsieur Hanotaux, a visit to Russia, where the Czar strove to render the reception worthy of the one he himself had had in the French capital twelve months before, lodging his guest in the Peterhof Palace, a sort of Russian Marly, built by Peter the Great and furnished mostly with cabinet work of that monarch's manufacture. In September, Chulalongkorn, the King of Siam, came to Paris, in the course of his travels through Europe, and was regaled with a review of troops more agreeable to behold than those that had not so long since blockaded Bangkok.

Meanwhile, duels of sword and tongue were supplying journalists with copy. Prince Henri d'Orléans, having disparaged the prowess of Italian officers in the war with Abyssinia, was challenged by the Comte de Turin, nephew to the King of Italy, and sent off the field with a wound of some gravity. In the Chamber the problem of the State versus the Individual had cropped up once more over the proposal to renew the privilege of the Bank of France, and, as usual, words ran high. The Socialists wanted to have State banks everywhere; and, more especially, agricultural banks in the various regions of France. Monsieur Paul Deschanel, the Vice-Chairman of the Deputies, who was decidedly building up a reputation on his opposition to Jaurès and Pelletan, had an easy task in pointing out the inconvenience of curing poverty by enslaving the individual. What he found more difficult was to justify the price of dear bread, which Monsieur Méline's excessive zeal for the farmer had allowed to rise to nearly a franc the four-pound loaf.

But soon the Premier had a more irritating subject than this to face. The Vice-Chairman of the Senate, Monsieur Scheurer-Kestner, together with Monsieur Mathieu Dreyfus, a brother of the prisoner in the Ile du Diable, had gone to General Billot, the Minister for War, and solemnly affirmed that the real culprit in the 1894 treason was Major Elsin-Esterhazy, a naturalized foreigner of loose morals, whose handwriting seemed identical with that of the *bordereau* on which Alfred Dreyfus had been condemned. Esterhazy, being interviewed, retorted that this accusation had been trumped up against him through the agency of Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart, formerly of the War Office Staff,



Photograph: Bulloz

LE JARDIN DES TUILERIES
From the Picture by PISSARRO

who, he said, had been bribed by the prisoner's family. For a week or so the principal dailies contented themselves with ordinary comment on this resuscitation of the *Affaire*; but suddenly the *Figaro*, which subsequently espoused the Dreyfus family's cause, intervened with a series of private letters in Esterhazy's handwriting, also like the *bordereau*, and filled with the foulest abuse of the French, the presumed author, of course, denying that the incriminated passages were from his pen.

The Government now commissioned General de Pellieux to hold a preliminary inquiry; yet inconsistently declared that, whatever the result might be, it could not affect the court martial of 1894. Dreyfus, they repeated, had been justly convicted. Any one that denied this calumniated the whole army. It was strange to hear Republican Ministers, at the end of the nineteenth century, claim, in behalf of a jury of soldiers, an infallibility they would have been the first to refuse to one composed of civilians.

The year closed in a gloom intensified by rumours—happily unfounded—of the massacre of the Marchand mission; and, in the new one, it was the *Affaire*, as people began to call the Dreyfus case, which monopolized the stage political and social, with just some desultory attention paid to the war being waged between the Americans and Spaniards in Cuba and the Philippines. In January, Esterhazy was sent before a court martial presided over by General de Luxer, and was acquitted. During the sittings, Major Ravary, who acted as Government Commissary, allowed it to be seen that the military judges were beforehand decided on their verdict. On the other hand, he took

up with venom the charges made by the defendant against Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart and plainly hinted that the War Office considered the latter's conduct in the most unfavourable light. At the end of the trial, Esterhazy received quite an ovation, his fellow-officers, Generals included, shaking hands with him effusively and assuring him that he left the Court without a stain on his character. How mistaken they were the next few months were tragically to show!

Indeed, the verdict was attacked immediately and most unexpectedly by the popular novelist, Emile Zola. In the pages of the *Aurore*, a daily paper of recent creation, he published an open letter to the President of the Republic, in which he said: 'I accuse Major du Paty de Clam and General Mercier of having been, one of them the diabolic instrument, the other the accomplice of one of the greatest iniquities of this century. I accuse General Billot, Generals Gonse and de Boisdeffre, of having hushed up the proofs of Alfred Dreyfus's innocence, out of *esprit de corps* and to save the compromised Staff. I accuse General de Pellieux and Major Ravary of having carried out an iniquitous investigation. I accuse the experts of lying. Last of all, I accuse the first court martial of having violated equity in condemning an accused man from a document that was kept secret, and the second one of covering this illegality by order and committing thus the judicial crime of knowingly acquitting a guilty person.'

Violent scenes in Parliament followed the publication of this letter, Jaurès charging the Government with handing over the Republic to the Generals, and Monsieur Cavaignac asserting that the Minister for War

Dreyfus
Scandal

was in a position to produce a confession of guilt made by Dreyfus to Captain Lebrun-Renault of the Garde-Républicaine, who had the care of him at the time of the degradation ceremony. Monsieur Méline, while agreeing that a document containing Lebrun-Renault's account of the so-called confession existed in the *dossier*, declined to produce it. To do so, he argued, would be a virtual reopening of the *Affaire*. Zola, he said, would be prosecuted for his attack on the character of certain persons; but the prosecution would be so circumscribed as to safeguard the *chose jugée*.

The common opinion was that this would be to attempt the impossible. Monsieur Gérault-Richard went further and roundly stated that prosecution under such conditions would be cowardly. As already the Chamber was split into two sections of Dreyfusists and Anti-Dreyfusists, and the latter—a majority—believed or pretended to believe that the former belonged to a vast syndicate of traitors bribed with millions supplied by the Jews, an Anti-Dreyfusist named Bernis asked Gérault-Richard if he was not the advocate of the syndicate. In an instant the questioner received a box on the ears, and the Chamber was in an uproar. It was the same in the cafés, clubs and boulevards. Pugilism and duels were the order of the day. The most hideous caricatures of Zola were hawked about, and the wildest tales circulated upon Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart, who had just been arrested and sent to the fortress of Mont Valérien. Fanned by the anti-Semitic journals, the agitation spread rapidly throughout the whole of France, extending even to Algeria, where hostile manifestations against the Jews began to be frequent. In

vain Herr Von Bülow, the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared that his Government had never had any relations with Dreyfus; in vain was the same thing said in the Italian Parliament. The condemned man's guilt became a dogma outside of which there was no salvation, no possibility of being a good Frenchman. And yet French citizens of the highest intelligence and probity were being converted to faith in his innocence. When in February Zola's trial took place, this devoted band had to be counted with.

Have

The hearing occupied the larger part of the month; and Zola's Counsel confronted the handwriting experts whose evidence had been fatal to Dreyfus in 1894 with some eminent graphologists who flatly contradicted them. These scientists demonstrated that the writing of the *bordereau* was dextrogyrous and centripetal, whereas that of Dreyfus was senestogyrous and centrifugal. They also pointed out Germanisms in the *bordereau*, incomprehensible if the writer were a Frenchman, but natural in Esterhazy as a foreigner. Their testimony, however, was mocked at by Generals de Pellieux and de Boisdeffre, who trotted out the spectre of secret proofs existing at the War Office, which they pretended could not be produced in public without danger to the State. Neglected also was Picquart's clear account of how, after first accrediting Dreyfus's guilt, he had been brought to change his opinion under the accumulated indications of Esterhazy's having written the *bordereau*. Witnesses on the opposite side, carefully primed by some one behind the scenes, contrived to throw suspicion on all he said. Colonel Henry, formerly his subordinate at the War

Office, presumed to call him a liar in the open court. This insult he subsequently avenged by wounding his traducer in a sword-duel. A heavier chastisement awaited Henry in the near future.

The trial ended, as every one foresaw it would, unfavourably to Zola. His efforts to make those that knew most speak failed through the Judge not allowing his Counsel's questions to be put; and he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of three thousand francs. Picquart, for daring to do his duty, was retired from the army. But Zola was not so easily discouraged. He appealed against the judgment, managed to get it quashed on technical grounds, and prepared to deliver a second assault on the conspiracy of silence, content meanwhile that his initiative was encouraging others to take up the cause of the victim who was suffering in the far-away, inhospitable Devil's Island.

As its last legislative act, Parliament passed a Bill enabling any person accidentally injured during his work to get compensation from his employer. In May there were General Elections, which did not materially change the relative strength of the various parties in the Chamber. The Socialists were slightly weakened, Jaurès and Jules Guesde losing their seats, but more through their Dreyfusist sympathies than their doctrine, whilst the moderate Republicans gained proportionately. This tilting of the balance, however, sufficed to sit Deschanel in the Deputies' Chair, by a casting vote, instead of the Radical Brisson.

After a premiership of a little over two years, Monsieur Méline resigned in June; and a stop-gap Cabinet was formed with difficulty under Brisson, destined to

mark time only while the Affair was developing. In the new Parliament a movement, whose rallying cry was *France for the French*, began to take shape, soon to be known under the name of Nationalism. Its founder was Edouard Drumont, now deputy for Algiers; he was a clever journalist, who had sprung into notoriety, some time before the Dreyfus Affair, by a book written against the Jews; and his paper, the *Libre Parole*, was an everlasting diatribe on his peculiar aversion.

Under the stop-gap Government, interpellations on the Affair were not lacking. Hoping to discourage them, Monsieur Cavaignac, the Minister for War, read to the Deputies portions of a presumably intercepted letter from one foreign Attaché to another in which Dreyfus was alluded to as the traitor. Thereupon Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart wrote to the Minister, offering to convince him that the document quoted must be a forgery. Monsieur Cavaignac's only reply was to have the Colonel again arrested, reviving against him the accusations on which had been based his retirement from the army, accusations of having made improper use of confidential papers, and of having so tampered with one of the documents bearing upon the Dreyfus case as to render himself liable to a criminal prosecution.

Arrests were beginning to be frequent. About the same time, Esterhazy and a mistress of his, Mademoiselle Pays, were locked up on the complaint of a relative of the Major's, who accused him of fraud. And on the 30th of August, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry, to every one's astonishment, was sent by order of the War Office to prison, on his own confession of having fabricated the communication read by

Cavaignac in the Chamber. He pretended he had done it to stop the agitation in favour of Dreyfus; but his suicide on the next day suggested rather that he was the traitor himself, or at any rate an accomplice in the treason.

A whole series of resignations was the consequence of Henry's death. De Boisdeffre, the head of the War Office, threw up his post, and then Cavaignac, both overwhelmed with confusion. The War Minister's portfolio was taken on by Generals Zurlinden and Chanoine successively, neither remaining hardly more than a month in office, and each trying to stem the tide of opinion, each foolishly persisting in upholding the fetish of military infallibility. And events still went against them. Du Paty de Clam, whom Zola had denounced, was suddenly dismissed from the army, under strong suspicion of having acted similarly to Henry. The same disciplinary measure had already been meted out to Esterhazy; his former friends among the Generals at present discovering they had made a woeful error in defending him. He, having been conditionally liberated from confinement, profited by his freedom to escape to England. Not an unintelligent man, he saw that, as far as he was concerned, the game was up.

By this, the first step towards a revision of Dreyfus' sentence had been taken in the appointment of an advisory committee. It was a victory for Zola, so that the novelist was able to regard with equanimity his second condemnation at Versailles, which he defeated by crossing the Channel. The Brisson Cabinet had not survived General Chanoine's secession; but, under that of Monsieur Charles Dupuy, which succeeded, the

advisory committee decided to place the question submitted to them before the Criminal Court of Appeal. The latter tribunal was not long in informing Madame Dreyfus that her petition should be examined and gave orders for the news to be conveyed to her husband.

Most pertinently, the Court of Appeal explained that the sole testimony against Dreyfus appeared to them to be presumptions founded on statements by persons who had been detected in lying or who else, like the experts, had varied in their evidence. True, Cavaignac, at this juncture, affirmed there was a secret *dossier* at the War Office, which contained absolute proofs of Dreyfus's guilt, and which could not be produced without the country's ruin. But Cavaignac was contradicted by the late Premier, who rose in the Chamber and said that, among the sixty-odd papers composing the original Dreyfus *dossier*, the most important was the one Henry had forged, and that any or all of them could be published without the least inconvenience. The so-called secret *dossier*, therefore, was handed over to the Court of Appeal.

In revenge, the anti-Revisionists turned their attention to Picquart, who was languishing in the Cherche-Midi prison. A court martial was forthwith ordered, and the evident purpose of the Colonel's enemies was by hook or by crook to procure a sentence against him. Picquart is a central figure right through the Dreyfus affair. In the early nineties, he was a young and exceptionally brilliant officer, with Major's rank, holding a position as Professor in the Ecole Militaire and subsequently put in charge of the Intelligence Department at the War Office. His accidental discovery, while there, of Esterhazy's unworthiness led him to

express his doubts of the justice of the 1894 trial to General Billot, who, at first, encouraged him to pursue his investigations. Then an influence from behind the General—probably Mercier's—stopped him, removed him from the War Office, sent him on a dangerous mission to the Algerian frontier, and kept him there until the pro-Dreyfus movement rendered his presence in Paris inevitable. From the moment of his evidence at the Zola trial, the same occult influence pursued him with relentless hatred. Fortunately, he was a level-headed man, as well as a straightforward one. Instead of tamely submitting now to be tried by military judges that could hardly have been unbiased, he appealed to the Court which was to decide on the Dreyfus revision, and his appeal was heard. The case concerning him was adjourned.

Thus passed this strange year. Other events had occurred not without their importance in French history, but they were overshadowed by the Affair. The Spanish-American War had been finished and the treaty of peace arranged in Paris by the good offices of the French Government. The Czar's famous circular on disarmament had been issued, and might have been taken a little more seriously, if Russia had not just seized on Port Arthur, after depriving Japan of it in 1896. The Marchand mission had attained its aim of establishing a French post at Fashoda on the Nile; but had withdrawn after an interchange of correspondence on the subject between Paris and London. In the Sudan, the negro king, Samory, had been captured, after giving the French a good deal of trouble. And, last but not least, women had obtained Parliament's sanction to their being admitted as barristers when

provided with the proper legal qualifications. Soon Mademoiselle Chauvin was to be allowed, as the first woman-lawyer, to plead.

Of the minor incidents and episodes belonging to the same period, one was the publication by Urbain Gohier of a book called *L'Armée contre la Nation*, which contained some home-truths expressed in language unnecessarily violent. The author was prosecuted, but was acquitted as not having exceeded the limits of lawful criticism. There was, in fact, some excuse for him when, under cover of a subscription that the *Libre Parole* had organized on behalf of Henry's widow, the forger's memory was glorified by persons of importance, including a certain number of officers in the army.

The foundation of the *Patrie Française*, which was also due to the *Affaire*, might have claimed more consideration if Jules Lemaître, Coppée and its other chief spirits had kept to their original idea of using the Society, patronized at first by eminent men of all shades of opinion, for fostering solidarity among their fellow-countrymen. Alas! they quickly identified themselves with Drumont and his Anti-Semitic League, Déroulède and his harum-scarum brother-patriots, Mercier, Cavaignac and their oligarchy, who would have Dreyfus remain on his Devil's Island, though he were proved a thousand times innocent. They made Nationalism a synonym for detestation of the foreigner, and even of any Frenchman who had not their shibboleth. Thereupon, sensible men deserted them, and, like the Patriots' League, the *Patrie Française* sank to the level of a vulgar and factious opposition to the Republic, recruited among individuals such as

Quesnay de Beaurepaire, the Criminal Court of Appeal Judge, who abandoned his colleagues when they were still debating the question of Madame Dreyfus's petition, and sought notoriety by throwing mud at them. During the later phases of the Dreyfus case, this Quesnay de Beaurepaire was a jackanapes dancing about everywhere and offering discoveries of treasons which were no sooner examined than they turned out to be hoaxes of the most childish description. Even before the end came, he thoroughly discredited himself with his new friends, and was by them relegated to oblivion. In truth, the creature was contemptible.

His one little success was getting Parliament to transfer the revision question from the Criminal Court of Appeal, which was the only proper one to consider it, to a Commission of all the Appeal Courts united. If the anti-Dreyfusists deemed this to be so much gained for their cause, they were strangely blind; for, just at this time, finding the contrast between his present position and that of the preceding year too disagreeable, Esterhazy let it be known that he had once been employed by the Staff for the purpose of counter-espionage. It was the beginning of his confessions.

The death of Félix Faure from apoplexy took place unexpectedly in the last days of February, 1899. Active and practical in the discharge of his official duties, popular even as a President of parade, he had played his part with too much ostentation for the same real respect to be felt towards him as towards Sadi Carnot, especially as, in the great controversy that raged during his Presidency, he had, whether intentionally or not, to some extent permitted his name to be used against

those who were struggling for the triumph of justice and pity. Probably, his best claim to remembrance in history will be found to have been his steady pressure on France's foreign policy in a period fraught with peril.



PRESIDENT LOUBET

From a Photograph by PIERRE PETIT

VIII

THE PRESIDENCIES OF LOUBET AND FALLIÈRES

IF the Nationalists and the *Patrie Française* could have had their way, Charles Dupuy, the Prime Minister, would have gone to the Elysée, in the room of its late occupant. But when Congress met, it was seen he had no chance, nor yet the Chairman of the Lower Chamber, Paul Deschanel, for all his elegant manners, dress, speech and good-looking person. The unsuccessful candidate that came nearest a majority was Jules Méline, who polled two hundred and seventy-nine votes to the four hundred and eighty-three obtained by Emile Loubet.

The new President was born in 1838 at Marsanne in the Drôme Department. A farmer's son, he studied law in Paris, where he graduated *Docteur-en-Droit*. Having been called to the Bar, he practised at Montélimar, near his birthplace. His first experience of political life was gained as a Councillor-General, this position facilitating his return to Parliament as Republican deputy for Montélimar in 1876. Nine years later, he exchanged his deputy's mandate for a seat in the Upper Chamber, where he supported the Moderate Lefts. Entrusted with the portfolio of Public Works in the Tirard Cabinet of 1887-8, he subsequently became, as already related, Prime Minister in 1892,

and retained the Interior for a short time in the Cabinet of his successor, Monsieur Ribot. In 1896, the death of Challemel-Lacour installed him in the chair of the Senate, which he still held when elected to the Presidency.

It was while he was ruling in the serener atmosphere of the Conscript fathers that one of his colleagues, with a touch of caricature, sketched him in the following language: 'This man, incapable of keeping silent, is a little, frisky, greyish senator of modest mien, whom modesty does not misbecome, with brushed-up hair, pointed beard, clear eyes, a drawling, monotonous, uneven voice in which the southern grasshopper's note sings and all the pots and kettles of Montélimar grate—a voice that gives emphasis to the most surprising phrases, such for instance as "The great unanimity of the country"; "The dynamite that strikes not only magistrates but also the innocent." The unlucky word comes naturally, and escapes from his mouth with clarion distinctness. He emphasizes it with a swaying of his body, a to-and-fro of his legs, a bent attitude that likens him to a floor polisher in the exercise of his task. He always, when speaking, seems to be waxing the tribune.—For the rest, he is a very decent fellow.'

Though the last words were an excellent definition of Monsieur Loubet, disappointment in the noisier section of the Nationalist opposition caused him, on his return from Versailles, to meet with a hostile reception that shamed the capital. An attempt even was made by Paul Déroulède and Marcel Habert, the leaders of the Patriots' League, to annul the choice of Congress by a military *coup d'état*. While General

Roget was leading his troops back, at the close of the day, to their barracks in the Rue de Reuilly, they surrounded the detachment with a mob and tried to turn the General's horse in the direction of the Elysée. Fortunately, the General was too wise to lend himself to their purpose; so the two energumens, instead of marching in triumph to the Rue Saint-Honoré, were locked up in the barrack cell, whence they were carried off next day to prison. Déroulède's naïve boldness in owning that he wanted to save France and, involving the troops in an insurrectional movement, to replace the Parliamentary Republic by a plebiscitary one procured him for the nonce his judges' indulgence; and he and Habert were liberated. Before long, however, they were again impeached and did not then get off so easily.

That the Parliamentary Republic which Déroulède detested did not do so badly for the country's interests was proved by the advantageous arrangement concluded in March with the British Government, which, in exchange for the surrender of Darfur and Bahr-el-Gazal, gave France Wadaï, Baghirmi, and Kanem, and made a homogeneous whole of Algeria, Tunis, Senegal, Dahomey and the Central Sudan. It was just such an example of peaceful negotiations as the Disarmament Conference, about to sit at the Hague, advocated. The same tendency was noticeable in the Franco-Italian fêtes at Cagliari, where King Humbert lunched with Admiral Fournier on the *Brennus* and inaugurated a happier era of relations than had existed for many years between the two Latin neighbours.

While the Cabinet was pursuing this praiseworthy international policy, yet planning the creation of a

Colonial army required by the extension of the country's growing foreign empire, the Dreyfus revision question was being examined by the Courts of Appeal, amid an undiminished excitement in all classes of society. The judges were carrying on their proceedings *in camerá*; but, through some privileged source, the *Figaro* managed to secure the evidence and to publish it day by day *in extenso*. Not to be outdone, rival journals began printing anticipated statements of witnesses—differing widely from each other—which naturally called forth protests, so that the daily Press was in constant ebullition. Polemists had not had for years such a stimulating occasion for the display of their talent, and not a few on either side reached a high level of excellence. Clémenceau, notably, in the *Aurore*, wrote with a continued vigour, freshness and trenchant logic probably unparalleled in newspaper annals. There was hardly a single man of letters of first rank who did not abandon his more peaceful labours for the arena. Anatole France, de Pressensé, Georges Duruy threw in their lot with the Dreyfusists, the two former identifying themselves besides with the Socialists, who had taken up the cause of the condemned officer. Against the Nationalist League rose that of the Rights of Man, seeking to enlist public sympathy on behalf of any that were oppressed. Alarmed by the action of these various associations formed without permission, the Cabinet prosecuted them as being unauthorized, and inflicted a fine upon their administrators. The fine was paid, and the Leagues went on with their work.

Here and there, students in the higher educational institutions espoused the quarrel of their elders.

University lecturers were interrupted and some classes had to be temporarily suspended. This occurred at the Ecole Polytechnique, where the Professor of History, Georges Duruy, was refused a hearing by a noisy minority of the military cadets on account of his articles in the *Figaro* favouring Dreyfus. Heckled in the Chamber over the incident, Monsieur de Freycinet, the Minister for War, contrived to irritate the majority, who in turn made things so unpleasant for him that he resigned.

As the moment approached for the Appeal Courts to say yes or no to the revision, the Nationalist deputies grew fiercer in their interpellations. Every species of intimidation was tried, in the hope of frightening the tribunal. At last, on the 3rd of June, the senior judge, Monsieur Ballot-Beaupré, announced that Dreyfus was entitled to a fresh court martial, the one of 1894 having condemned him partly on evidence which had not been communicated to his Counsel and partly on the *bordereau*, which the Court was convinced had been written by Esterhazy. As for the pretended confession, they deemed it to be apocryphal.

It was a victory for common sense and humanity; but the anti-Dreyfusists were exasperated. On the very next day, at the Auteuil Races, a hostile demonstration was made by some sprigs of nobility—for the most part parvenus—against the President of the Republic, and one of them, the Baron Fernand de Christiani, grandson of a general of the Empire, rushed on Monsieur Loubet and struck at him with his stick, luckily without damage to anything but the Presidential hat. The riot was soon quelled, and its

ringleader had his ardour cooled by a sentence of four years' imprisonment, which Monsieur Loubet's magnanimity reduced to one.

The aggression of these *œillets blancs*, as they were called, far from discrediting Monsieur Loubet, whose nickname 'Panama' was quite beside the mark, provoked a movement of sympathy, which survived and ultimately rendered him popular. On the contrary, Premier and Ministers went down like ninepins under the ricochet of the blow, the Senate and Deputies considering that more effective measures should have been taken to safeguard the President and his entourage. In sooth, Monsieur Dupuy was hardly to blame, but the majority in both Chambers were in no lenient mood. The revelations of the Courts of Appeal had roused their indignation; and, just before, with a view to sweeping away methods of the kind favoured by General Mercier, they had voted a law extending to courts martial the obligation to hold a proper preliminary inquiry before judging, and another law compelling grand juries to admit cross-examination in their procedure.

Indeed, matters were going adversely for the artisans of the 1894 trial. Du Paty de Clam was arrested again; Picquart was set at liberty after nearly twelve months' confinement; Zola had returned unmolested from exile; a fresh investigation was in course against Esterhazy, who, being safe on the other side of the Channel, cynically avowed the authorship of the *bordereau*, adding that his superiors had ordered him to forge it so as to ensure the conviction of Dreyfus; the question was debated in Parliament whether de Pellieux should not be prosecuted and Mercier sent

before the Haute Cour; and, last but not least, the Devil's Isle had given up its prisoner, and the *Sfax* was conveying him back to France.

In the interim Waldeck Rousseau had formed a Government which astonished everybody. He, the successful barrister, and presumably Conservative in his opinions, a *bourgeois* of the intellectual type, associated with himself an out-and-out Socialist, Millerand, as his Minister for Commerce, and an equally out-and-out aristocrat of the old school, the Marquis de Gallifet, as his Minister for War. To many, the combination seemed the jest of a dry joker, and nearly every one thought the Ministry would be still-born. Yet it lived, as paradoxes will live when they have something at the bottom, through the consummate ability of the man that begot it, and his bold novelty of harnessing Socialism and Conservatism together. If he did not succeed in obliterating the antinomy between these two rival tendencies, he at any rate effected something scarcely less wonderful. By the end of his three years' office Millerand had become almost a Conservative and himself almost a Socialist. But then both he and Millerand were lawyers.

The Marquis de Gallifet, whose severity in the days of the Commune caused him on his first appearance as Minister to be greeted with boisterous reproaches by the Extreme Lefts, was a military martinet of the most pronounced type. It is related that, being once engaged on an inspection, he found that, to return to his own quarters, he would have to face a heavy shower of rain. While he was hesitating at the prospect, his companion, General Vincendon, produced an umbrella and offered to escort him. De Gallifet accepted, but,

on arriving, he turned to his brother-in-arms, who, as Brigadier, was his subordinate, and curtly put him under arrest for violating the regulations forbidding an officer on duty to carry anything except his accoutrements.

The second Dreyfus trial began on the 7th of August at Rennes. There were seven judges, the proceedings were open, and the public that thronged the Court contained Press representatives from the four quarters of the globe. During a whole month, the quiet university town became a cynosure to which all eyes were turned, the tribunal, a stage on which a drama of mystery and passion was played out amidst an interest unequalled probably in judiciary records, unless by the Tichborne case. Though the whole of the evidence had been already threshed out while the Courts of Appeal were deliberating, the presence of Dreyfus and the expectation of fresh information, continually promised by the Anti-Dreyfusists, yet never forthcoming, kept the excitement at fever-heat. The only new argument of these opponents was a dastardly attempt by some unknown criminal to shoot Maître Labori, the prisoner's chief Counsel, whose scathing exposure of the 1894 iniquities was damning to those responsible for them. General Mercier was as positive as ever in affirming that Dreyfus was guilty, and there is no need to doubt the sincerity of his belief. What astonishes is that he should have esteemed himself justified in bolstering up, by manœuvres at once disloyal and illegal, an opinion for which no real proofs existed. Some one, he argued, was stealing confidential papers. Dreyfus was in a position to gain possession of them; and, since this officer was always eager to learn every-

thing he could on the points in question, it must have been he who abstracted the documents. Picquart and Maître Demange tore this reasoning to pieces, the former demonstrating that the thefts went on after Dreyfus had left the War Office, the latter that Dreyfus had shown to his comrades the papers he was accused of selling to a foreign Power, a thing he would never have done, had he been meditating treason.

In fine, the entire prosecution rested upon a certain number of verbal accusations of the vaguest and most unreliable kind, which no Civil Court would have allowed to pass muster. The judges, however, by five against two, confirmed the sentence of the previous court martial, with a rider according extenuating circumstances that made the verdict more incomprehensible than its predecessor. The Cabinet, which had pledged itself to respect the verdict, whatever it might be, escaped from a very difficult situation by recommending the President of the Republic to remit the penalty; and Dreyfus, who accepted his pardon, was restored to his family before the end of September. Some of his friends—not having experienced what five years' solitary confinement means—would have had him reject the clemency. Such heroism would have been useless. He wanted his health and strength to work for the establishment of his innocence.

After this Homeric struggle, the trial of Messieurs Déroulède, Buffet, Habert, Jules Guérin and a band of Royalists, before the Haute Cour on the charge of conspiring to overthrow the Republic was something of an anticlimax. The arrests—nearly fifty—had been made in August, the Government discovering that preparations had been going on for months in prevision

of an armed rising. One of the defendants, Jules Guérin, who was at the head of the Anti-Semitic League, resisted the arrest-warrant; and turned the League's premises in the Rue Chabrol into a stronghold where, for nearly forty days, he and his friends defied the police. The siege of Fort Chabrol was the foil of the Rennes tragedy, and furnished the man in the street with abundant themes for quip and quirk. At length, the Government's threat to send a troop of soldiers and storm the Fort induced surrender, but not before Guérin's exhibition of lawlessness had been imitated by some anarchists, who engaged a pitched battle with the anti-Semites in the city, and broke into St. Joseph's Church and pillaged it. The High Court prosecution was not finished until the New Year. Most of the lesser fry got off, but Déroulède, Buffet and Lur Saluces were banished for ten years, Habert for five, while Guérin was sent to prison for ten years, his gaol being eventually exchanged for exile also.

Meanwhile, difficulties had arisen with China over the assassination of two French officers in the Bay of Kwang-chow-wau; and, in the French Sudan, Rabah, the negro king of Bornou, was harassing the missions sent to explore this latest addition to the Republic's colonies. De Behagle, falling into his hands, was put to death, and a portion of a force under Gentil was massacred. Elsewhere there was trouble of another kind. Captains Voulet and Chanoine, who were at the head of a party of pioneers marching towards Lake Tchad, had been denounced to the Home authorities as behaving cruelly to the natives; and the Government had sent Lieutenant-Colonel Klobb with a small body of troops to take over the command of



EXHIBITION OF 1900 IN THE CHAMP DE MARS

From a Photograph by EDOUARD HAUTECEUR

the expedition and report on the subject. Enraged at being thus superseded, Voulet, who would seem to have been completely unbalanced by his contact with uncivilized life, ordered his men to fire on the Colonel, killing him outright, and grievously wounding his second, Lieutenant Magnier. This painful news had scarcely reached France when the announcement came that Voulet and Chanoine had in turn been shot by their own troops, whom they had sought to lead away on the mad enterprise of founding a kingdom of their own in the heart of Africa.

To domestic affairs the autumn brought a period of relative tranquillity; and the Prime Minister had the satisfaction of successfully arbitrating at Creusot, an important metallurgic works occupying some twenty-five thousand people, with a vast output of coal and iron running into hundreds of thousands of tons, where a long strife had been waged between employers and employees over the recognition of the Labour Syndicate.

The quieter trend persisted throughout most of the year 1900, the salient feature of which was the centenary *Exposition*. With perfect correctness, Monsieur Delcassé refused to listen to the solicitations of certain deputies and a considerable section of the Press, who, mainly from animosity to England, were encouraging the Boer Republics in the war they had declared against Great Britain. Indeed, it would have been preposterous for a Government which had invaded and annexed Madagascar, and dethroned its monarch for a cause concerning only a small number of Frenchmen, to dictate to a sister nation whose subjects in South Africa were many thousands, and whose contiguous

territories there were immense. With more *raison d'être*, these same deputies devoted their attention to increasing the fleet for the protection of the country's coast-line, and to creating an all-French network of submarine cables instead of depending on British ones.

The Exhibition, which opened its doors in the middle of April, was the most colossal World's Fair that Paris had yet seen. Covering the old sites of the Champ de Mars and the Trocadéro, it took in both banks of the Seine between the Pont d'Iéna and the Pont de la Concorde; and had its two palaces on the borders of the Champs Elysées, its metropolitan underground and another new railway from Saint-Lazare to the Champ de Mars and the Invalides, as permanent gains to the attractions of the capital. In its exterior aspect, there was too much white, exception made for the Rue des Nations, and for the Vieux Paris, whose variety of architecture and colouring were a delightful feast for the eyes. A fair proportion of *actualités* figured among the side-shows—a Swiss village near the Champ de Mars; a Madagascar pavilion on the Place du Trocadéro; close by it, one detailing Marchand's expedition; and, in the Trocadéro gardens, a Boer farm-house and the Transvaal pavilion, where English visitors were able to see their nation caricatured and reviled and Oom Paul extolled to the skies. The centenary art collection was a most valuable contribution to the more serious things; and the topsy-turvy house a curiosity that competed with the big telescope and the travelling platform. As usual, on such occasions, popular personages were on view; twenty-odd thousand mayors gathered in a banquet; Boer warriors more or less authentic displayed their prowess in shooting at Tommy Atkins;

the Shah paid his visit and narrowly escaped assassination by an anarchist named Salson; and the Parisians would have liked to give Marchand another triumph; but the Government, remembering Boulanger and fearing the capital's weakness for hero-worship, vetoed the Town Council's invitation of the Colonel to a solemn reception at the Hôtel de Ville.

The arrival of the late President of the Transvaal, towards the end of November, his welcome by the Town Council, and the honours paid him by the President of the Republic and the Foreign Office raised once more the hopes of those who were aiding the Boers with money and men. Among the general public, however, there was less effervescence than in the earlier months of the war, and few imagined that any good would result from the visit. In reality, the acute phase of Anglophobia was past; and, after the German Emperor's repulse of Mr. Kruger at Cologne, the movement in favour of Boer independence dwindled and languished. Moreover, in the latter half of 1900, the Boxer Rebellion in China, with its attack on the foreign embassies, threw the South African War into the background; and, perforce, united French and English in co-operation against a common danger.

In the Sudan, the Republic was still pursuing its conquests. During July, a French force had defeated and killed King Rabah at Kursuri, losing Major Lamy in the battle. The Minister for War, at present, was General André, who had replaced Gallifet in June, the old-school Marquis finding himself ill at ease in surroundings so foreign to his aristocratic tastes. General André's advent meant important changes in army organization. Hitherto the elder Generals had

enjoyed a semi-independence which practically escaped the Minister's control; and, since a strong Royalist and Imperialist leaven existed among the officers, the Republican Government had never been quite secure against a military *coup d'état*. General André now bent his efforts to the fostering of Republicanism in the commissioned as well as the non-commissioned ranks of the army; and his first reform was to insist on all promotions being properly submitted to Ministerial approval. Resignations from the Staff followed. Jamont, the Generalissimo, retired, and General Brugère received the post.

Almost the last event of the twelvemonth was the voting of an Amnesty Bill wiping out, up to date, the responsibilities real or supposed of the entire Dreyfus affair. Energetic protests were lodged by Dreyfus, Picquart and Zola against this blocking of the way, as they deemed it, to future reparation; but the Chambers, desiring to heal a breach which was better closed, neglected these petitions.

The year 1901, which further accentuated the Republic's friendlier relations with England by the sympathy shown on the occasion of Queen Victoria's death, and with Italy, whose fleet under the orders of the Duke of Genoa greeted the President while on one of his official tours, was signalized by the commencement of the definitive battle between Church and State for supremacy. And first, it was the Religious Orders that were struck at. In truth, these had been already once suppressed, in 1792, during the Great Revolution; but they had revived under cover of the Concordat, and, at present, occupied their old privileged position, freer even than the secular clergy;

and, being governed by superiors for the most part foreigners, exercised an authority in many respects clashing with that of the civil jurisdiction. They had schools more numerous than their monasteries and nunneries, and were able to influence the youth of the country at both ends of the social scale. This influence on the whole was not favourable to the Republic; so that the Government, as long as they imposed no restrictions on the Orders, had to face the possibility of the Republic's being overthrown by a religious revolution peaceful or otherwise. Induced by considerations of this nature, the Cabinet determined to oblige all Orders, within a few months' delay, to solicit the permission to teach; and their Bill besides required the statutes of each Order to be submitted for approval. By such means, it was hoped a sufficient hold would be obtained over all educational institutions carried on by monks and nuns for their anti-Republican teaching to be checked. Monsieur Ribot, no less than the Comte de Mun, strongly combated this interference with the liberty of the family to have its children educated by whomsoever it thought fit; and, even among the Lefts, some thought the Republic would not suffer by leaving the Orders alone, and competing with them through the greater attractiveness of its Lycées and other educational institutions. This theory of ideal liberty would have appealed to the majority more if the Catholic Church had not herself been always opposed to individual freedom, and were not ever using her so-called divine rights against any and every other rule than her own. Four Orders, the Jesuits, Benedictines, Carmelites and Assumptionists, failed to regularize their situation in

the limit of time assigned, and were at once pro-
scribed.

As a set-off to his repressive legislation, the Prime Minister favoured a further consideration of the Old Age Pension scheme, which was a familiar subject now in Parliamentary debates; and even the question of a minimum wage in mines was discussed without too much repugnance, though Monsieur Poincaré and the Moderates shook their heads sadly over the Prime Minister's complaisance. Bills like Monsieur Bérenger's, on the rehabilitation of bankrupts, pleased them better.

Monsieur Delcassé's journey to St. Petersburg in April had prepared a second trip of the Czar and Czarina to France in October, a pleasant week being spent at the manœuvres in the east and at the fine historic castle of Compiègne, built by Louis XV and embellished by Napoleon I. The French fleet's appearance in November at the isle of Lesbos, once dear to Sappho, was less amicable, being a hint to the Sultan, which he took, to settle a debt due to some of the Republic's subjects and to consent to the rebuilding of some French hospitable establishments in Turkey that had been destroyed.

Unfortunately, in this year, the country's financial position was far from brilliant. For the first time since 1870, the budget presented a deficit of one hundred and seventy-five million francs. And, though expenses were growing, the population's rate of increase was diminishing. A Committee was appointed for the purpose of remedying, if possible, the depopulation, which apparently was due, not only to prudential and economic causes, but to an excessive infant mortality.

If 1901 was rather a monotonous year, its successor

had variety galore. The Deputies, having to consult their constituents in the spring, were anxious to finish with a good record; and, in addition to fixing eight hours as the work-day in mines and establishing free labour offices for persons out of employment, tried to lengthen their own mandate from four to six years, but managed only to define and penalize political bribery.

An interlude before the electoral campaign was furnished by the March centenary fêtes in honour of Victor Hugo's birth, which were celebrated with an enthusiasm that was a renewed apotheosis. Stories of the great man were plentiful; yet no one seemed to remember the dialogue once exchanged between him and Leconte de Lisle, each of them sufficiently persuaded of his own worth. 'I sometimes wonder,' said Hugo, 'what I should say if, on dying, I should suddenly find myself in presence of the Deity!' 'You would say,' answered his friend, "'Good morning, my dear colleague.'"

April was a month of placards and diatribes. The *Patrie Française* rampaged and roared; the Socialists, with battalions of Blanquists, Allemanists and Liber-taries, strove to enlist the masses on their side. Much sense and nonsense was spoken, and a few wags posed as special candidates—one for the domestic servants, another for the street hawkers, while a Monsieur Hégo placed on his programme the prolongation of the Circle Railway and the suppression of—Gas. The assault delivered by the opposition was a rude one; but the block came out with some fifty votes to the good. Its majority was chiefly Radical and Socialist, yet Jaurès was badly beaten; Drumont the Nationalist, on the other hand, was ousted at Algiers; Doumer, the late

Governor-General of Indo-China, re-entered the Chamber, and Clémenceau, after nearly ten years' absence from Parliament, was fain to content himself with admission to the Senate.

The May month was yet young, and people were still tabulating the relative gains and losses, when telegrams flashed to France the terrible announcement of the volcanic eruption in the French island of Martinique, the destruction of the town of Saint Pierre and the death of more than twenty-five thousand inhabitants. It was a disaster which called forth the sympathy and help of all civilized nations. The United States, as being nearest, gave half a million dollars, and even the Sultan, to show that he bore no malice, offered his widow's mite.

The flight of the Humbert-Daurignac family, happening close on the heels of this calamity, diverted public attention from it to some extent by the extraordinary nature of the swindle that had been perpetrated and the scandal ensuing. Thérèse Humbert was the wife of Frédéric Humbert, a late Radical deputy, and daughter-in-law to Gustave Humbert, formerly a Cabinet Minister. For nearly twenty years she and her sister, Marie Daurignac, had been considered as the residuary legatees of a rich American named Crawford, who had left them a third of his vast fortune, his two nephews inheriting the remaining two-thirds on condition they paid Madame Humbert a life annuity of three hundred and sixty thousand francs. A dispute having arisen over the will in 1883, Thérèse had been appointed sequestrator of the inheritance until an arrangement should be effected, and the deeds were supposed to be locked up in a safe that was in her

possession. From that date forward litigation had gone on, Madame Humbert pleading against the nephews, who persisted in claiming the whole of the fortune. On account of the largeness of the amount involved, she found no difficulty in borrowing from bankers and other wealthy persons at an interest advantageous to the lenders. Already, in one of the hearings of the case during 1897, Waldeck Rousseau had boldly given his opinion that the whole thing was a gigantic fraud, but his voice was not listened to ; and it was not until the *Matin* newspaper began a series of articles in 1902, calling for the compulsory opening of the mysterious safe, that the existence of the Crawfords—uncle, nephews and their fortune—was discovered to be a myth, and the wonderful juggler's box empty of values and money. The arrest of the Humbert family in Spain and their trial and conviction followed in due course, and the affair supplied the Nationalist party with ample material for laying all sorts of charges at the door of the Government. In a manner Thérèse Humbert was a genius. For the entire period of this weary lawsuit she had maintained her position in the best society, nearly married her daughter to Paul Deschanel, and had had the unique honour of deceiving at least one eminent barrister and at least one Jewish banker. It would almost seem that she succeeded in deceiving herself, for, to the last, she proclaimed the truth of her story, when every one else had lost faith in it. Rothschild

This colossal hoax somewhat dwarfed the importance of Monsieur Loubet's summer excursion on the *Montcalm* as far as Russia, and his extra trip to the Court of Denmark when coming back. As a matter of fact

he was out-Felixing Félix Faure in his commerce with kings, although he had too much common sense to imitate Monsieur Faure's affectation of Royalism or Monsieur Faure's supercilious utterance of such phrases as *Ce de Galles est un charmant garçon*.

Business awaited him on his return to Paris, for the Cabinet had voluntarily surrendered office. The resignation was hardly understood at the time, since the Governmental strength was intact. Only a few intimate friends suspected that Waldeck Rousseau was suffering from an internal malady which must soon prove fatal. Monsieur Combes, a comparatively unknown statesman, took over the assets and liabilities, with Rouvier at the Exchequer and André at the War Office, whilst Camille Pelletan, the staunch Radical-Socialist and vivacious journalist, described by a humorous *confrère* as *un grand diable mal peigné*, went to the Navy Department.

It was soon seen that the Church and State duel was to be pursued without mercy, and that Monsieur Combes' little finger would be thicker than Waldeck Rousseau's loins. Since the promulgation of the Religious Orders Act, or rather the Act in which they were included, a large number of educational institutions had been surreptitiously opened by associations of monks and nuns in the hope of obtaining authorization. These were every one shut up and closed by the authorities. There were street manifestations, in which the Comtesse de Mun and other aristocratic ladies figured; Jules Lemaître harangued audiences at the Arc de Triomphe, but to no purpose. The Prime Minister was inexorable. In some districts military force had to be

employed in emptying the conventual premises, the population taking up arms. At Ploudaniel fully five hundred peasants showed fight, and the task was in one or two instances rendered more difficult by a captain or a lieutenant's refusing to carry out his instructions.

The question of army reform was in this year a preoccupation with the Minister for War and his colleagues. An important modification in the conditions of service did away with the concession by which young men provided with a University diploma had only to give one year, and fixed on a two years' period of service for all. No exceptions henceforth were to be made, save in the case of physical unfitness. Even the son of the widow or the only child of an indigent parent depending upon him must offer the two years' tale, a small monetary compensation being paid while he was in the ranks. The time reduction was strongly condemned by certain experts, including Generals Billot, Mercier and de Gallifet, and as strongly defended by others, with General André and Monsieur de Freycinet. At the basis of the Bill was the principle of an equal treatment for all and no privilege; but theoretic equality is often a chimera; and, in reality, the poorer middle class, which in the past had yielded such a contingent of able citizens to the Republic, was heavily handicapped by the new regulations. Compelled to study four, five and six years without earning anything, in order to enter one of the learned professions, the poor youth saw his unremunerative probation time disproportionately lengthened, his chance of rising enormously diminished, and his parents—too proud to ask for charity—unduly burdened.

To the Government's foreign relations, 1902 brought but little change. A rectification of the Siamese frontier in return for evacuating Chantaboum, the accession of another Bey in Tunis, a petty revolt in the French Congo in the Lower and Upper Sanga, a welcome given to the Canadian Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as also to the Boer Generals, Botha, De Wet and Delarey, who were on a European tour, seeking money and finding cash scarcer than sympathy—these were the chief items of the year. In finance the returns were as disappointing as during 1901. A deficit of 221 millions faced Monsieur Rouvier at the end of December, in spite of his conversion of the three and a half per cent Rentes into three per cents; and the Income-Tax project, which he longingly regarded as a *Deus ex machinâ* to replenish the Treasury, was a bait that the Chambers continued to reject.

Strengthened by the senatorial elections in January, Monsieur Combes kept up his anti-clerical policy with vigour throughout 1903. Availing himself of the discovery of some hostile brochures issued by the Carthusians, he induced Parliament to turn down their application to stay in their monasteries, so that they were compelled to transport the manufacturing of their famous liqueur beyond the French frontier. Revenging himself for this blow, the Carthusian Superior launched into circulation a report greedily propagated by the Nationalists to the effect that Monsieur Combes and Monsieur Pelletan had sought to compound with the Order on condition of a million francs being paid into their pockets. It was an absurd accusation, and the reverend father, when challenged to produce his intermediary, could only say that some individual had



Photograph: Rutlos

LE MOULIN DE LA GALETTE, MONTMARTRE

From the Picture by RENOIR

come to him as if from the Premier. Who this person was he declined to mention. Probably it was a vulgar swindler put in appetite by Madame Humbert's example and Nationalist gullibility.

Such methods of defence were scarcely calculated to soften the Cabinet, who soon proceeded to deprive all Religious Orders of the right to teach or preach, and required any ecclesiastic engaged in tuition to satisfy the authorities that he was a secular, not a regular one. At the same time, in order that conventual influence might be rooted out from wherever it lurked, lay nurses were substituted for nuns in the public hospitals. Perhaps the aged Leo XIII, if he had lived longer, would have tried, after this warning, to make terms with the Republic and to save what was left of the Concordat. His death in July was inopportune. It placed at the Vatican a man of hide-bound intelligence, whose dictatorial manner and unwise interference provoked the Government to snap the last slender ties that bound France to the Papacy.

Compared with Monsieur Combes, on whose devoted person all the phials of Nationalist and clerical wrath were being poured out, Monsieur Loubet was to be envied. His genial simplicity had conquered all parties, and his success at the Elysée was indisputable. In April, he made a triumphal progress to Algiers, where he was saluted by the united fleets of Italy, Spain, Russia and Great Britain. In May, he entertained King Edward VII in Paris, the inhabitants forgetting ancient prejudices against England and according the British monarch a downright cordial reception. In July, he was the King's guest in London, and got a welcome there equal to that of any sovereign who had

visited British soil. And, a few months later, it was the King of Italy to whom he played host amidst general rejoicings in the capital. Even Monsieur Déroulède from his exile looked upon the blossoming *entente cordiale* with an approving eye, and wrote a letter to the *Patrie*, whose head-lines were nearly always some insult to England, and roundly blamed that newspaper's advice to its readers to hiss King Edward in the streets. Arbitration was in the air. A treaty was signed in October between England and France binding them for five years to submit differences that did not touch any gravely vital interest to the Tribunal at the Hague. These exchanges of courtesy and good feeling among the heads of States suggested their extension to other public representatives. In the autumn, the London Chamber of Commerce was officially invited to Paris, and Lord Brassey, accompanied by a group of British members of Parliament, came over to rub elbows with his *confrères* of the Palais Bourbon and to lunch at the Elysée.

The heroic note of the year was Doctor Jean Charcot's departure on a voyage of exploration to the South Pole; the comic note was the millionaire Jacques Lebaudy's freak in chartering the *Frasquita* and sailing for North-West Africa, where he was intending to found an empire on the borders of Morocco with himself as its ruler. Everything was prepared—on paper; his title of Jacques I, Emperor of the Sahara, was chosen, and his capital, Troja, was fixed—in the desert, when the enterprise was cut short by the untimely revolt of his first subjects, the crew of the *Frasquita*, who abandoned their prospective advantages as great lords of the Sahara, preferring their

humbler rôle of French citizens. The subsequent adventures of Jacques I, at home and abroad, need not be told here. Are they not written in the book of the chronicles of society gossip? Over against this farce was the initial tragedy of the Metropolitan Railway. In a tunnel of the exterior boulevards an explosion occurred, and in the mad rush of the passengers nearly a hundred perished.

Monsieur Combes' last twelvemonth of power, which coincided with the main phases and surprises of the Russo-Japanese War, was largely taken up with things ecclesiastical. Though disestablishment was now regarded as inevitable by all parties, few thought it would come so quickly. Seeming accident precipitated the event. Monsieur Loubet, having gone in April, 1904, to pay his compliments at the Quirinal, Pius X made a strong protest against what he considered as an infringement of his own royal prerogative, and the protest was conceived in such language that the Government withdrew their ambassador from the Vatican. Shortly afterwards, the Pope, disregarding the obligations of the Concordat, summoned two bishops that had difficulties in their dioceses to come to Rome, the command being addressed to them direct and without the civil authority's consent being obtained. This the Government interpreted as being the illegal publication of a bull in France; and, when one of the bishops, in spite of their counter-order, obeyed the Pope's injunction, they dismissed the Papal Nuncio from Paris.—The die was cast; separation was decided on. Another Prime Minister was in office before the Bill was actually shaped into a law, but its framing belonged to this year.

The final reopening of the Dreyfus case, in March, by the Court of Appeal, which found there were valid reasons for revising the Rennes trial, had been foreshadowed by a ministerial declaration in the previous December. In the lustrum that had elapsed since 1899, people had grown sceptical of any further elucidation of the Affair, and even, to some extent, weary of the controversy. Zola was dead, some other chief actors in the drama also. Moreover, the Court, probably with intention, carried on its investigations intermittently, so that the innocence of Dreyfus was not proclaimed until two summers later.

In April, the Republic made an agreement with Great Britain, settling the long-pending disputes over Newfoundland and Egypt. The French shore-rights were given up in Newfoundland, and, in compensation, France received a band of territory in the Tchad region of Africa, together with the isles of Laos on the coast, a balance being struck by the rectification of the Gambian frontier in favour of Great Britain. As regarded Egypt, the Republic abandoned its opposition to British action there, while a free hand was allowed to France in Morocco, provided treaty rights were respected and no fortresses were erected on the coast. The French Press in general held the arrangement to be advantageous to their own country. In Parliament, however, a small minority, with Monsieur Deschanel as chief spokesman, voiced the opinion that England was getting the bigger share of the cake. Curiously enough, a minority in England said the same thing about France.

Proof against Opposition assaults on its Church and education policy, which to the Rights and Right

Centres was the fount of its offending, the Cabinet, to the great joy of the Nationalists, was found at length to have a vulnerable member in General André, who, in his anxiety to republicanize the Army, had been led to wink at, if not to abet, the collecting of secret reports about every officer in the service, with special reference to political and religious bias, such information being obtained mostly through indirect sources, one of which was the Freemasons' Society, better known as the *Grand Orient*. In truth, the docketing of officers was not invented under General André's administration. It had been practised, in one form or another, during various anterior *régimes*. What was new, perhaps, was the more perfect systematizing of the reports and—their publication. The publication was a paid job. A Nationalist, Monsieur Guyot de Villeneuve by name, bribed an underling of the *Grand Orient* and gained possession of a whole mass of these *fiches*, as they were called, which he began printing in driblets in the *Figaro*. The sensation was enormous. A concerted attack was forthwith made on the Minister for War, who, though hitting back valiantly, came off second best in the encounter. In vain he disculpated himself from the charge of personally encouraging denunciation, in vain were one or two of his subordinates sacrificed, while the Prime Minister promised that, in future, no reports concerning officers should be accepted save through hierarchic channels. The Opposition, having contrived to settle on the Government the odium of this reprehensible practice, exploited it to the full. One of their number, the deputy Syveton, once a Professor and now Organizing Secretary of the Patrie

Française, rose in the ardour of his virtuous indignation and struck the Minister for War in the face during a Parliamentary sitting. The gesture savoured rather of cowardice than courage, since General André was a man old enough to be his father; it was dictated by vaulting ambition that sought a cheap renown; and, for a brief spell, in his exclusion from the Chamber, his duel with Captain de Gail, his indictment before a Criminal Court, Monsieur Syveton had all the notoriety he had bargained for. He obtained even more; for suddenly the storm of a family drama burst over his head, the Nemesis of a past career of vicious licentiousness smote him, and, to avoid the disgrace of exposure, he committed suicide on the eve of his trial.

Seeing that his unpopularity was a weakness to the Ministry, General André gave up his portfolio to the Socialist stockbroker, Monsieur Berteaux, leaving behind him at least one benefit due to his administration—the opportunity afforded to warrant officers of obtaining their commission without going through the schools. This departure notwithstanding, Monsieur Combes failed to regain his prestige; and, after the election of Doumer, at present a Radical trimmer, to the chairmanship of the Chamber, he imitated the General's example and passed his hand to Monsieur Rouvier, just at the moment when the Court instituted to inquire into the Anglo-Russian Doggerbank incident was about to meet in Paris.

It was a change in the name of the firm only, not in the nature of its business. The impetus acquired by the disestablishment movement was too great to be arrested, even if Monsieur Rouvier had desired; and

the Foreign Office, where no alteration had been made, pursued its plan of strengthening the Dual Alliance by subsidiary understandings with the Republic's near neighbours. From these *ententes cordiales*, the conqueror of 1870 was excluded, the question of Alsace-Lorraine still forming a barrier to any real *rapprochement* among the majority of the French nation; and to the Kaiser Wilhelm it seemed that Monsieur Delcassé was aiming at Germany's isolation. This opinion he expressed in his peculiar diplomatic way by all at once putting his foot down in Morocco, where at present a disturbed state of things prevailed and where France was preparing to intervene more actively. According to Monsieur Delcassé, the intervention was to be one of peaceful penetration, by which he probably meant the ultimate imposing of a protectorate similar to that which had yielded such good results in Tunis. The Emperor's voyage to Tangier and his dramatic proclamation of Moroccan independence were embarrassing to the Cabinet, and the more annoying to the Foreign Minister as they appeared to justify those who, with Jaurès, had denounced the imprudence of a military interference with Morocco beyond the Algerian frontier.

Compelled now either to deny or to admit Germany's claim to be heard, the Government chose the latter alternative; and negotiations were begun. Irremediably shaken in his authority, Monsieur Delcassé remained at the Quai d'Orsay long enough only for it not to look as though he were resigning in obedience to foreign dictation. For the rest of the year, the Premier carried on conversation with the Imperial Chancellor, and, in accepting the projected conference at Algeciras, man-

aged to secure conditions that recognized France's predominant frontier interests.

In the acute stages of the crisis, while people were uncertain whether war would not break out, the Republic had no reason to complain of the attitude of the two Mediterranean Powers with whom she had previously made treaties concerning Morocco. The visit of the British King and Queen to Algiers in April, and those of King Edward and King Alfonso to Paris in May and June, were rightly interpreted to mean that Great Britain and Spain held to their pledges. The Spanish Sovereign, during his stay, had a disagreeable reminder of the risks of a monarch's profession. A bomb was thrown at his carriage as he was returning from a gala performance at the Opera along the Rue de Rivoli, with happily no worse effects than killing a horse and slightly injuring three soldiers of the guard, and two or three pedestrians. Some arrests of anarchist suspects were made; but the real criminal, a Barcelona Spaniard named Nona, escaped. Alfonso's coolness on the occasion increased his popularity with the Parisians, who had already been drawn to him by his unfeigned geniality and his enthusiasm over what he saw. It was no mere compliment Monsieur Loubet paid him when he said in his toast at the Elysée: 'You have twice conquered France, first by your charm, and next by your courage.'

After the Franco-German compromise, the tension caused by the Moroccan incident lessened; and the latter half of the year exhibited a brighter outlook. Japan and Russia had, at last, signed peace, so that relief was afforded to the numerous French bondholders whose money was invested in Russian stock.

Moreover, public confidence was greatly restored by the fraternizing of British and French fleets at Brest and at Cowes, while their officers obtained a pleasant variation of their life on board in fêtes at head-quarters on either side the Channel. Truth to tell, during the preceding decade, the French Navy had come to cut a very respectable figure even beside that of the puissant ruler of the seas. In submarines, especially, progress had been rapid, though the disaster of the *Farfadet*, which, in July, sank off Bizerta with all its crew, proved that, for the latest naval invention to become a reliable instrument of war, there was yet much to be learnt.

In home politics, throughout the year, the coalition of the Lefts, constituting the block, still triumphed; and put on the Statute Book, together with the Dis-establishment Act, and the two years' military service, a law assuring Sunday rest to the vast body of toilers, who hitherto had been accustomed to labour seven days in each week. The generalizing of Old Age pensions, which was also carried through Parliament, was somewhat of a leap in the dark. In addition to its threatening the Mutual Help organizations, which, during the period of the Republic, had done such splendid work, it laid a burden upon the country's resources that not a few economists judged insupportable. On like grounds, the Inland Penny Postage Bill met with vigorous opposition, which, however, failed; and France put herself once more into line with other countries by coming back to the system that prevailed before the war.

In spite of sporadic resistance to the placing of the Church fabrics in the possession of the State, and to

the consequent inventorying of their belongings, Monsieur Loubet's *Septennat* closed under circumstances that contrasted happily with its outset. In October, he undertook a final Presidential trip to Spain and Portugal. Among the chiefs of the Republic, he headed the list both for the number of his journeys abroad and their extent, travelling more than fifteen thousand kilometres, almost as many as King Edward in the same space of time, yet far outdistanced by the ubiquitous Kaiser with his forty-two thousand. Co-operating thus, unostentatiously but intelligently, in the new diplomacy of international accord, he had also contributed very materially to the healing of the nation's divisions and quarrels over the Dreyfus affair; and, by showing himself generous to men whose attacks on himself were a supreme convulsive revolt against the Republic, he disarmed them and rendered them inoffensive. When, in November, Déroulède returned from banishment, this once roaring lion was as mild as a lamb. During the plebiscitary apostle's absence, the march of events had carried the country far beyond the issues that used to excite the Patriots' League and the Nationalists of the *Patrie Française*. Audiffret-Pasquier, the last of the three Dukes who were thorns in Thiers' side, was dead; in the up-to-date political arena, Socialism was the great invading fact, and to set the people against it required argument, not riot.

Monsieur Loubet was wise in contenting himself with his rounded achievement and in standing aside at the Congress which assembled in January 1906. This date opens a new epoch in the history of France, an epoch wherein the question of the State versus the

Individual is to be fought out at close quarters, and old parties must be regrouped with sole reference to these two contrary conceptions of society.

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Emile Loubet's successor at the Elysée was Clément-Armand Fallières, who, since 1899, had been Chairman of the Senate, succeeding Monsieur Loubet also in that post. In the two men's origins and lives there were other analogies. The new President, like the old, was the son of a well-to-do agriculturist. Born at Mézin, in the Lot-et-Garonne Department, in the year 1841, he too had studied law, and practised as a barrister at Nérac, where he acted as Mayor until Thiers' fall, and was subsequently elected for the Nérac arrondissement in 1876, sitting in the Chamber with the Republican Lefts. An excellent speaker and a talented juriconsult, he was soon given a portfolio; and, between 1882 and 1899, was seven times in the Cabinet, once as Premier. His 1887 ministry brought him into conflict with the Paris Municipal Council, whose project of uniting all the communes in France into a federation, on the occasion of the centenary of 1789, he opposed and thwarted. His action in the Gouthe-Soulard incident of 1890 has been spoken of in a preceding chapter. Later, in his capacity as Chairman of the Senate, he had to preside over the High Court of justice which judged the Nationalists, Royalists and Anti-Semites accused of plotting against the State. During all his Parliamentary career, Monsieur Fallières showed himself a good all-round man; like Monsieur Loubet, shrewd and practical, rather than brilliant; on the other hand, a trifle less genial perhaps, but somewhat

more forceful. His competitor in the Presidential Election was Monsieur Paul Doumer, the Chairman of the Lower Chamber, a younger man, of great ambition but much less worth, who for some time had been endeavouring to conciliate every possible vote, luckily without obtaining his wish.

The Rouvier Ministry resigned a month after the change of Presidents, and a Cabinet formed by Monsieur Sarrien, with Clémenceau at the Interior, as its leading spirit, took its place. The General Elections in May gave a substantial majority to the Government, three hundred and eighty-four Republicans being returned against one hundred and ninety-seven of the Opposition, all told. This result meant a home policy directed in accordance with Radical-Socialist aims. At the first, Monsieur Clémenceau had his hands full, owing to serious rioting in the Lens coal district, where the miners were on strike; an equally grave condition of things prevailed in Paris and its suburbs, where a strike in the building trade, accompanied with attempts at wrecking property, caused the capital for some weeks to look as if it were under martial law, military patrols being stationed in every quarter. Energetic measures gradually removed these troubles; and a little wise delay and ruse in the matter of the ecclesiastic inventories overcame the resistance of the more bellicose curés and their nondescript defenders. The long-awaited pronouncement of the Court of Cassation in the Dreyfus case was made in the early summer; and its immediate effect was to reinstate the acquitted officer in the army, with a promotion to Major's rank. On Colonel Picquart, who for seven years had occupied his enforced leisure in studying strategy and

foreign languages, the well-deserved grade of Brigadier-General was bestowed. Three months later, when Clémenceau became Prime Minister, after Monsieur Sarrien's retirement through ill-health, he accepted a seat in the Cabinet as Minister for War, and was raised to the rank of General of Division. Not often does the Nemesis of Justice manifest itself in so striking a manner.

It was a daring step for Clémenceau to take, yet characteristic of the man, who combines great independence of thought and keen judgment with bold and rapid execution. And these qualities, which made him so redoubtable in opposition, have given him a large share of success in office, where he still maintains himself after two years spent chiefly in liquidating affairs left unsettled by previous Cabinets. One was the question of the Church fabrics, which, through the Pope's refusal to sanction the forming of Cultural Associations, risked being turned to secular uses. A compromise was effected after a good deal of skirmishing, and the curés were allowed to remain in tenant possession of their churches, with pensions for all whose ordination was not subsequent to the Disestablishment. The Moroccan question was even a more delicate one than the foregoing; the continuance of civil war in the Moorish Empire, the necessity of military operations against tribes pillaging on the Algerian frontier, the nervousness and distrust of the German Press—these things rendered it difficult to steer a clear course. Both Prime Minister and Foreign Minister—the latter being Monsieur Pichon—have so far managed, while keeping within the limits prescribed by the Conference of Algeciras, to be consistent in

their conduct, yielding neither to the eager impatience of certain newspapers on this side of the frontier, nor to the irritation of certain others across it. The result has been a compromise also, by which at least French dignity has been preserved.

The third question pending was and is the Income Tax Bill, the principle of which was voted by the Lower Chamber before the close of the 1908 summer session, albeit without enthusiasm. Nominally intended as a reform of the present system of direct taxation—which bears lightly on the *petite bourgeoisie*—it is really an additional burden laid on the country, and is feared both for that reason and on account of the inevitable annoyances and practical injustices it will entail. But the Government wants money; the old ‘contributions’ have yielded all they can. Like the rest of Europe, France is suffering from her enormous war expenditure, which, as well as the Socialist programme, casts a shadow over the morrow.

IX

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN THE SEVENTIES

SOME few of the men of letters who had given lustre to the Empire passed away with it. Victor Cousin, the philosopher and orator, and Baudelaire, the poet, died in 1867; Lamartine and Sainte-Beuve in 1869; Prévost-Paradol, a brilliant journalist, the elder Dumas, and Prosper Mérimée in 1870. To the elders that survived, the war was an earthquake that shook their most cherished convictions and for a while paralysed their action. Victor Hugo was perhaps the only one among them to whom the catastrophe was not a surprise. On his lonely Jersey rock or in Brussels he had waited nearly twenty years for his enemy to fall, and, though not desiring, had foreseen the nation's humiliation. His work as creator of the Romantic School with its lyricism was terminated long since; when he returned from exile, it was to receive in the twilight of his life the pious veneration due to his remarkable talent and vast production, and to publish, together with his continuation of the *Légende des Siècles* and his *Art d'être grandpère*, some retrospective glances at the '93 Revolution, his *Année terrible*, and his *Histoire d'un Crime*.

Men like Flaubert, who had disinterested themselves from their generation and made art for art's sake their

sole doctrine, were so rudely awakened from their dream that the reality warped their reason. The democracy to which the Third Republic had given its *coudées franches* seemed to them the worst enemy of all. 'The first remedy would be to finish with universal suffrage,' cries the author of *Madame Bovary*; 'it shames the human mind.' In his *Temptation of Saint Antony*, which came out in 1874, he still strives to get back into his ivory tower of indifference, but it was impossible. His later *Tales*, tender and sober, show an equal endeavour to adapt himself to new conditions, but this essay too was fugitive. The unfinished *Bouvard and Pécuchet*, published after his death, which occurred in 1880, proved by its devious incoherence that he had irretrievably lost his bearings.

On those writers who had not gone so far past their maturity, the events of the war had effects that varied with their temperament. All, however, set themselves perforce to reshape their ideas. At first Renan imagined that France had been conquered by Germany's feudalism; and, in his *Réforme intellectuelle et morale*, which appeared in the early seventies, he advocated the remoulding of his own country according to the same type. He was willing to abandon the people to the teaching of the Catholic Church if only an *élite* might be free in the University to teach reason and duty. Ultimately a fresh absorption in his historian's rôle, which enabled him in the same decade to add three volumes on the *Antichrist*, the *Gospels* and the *Christian Church* to his already written *Life of Jesus* and *Lives of the Apostles*, brought him back his serenity and the possibility of still believing in the self-sufficiency of truth and morality.

In Taine the original tendency to pessimism was aggravated by France's misfortunes. This critic and historian was Renan's antithesis, precise, systematic, with theories about facts that were the purest dogmatism. Curiously enough, he had been associated with Renan during the January of 1870 in starting a French subscription towards raising a statue in Berlin to Hegel, proclaiming him to be the most profound of German thinkers. Professor at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, he continued, throughout the Commune, to come to Paris in order to give his lectures. The Communist Government provoked his unqualified anathema, their Socialism offending him even more than their crime of *lèse-patrie*. His subsequent stay in England influenced him to the extent of rendering his studies more practical. In 1871 he wrote: "A Frenchman will always bring back from England this profitable persuasion that politics are not a pocket-theory altogether and completely applicable at the moment, but an affair of tact in which one should proceed only by delays, arrangements and compromises." Yet, neither in his *Notes on England*, which he gave to the world in 1872, nor in his *Origines de la France contemporaine*, at which he worked for some years after, was he able to escape from the explanation of men and things by causes reducing both to mere mechanism. Not even the nervousness and colouring of his style compensate for the monotony this treatment induces, with its foregone conclusions and narrowness of outlook.

With Taine and Renan ranks Fustel de Coulanges, whose first volume on the political institutions of ancient France appeared in 1874. Unlike Taine, however, whose history is overloaded with psychology and

sociology, or Renan, who puts into his the whole of his philosophy, this historical writer seeks only to set forth and explain the past. But the explanation is clear, animated and sufficient.

Frequent sidelights are thrown on the post-war state of mind by passages from the de Goncourt Diary. Full of topical information which is not always accurate, these are reminiscences of a *littérateur* who was intimate with all the celebrities of his own day and jotted down much of what he heard and saw. In one place, referring to the course of events in 1870, he says: "Berthelot continued his heart-breaking revelations, at the end of which I cried: 'Then it is all finished; and there is nothing left for us but to rear a generation for vengeance.' 'No, no,' exclaimed Renan, who had risen with flushed face, 'no, not vengeance. Perish France, perish the fatherland; above them, there is the kingdom of duty and right.'" Renan admitted the scene, but contested its details.

In most of the poets, just after the great disaster, a quickened but at the same time a more exclusive patriotism is manifested. Sully Prudhomme's metaphysical and meditative muse was no exception. A short poem of his, *Repentir*, which figures in the October *Revue des Deux Mondes*, says:—

Je m'écriais avec Schiller :
 ' Je suis un citoyen du monde,'
 ' En tous lieux où la vie abonde'
 ' Le sol m'est doux et l'homme cher.'

Mon compatriote, c'est l'homme
 Naguère ainsi je dispersais
 Sur l'univers ce cœur français,
 J'en suis maintenant économe,

Ces tendresses, je les ramène
 Etroitement sur mon pays,
 Sur les hommes que j'ai trahis,
 En amour de l'espèce humaine.

The same emphasis is found in Théodore de Banville's *Idylles Prussiennes* and Eugène Manuel's *Pendant la guerre*, which belong to the first half of the '70 decade. The former writer was one of the vanishing Romanticists, from whom the fire of the Romantic movement had departed, but who had still a semblance of it in his jingling rhyme and sparkle of expression; the latter was a predecessor in those familiar, homely subjects, a trifle idealized, which François Coppée made so peculiarly his own, doing in verse what George Sand, now near her death, had done with greater art in her *Mare au Diable* and *Petite Fadette*. Coppée, whose *Passant* in 1869 had given Sarah Bernhardt an opportunity of scoring her first success as an actress, reached high-water mark in his *Humbles*, published in 1872. He was never a great poet, his verse having but little music and differing hardly from prose in the mass. Here and there, however, he managed by dint of pathos to lend a certain charm and beauty to his lines. Some other poems of his, written in the seventies, are the *Cahier Rouge* and his *Naufragé*.

Historians by profession had yet had no leisure to deal critically with recent events; but there were several who had been actively mixed up in them; and they hastened to set down their experiences. Thus, Jules Favre brought out his *Histoire du Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale*, Halévy his *Invasion*, and Francisque Sarcey his *Siège de Paris*. The rôle of the first in the war has already been spoken of. He was

an orator rather than a writer, who had obtained his greatest renown in fulminating against the Mexican expedition. Under the Republic, he played a secondary part; and, except for one or two Parliamentary speeches, remained in the shade until his death in 1880. Sarcey's best work was as a dramatic critic and lecturer. His articles in the *Temps*, both original and witty, were, through many years, a dainty morsel for his readers. But he was a journalist to begin with; and this story of the siege written with photographic accuracy and enhanced by many a dramatic dialogue is well worth reading. The *Invasion* of Ludovic Halévy was the *hors d'œuvre* of a *littérateur* who essayed many kinds of composition and excelled in comedy writing and operatic librettos. It may also be considered as a continuation of his famous *Souvenirs of the Empire*. Among the younger men of letters, one of the most prolific historians of the war and its sequel was Jules Claretie. He acted as a special correspondent, and saw things near to. His *France envahie*, *Paris assiégé*, *La guerre nationale*, *L'histoire de la Révolution de 1870-1*, are an important share, but only a share, in what he produced within a couple of years after the occurrences he describes. Claretie, in addition to administering the Comédie Française for the last quarter of a century, has distinguished himself as an agreeable novelist and dramatist, and especially as a chatty chronicler in the *Temps* during the same period. His journalistic articles alone constitute one of the most valuable documents that exist for the literary and artistic history of the Third Republic. More biased than the foregoing narrations, but equally interesting, is Maxime du Camp's *Convulsions*, a graphic account

of the Commune by an eye-witness, who is suspected of having acted a double rôle in this internecine struggle. Henri Martin and Victor Duruy were older historians, who in this decade concluded, the one his *History of France* and the other his *History of the Romans*.

The novel took up the war as a theme only at a later date. The first to set the example was Emile Zola, who did not publish his *Débâcle* till 1892. Meanwhile, he was engaged on his Rougon-Macquart series, an experiment similar to that made by Balzac in his *Comédie humaine*. Those completed in the seventies were *La Curée*, *La Conquête de Plassan*, *le Ventre de Paris*, *L'Assommoir* and *Page d'Amour*. It is society under the Empire that is represented, with the employment of a method called by its exponents *naturalism*. Zola, the chief of the naturalists, wished to make the novel a scientific epitome of life, objective in its observation of phenomena, and subjective too, inasmuch as, according to his definition, it was *a slice of life seen through a temperament*. His error was in fancying that art is compelled to represent everything that exists under the same relief and magnified to the same size. He confused its function and mission with those of the experimental physicist in his laboratory. Thence his grossness, his harsh daguerreotype outlines filled with black shadows, and his immense heap of detail lacking perspective. Only a few of his numerous creations have any intrinsic value of construction, plot and passion. *L'Assommoir* is one of them. It is a tragedy large in power and feeling and humanity. The mountainous importance assigned by the author to his self-imposed labour seems to have clouded his horizon from

the commencement. De Goncourt notices this in his diary. "Here was Zola," he says, "with face all gloomy, broaching the chapter of his miseries. It is curious how the confidences of the young novelist at once fell into melancholy language. He commenced a black recital of his youth, of the bitterness of his everyday life, of the abuse he received, the suspicion he was held in, the sort of quarantine that his books were relegated to. When we told him he ought not to complain, that he had made good progress for a man not yet thirty-five, he said: 'Shall I tell you from the bottom of my heart what I feel? You will look on me as a child. So much the worse. I shall never be decorated; I shall never belong to the Academy; I shall never have one of those distinctions that would prove my talent. With the public I shall always be a pariah.' Four or five times he repeated: 'a pariah.'" In the main Zola was right in his anticipations. His perpetual candidature to the Academy became even a joke in later years.

Alphonse Daudet had already before the war made a name for himself in his simple novel, *Le petit chose*, which was partly biographical, and his *Lettres de mon moulin*, whose alternate humour and pathos are in his best style. The *Contes du Lundi*, published in 1873, was a sequel to the *Letters*; and *Tartarin de Tarascon*, which appeared in 1872, was a comic caricature of a southern type of Frenchman, containing some essential traits of character amidst its mirthful exaggerations. Some of his best fiction was written in the same decade, *Froment jeune et Risler aîné* in 1874, *Jack* in 1876, the *Nabab* in 1877, and the *Rois en exil* in 1879. Daudet, like Zola, utilized in his fiction the construction



Photograph: Bullos

ALPHONSE DAUDET AND HIS DAUGHTER

From the Picture by EUGÈNE CARRIÈRE

from *notes*, which de Goncourt popularized, but his material is much better transformed in the crucible of his imagination. He is a naturalist, yet has a finer artistic sensibility than the author of the *Rougon-Macquart*; and, having once chosen his subject from some fact in real life, allows no other preoccupation than his taste and judgment to interfere with his treatment of it. Of the novels above mentioned, the first three, at least, may claim to be masterpieces. In all four there is perhaps too deep a rock-bed of sadness; but, as Daudet remarked, his presentment of things was as he found them, and agreed with reality.

A novelist contemporary with the two preceding, but less read than they, though of rare merit, was Ferdinand Fabre, whose *Abbé Tigrane* and *Barnabé* came out in 1873 and 1875. His delineation of ecclesiastics and their surroundings is done with insight and delicacy; and the sentiment of nature that always lies in the background is expressed with great suggestiveness. Barbey d'Aurevilly, whose *Diaboliques*, in 1874, was a last work, belonged to the earlier Romantic school. This and his *Prêtre marié*, his *Histoire sans nom*, and the *Ensorcelée* deal all with morbid subjects strongly drawn, but in which there is too much of the disagreeably weird.

The chief dramatic authors whose pieces held the stage during the Presidencies of Thiers and MacMahon were Dumas, Augier, Sardou, Meilhac and Halévy, Pailleron, Gouinet and Labiche.

All had earned their laurels under the Imperial régime, and one, Eugène Labiche, was getting old. His laughter-moving comedies have since grown old too; but his good-humoured satire and touches of

human nature still please, and a lesson is generally to be extracted from the buffoonery. His most popular plays, such as *La Cagnotte* and *Le Voyage de Monsieur Perrichon*, were composed in the time of the Empire. In 1872 was staged *Doit-on le dire*, and, in 1876, the *Prix Martin*, written in conjunction with Augier.

Emile Augier's best-known comedy, *Le Gendre de Monsieur Poirier*, dates back also to Napoleon III. In the seventies, he produced *Jean de Thommeray* and *Fourchambault*. His drama of the serious kind and directed against shams and vices, whether of high or low, is wrought out with true art, and, except in his poetic pieces, with a style at once clear and elegant. His characters are, as a rule, free from caricature and stand out well, some having that typical value which ensures them a permanent place on the stage.

Alexandre Dumas, son of the celebrated novelist, had first followed the Romantic school in his *Dame aux Camélias*, similar in conception to Victor Hugo's *Marion Delorme*, before he turned to the task of remoralizing society. Well and logically constructed, his plays abound in powerful dialogue and run to their conclusion with a swift concurrence of circumstance that maintains the attention of spectator or reader. In the later ones, however, preaching so encroaches on action that the *dramatis personæ* become more and more abstract. This is particularly so in the *Femme de Claude*, which was a complete failure at the Gymnase in 1873, and almost as much in the *Etrangère*, first performed at the Théâtre Français in 1876. Other pieces of his, staged in the seventies, were the *Visite de Noces*, the *Princesse Georges* and *Monsieur Alphonse*.

Victorien Sardou, who has only just died at over

eighty years of age, was one of the most popular playwrights of the French stage. He attempted vaudeville, melodrama, comedy and tragedy; and rarely failed in any, owing to his skill in flattering the public taste, and his mastery of all the little details that go to make up dramatic effect. His *Rabagas* in 1872, a satire of Parliamentary customs, was followed twelve months later by *L'Oncle Sam*; and, at almost regular intervals after, by *La Haine*, *Ferréol*, *Dora* and *Les Bourgeois du Pont d'Arcy*. Compared with Dumas and Augier, Monsieur Sardou is distinctly inferior. His characters are mostly artificial, and grow stale after slight acquaintance.

Ludovic Halévy and Henri Meilhac were collaborators of verve in librettos to operas like *Carmen*, and in comedies of the lighter kind, *Cigale*, *Cigarette* and *Madame attend Monsieur*. Edouard Pailleron's great success was the deliberately comic *Monde où l'on s'ennuie*; and Edmond Gouinot wrote good comedies, in the kind of *Vieilles Couches* and *Panaches*, which gained by a quality of finely expressed emotion.

In miscellaneous literature, the seventy decade yielded an achievement of no mean worth. Littré finished his *Dictionary of the French Language*, which at once imposed its authority; Elisée Reclus began his *Universal Geography*; Viollet-le-Duc completed his *Dictionaries of the Architecture of the Middle Ages*, and Pierre Larousse his great *Encyclopædia of the Nineteenth Century*. Le Play wrote the *Organization of Work*, besides republishing his *Social Reform*, and the *Organization of the Family*. Montégut, the translator of Shakespeare, and Boutry, the founder of the *Ecole des Sciences Politiques*, were also in full labour,

while Cherbuliez, under his pseudonym Valbert, was contributing *Chroniques* to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

The newspaper press of the first years after the war had the *Temps*, the *Figaro* and the *Journal des Débats* as the three leading dailies; the first being the organ of the *bourgeoisie*, staid and grave in tone; the second more a society, Royalist and boulevard journal; the third, with politics hesitating between Rights and Left Centres. All of them had illustrious contributors. Jules Ferry wrote in the *Temps*, Auguste Vitu, Aurélien Scholl and Francis Magnard in the *Figaro*, while the *Débats*, most favoured of all, had Renan, Taine and sometimes even Thiers on its staff. In those days, the *Gaulois*, one day Royalist, the next Imperialist, had not the stability it at present enjoys. There were times when it stopped issue, yet always contriving to reappear. Two papers, the *Union* and the *Univers*, since eclipsed, had then their public of Legitimists and Ultramontane Catholics. The latter was edited by Louis Veillot, one of the most remarkable pamphleteers and journalists France has ever produced. An entirely self-made man, he united great culture to his original gifts, and devoted both to the Catholic cause.

Soon, to the older dailies, there were younger competitors. Gambetta founded the *République française* in 1871; and, in it, wrote Challemeil-Lacour, Spuller, de Freycinet, Rouvier and others of the Opportunist group. Gambetta was the inspirer, not the pen. Seated on a couch, he would often talk an article which the others would develop while he spoke. The *Dix-neuvième Siècle*, bought in the same year by

Edmond About, and edited under his direction, became violently anticlerical. About, whose supple talent had enlivened the days of the Empire, was a successful novelist, a poorer playwright, a delightful talker and a man whose intelligence was keen rather than deep. Journalism of the intransigent kind was his latest hobby. With him were Sarcey, Emmanuel Arène and Paul Lafargue. And all did yeoman service for the Republic. The *Evènement*, also founded in 1871, was initially a sort of Republican *Figaro*. On the Monarchist and Conservative side was the *Français*, started by the friends of the Duc de Broglie and Monsieur Buffet; there was the *Soleil* as well, the first halfpenny paper to exist in France. The editor of the latter, Monsieur Edouard Hervé, was a master polemist, but courteous in his sharpest attacks. Both the *Radical* and the *Lanterne* came into circulation in 1877, the second being then, as still, an organ of advanced views.

The *roman-feuilleton*, always a feature of the French daily, had its popular representatives in the decade, writers whose names, though not found in an ordinary critical history of literature, were better known to the public than those of some novelists of genius. Ponson du Terrail died just as the Republic was born; his younger contemporaries and immediate successors were Xavier de Montépin, Adolphe d'Ennery, Emile Reichbourg, Adolphe Belot and Hector Malot, the last having the honours of translation into more than one foreign tongue.

As periodicals, there was first and foremost the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, then edited by Buloz, who died in 1877. It was moderate in all things, with a

reputation for critical reserve that enabled it to remain on friendly terms with the Government, the University and the Church, without being subservient to any one of them. Both this *Revue* and the *Correspondant*, an exponent of liberal Catholicism, had existed many years before 1870. After the war, the Orleanists created the *Revue de France* and made it their organ. The University had its *Revue des cours politiques et littéraires*, commenced in 1863 by Eugène Yung. Turning Liberal with the Republic, it had great influence among the college students, on account of its accurate information and sound sense. More technical were the *Revue scientifique*, the *Revue historique*, the *Revue critique*, the *Revue Economique*, the *Revue philosophique*, and some others.

The illustrated weeklies were not numerous; but they were brightly written and attractively got up. Taine published in one of them—the *Vie Parisienne*—his satirical *Thomas Graindorge*. The *Charivari*, the *Lune*, the *Eclipse* also noted the sayings and doings of society. Besides these, there were the *Magasin pittoresque*, the *Illustration*, the *Monde illustré*, and some comic papers with caricatures by André Gill, Le Petit, Bertall and Grévin, giving in those days an exaggerated forelock to Thiers, saucer eyes to Gambetta, and sparing neither friend nor foe in their counterfeit presentment.

In the domain of music, the two oldest composers alive after 1870 were Ambroise Thomas and Charles Gounod. The former, who was appointed Director of the Conservatoire in 1871, when nearly sixty, had, at this date, practically ceased creating. Gounod, on the contrary, produced, while in London, his *Gallia*, *Mors*

et Vita and the *Redemption*. It was a happy inspiration of Saint-Saëns to found the National Society of Music. He was thus able to group round himself such composers as César Franck, Lalo, Guiraud and de Castillon. This nucleus developed under his leadership and activity into a movement fraught with the best consequences. Saint-Saëns himself has been a great musical artist. His *Samson and Delilah*, finished in 1877, was soon followed by *Henry VIII*. These and his other works exhibit a quality of fine inspiration allied with clear melody and ample harmony. Léo Délibes, in the softly rhythmic notes of his *Sylvia*, and Reyer, in the firmer accents of his *Salamambo*, prelude to a music of more complex conception and execution. Massenet, like Reyer, assimilates Wagner. His *Mary Magdalene*, *Manon*, *Werther* and the *Mages* have, however, a very personal construction admirably suited to the subject, logical yet with a background of mystery. Bizet died prematurely in 1875, the same year that his weird and captivating *Carmen* was first heard on the stage of the Opéra Comique. Offenbach was drawing to the end of his career and life; but three of his operettas, *Madame l'Archiduc*, *La Créole* and *Madame Favart* were performed between 1872 and 1878. In the same period, Lecocq became famous with his *Cent Vierges*, *La Fille de Madame Angot*, *Giroflé-Girofla* and *Petit Duc*, Planquette, likewise, with his *Cloches de Corneville*.

The advent of the Republic meant a new lease of existence to the French stage, offering, as it did, new customs and manners and greater liberty for their dramatic representation. Fresh directors were provided for a fresh order of things, Halanzy at the Opera, who began with Reyer's *Erostate*, and Perrin at the

Comédie Française, succeeding Edouard Thierry. A number of auxiliary theatres, mostly small ones, were opened in 1873; a rebuilt Porte Saint-Martin and a rebuilt Renaissance rose in the place of the ancient ones; while the Opéra Comique, the Odéon, the Gymnase, the Palais Royal, the Ambigu and the rest were not long in regaining favour. It was then that Mounet-Sully and Sarah Bernhardt triumphed, Aimée Desclée too, the actress who created most of the rôles of the younger Dumas and who was cut down in her prime; it was then that Frédéric Lemaître, a second Talma, after furnishing so much amusement and pleasure to his fellows, and immortalizing *Robert Macaire*, died from cancer and almost in poverty. At the Théâtre Française, Messieurs Delaunay, Got, Coquelin and Régnier, and Mesdames Reichemberg and Croizette were in their palmy days, and, at the Opera, Madame Carvalho, the *chef d'orchestre* being Lamoureux.

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In the commencements of the Third Republic, the connecting link between old and new in French science was the celebrated Eugène Chevreul, born in 1786, who lived to the age of a hundred and three, dying only in 1889. Until within ten years of his death, he taught applied chemistry at the Museum of the Jardin des Plantes. There he was Director, having succeeded his master Vauquelin, the contemporary of Lavoisier, Lamarck, Ampère, Bichat and Geoffroi Saint-Hilaire, giants of the first Revolution epoch in chemistry, zoology, histology and botany. During the time that he occupied his professorial chair, generations of *savants* had grown up, achieved fame and passed away; and still the elders of the seventy decade were his juniors.

Astronomy could boast of Le Verrier, who, in 1846, had discovered the planet Neptune, and who, three months before his death, in 1876, put the finishing touch to his revision of the planetary tables; of Janssen and Delaunay also, who made the sun the object of their investigations with the spectroscope. In algebra and geometry, Bertrand, Hermite and Puiseux each made advances on the ancient Euclidian methods, and handed on their improvements to Darboux, whose remarkable treatise on equations was crowned by the Academy of Sciences in 1876. Dupuy de Lôme, excelling in applied mathematics, sketched out in 1872 his plan of the future dirigible aerostat; Gramme, after inventing, in 1869, the electric machine with continuous current, went on to study the transmission of work-force to a distance; and Bergès, by means of a novel utilization of waterfalls—white fuel he called them—showed a reserve of power capable of replacing coal.

Claude Bernard, Berthelot and Pasteur had already before the war effected some of their best work in the domains of physiology, chemistry and microbiology; but the field of research was large, and they continued to labour in it with success. Claude Bernard, after advancing the knowledge of nearly every part of the human body, spent the interval between 1870 and his death in 1878 in composing his *Lessons on the Phenomena of Life common to Animals and Vegetables*, in which he swept away the antagonism supposed previously to exist between the two kingdoms, and demonstrated the common functional activity animating them. 'There is in reality,' he says, 'only one physics, one chemistry, one general mechanics, in which are com-

prised all the phenomenal manifestations of nature, both of living bodies and of bodies in the lump.' At the same time, he took care to limit science to its proper competence, declaring that 'what belongs neither to chemistry nor to physics nor to anything else is the directing idea of life.' One of his pupils was Paul Bert, who in 1871 was appointed to the chair of physiology at the Sorbonne. Soon the latter's studies in barometric pressure as affecting everything living, in the respiratory and sensitive mechanism of plants, in nitrogen and anæsthetics, made him an authority in the scientific world, with a reputation that he preserved even when afterwards monopolized by politics and helping Gambetta to reorganize University teaching in France.

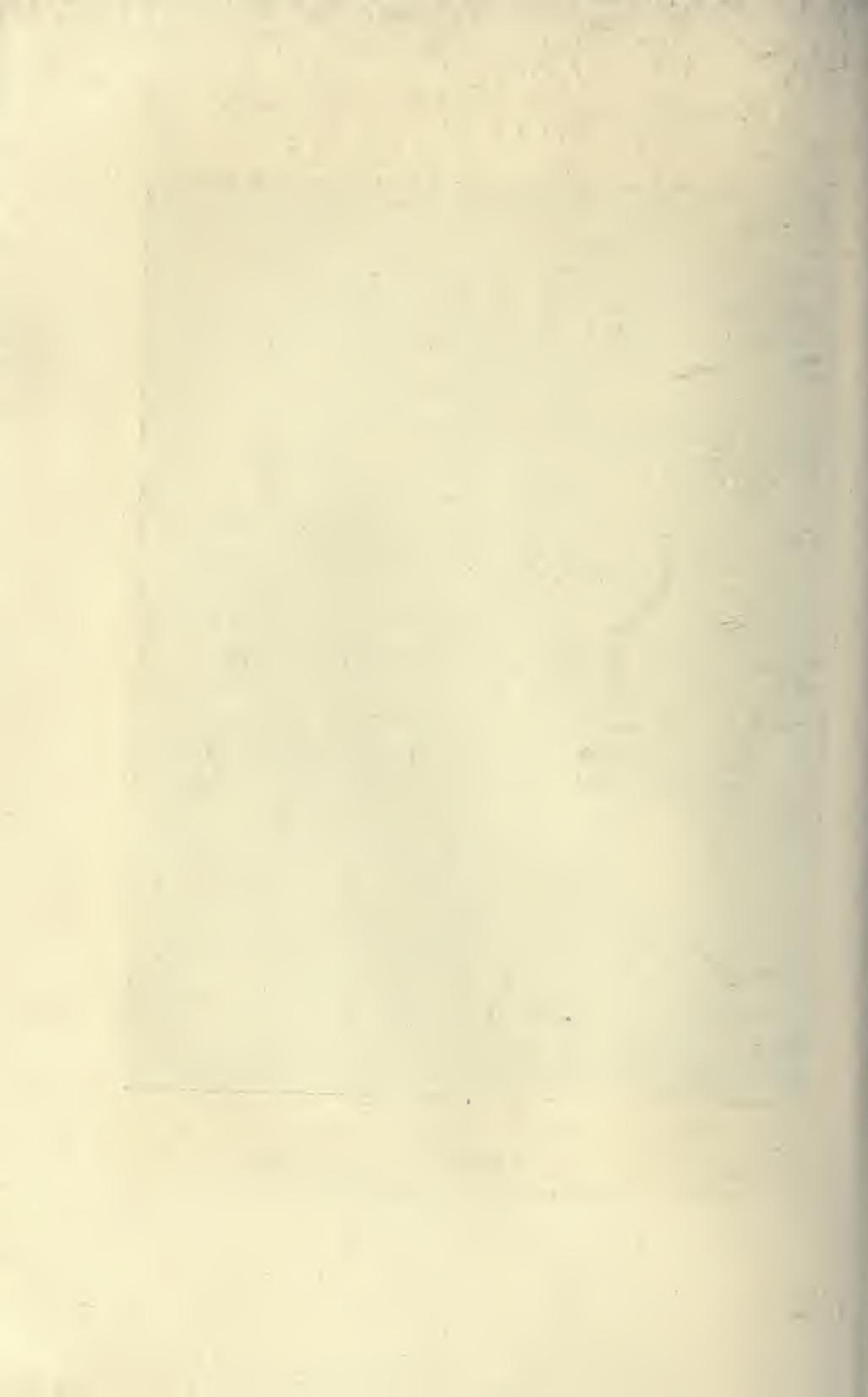
Berthelot's principal contributions were to the synthetic branch of chemistry. It was his reconstitution of elements under a fuller science of their properties which allowed him to manufacture acetylene by a union of carbon and hydrogen through the action of the voltaic arc. His law of thermochemistry results from the fact that, when several bodies are in presence, a compound is formed corresponding to the greatest quantity of heat developed. With him were other men experimenting in the same direction, J. B. Dumas with his theory of vibrations, Sainte-Claire Deville and Debray, who made the dissociation of atoms their object, Gaudin, striving to detect the architecture of atoms, and Wurtz, who introduced into France the German atomic theory.

As for Pasteur, his starting-point was the perception of dissymmetry both in the form and molecular composition of things organic and inorganic. From this



PASTEUR

From a Photograph by PIERRE PETIT



basis he proceeded by patient inquiry into the causes and operation of dissymmetry to results that enabled him to renovate the methods of surgery and medicine. In 1874, Sir Joseph Lister wrote to him: 'You have proved to me by your brilliant researches the truth of the theory of putrefaction through germs, and have thus given me the only principle that can produce a good system of antiseptic.' Numerous were the practical uses to which this science was put—the curing of diseases in silkworms and of cholera in fowls, the treatment of yeasts and ferments, the prevention of mortality in hospitals and army ambulances. His more special studies in bacteriology gathered round him a school of collaborators who since have carried on their experiments in conjunction with vivisection, a less legitimate development unjustified and unjustifiable. Pasteur was subject to fits of absent-mindedness almost equal to those of Newton or Edison. An anecdote relates that one day at dessert while discoursing on his favourite topic he unthinkingly took up a glass of water, in which he had dipped his cherries to rid them of their microbial impurities, and drained it to the dregs.

In the beginning of the seventies, two important books on anthropology were published by Paul Broca, who had founded the French Anthropological Society in 1859—the year in which Darwin gave to the world his *Origin of the Species*. Milne-Edwards was still Director of the Museum of Natural History, and there, with Coste and Gerber, veterans like himself, spent his days in poring over the secrets of rudimentary life-cells. At the Salpêtrière Hospital, a great doctor, Jean Charcot, was devoting himself to the creation of a new

treatment of nervous disease, and laid the foundations of hypnotic therapeutics, to-day practised by a respectable number of eminent medical men.

In mental and moral science, two of its foremost representatives, Ravaisson and Renouvier, were opposed to Littré and Taine—and even to Renan. The former in his *Philosophie du dix-neuvième Siècle* subordinated the idea of substance to spirit, the latter favoured Kant's categoric imperative. Lachelier, a younger contemporary, who taught at the Ecole Normale from 1864 to 1876, strove to establish the claims of intuition amid the mechanism, organism and moral activity of life; and Fouillée, in his doctor's thesis at the Sorbonne in 1872, united mechanism and spiritualism in his notion of idea-forces. 'The ideal,' he taught, 'is only the deeper sense and anticipation of future reality.'

Political economy had its distinguished exponents in the seventies. Chevalier, Le Play, Léon Say, Leroy-Beaulieu were some of the best known. The tendency of most was towards the freedom of competition in trade; Le Play, however, inclined to a more restricted economical organization.

* * *

As in letters so in art, Romanticism had run its course before the advent of the Third Republic. The painters Delacroix, Ary Scheffer, Horace Vernet, Delaroche and Ingres, who had been its greatest representatives, were all dead; Decamps also, with his added Oriental colouring. Corot, Diaz, Millet, Fromentin, Gustave Courbet, Daubigny, Dupré, and Français were the real elders that remained. The first six of these died in the seventies, the last two towards the end of the century. All were connected more or

less with the so-called Barbizon school of landscape artists, except Fromentin, whose preferences were for Oriental subjects. It took time for their faithful and unostentatious rendering of familiar scenes in sober colours, yet finely harmonized, to conquer the public taste. Millet's 'Angelus' was sold in 1860 for the small sum of eight hundred francs; in 1889 Monsieur Chauchard purchased it for six hundred thousand. The day's task was ended for most of them when the war scattered the busy world of art to the four winds. Yet in one or two of the early Salons after 1870, Daubigny's 'Verger' and Français' 'Ruisseau du puits noir' could be seen.

Not so old, but still an elder, was Rosa Bonheur, the inheritor of Troyon's talent in animal painting. Her most celebrated pictures, 'The Labourage Nivernais' and 'The Horse Market,' had been long finished and sold; but at By, near Fontainebleau, she went on creating masterpieces for nearly another thirty years.

Meissonier served in the National Guard during the siege of Paris. When peace was signed, he resumed his palette and continued his series of paintings, inspired by the Dutch masters, in which almost microscopic exactness of detail, with a uniform colouring of greyish tones, constituted his excellence. One of his productions in the seventy decade was a portrait of Alexandre Dumas the Younger.

The Impressionist school in its complete development flourished rather in the eighties and nineties; but its true initiator was Henri Regnault, who, as already stated, was killed at Buzenval in the final stage of the war. His 'Maréchal Prim' was a prophecy of what he would have been able to do, had he lived. It was

Gustave Courbet, Manet, Claude Monet, Pissarro who carried out the ideas he expressed in germ, which Eugène Fromentin's book on the Dutch and Flemish schools showed to be less a new doctrine than a new application of an old one.

Among the official artists illustrating history or chosen for decorative work in the seventies, figured Puvis de Chavannes, Paul Baudry, Cabanel, Jean-Paul Laurens and Harpignies. The first three contributed to the adorning of the interior of the Pantheon, Cabanel, with his 'Saint Louis,' Baudry, with his 'Maid of Orleans,' and Puvis de Chavannes, with his 'Scenes from the Life of Sainte Geneviève.' At the Salons, Cabanel also exhibited his 'Death of Frances and Paolo' and 'Tarquin and Lucrece,' Puvis de Chavannes his 'Summer'; while Baudry embellished the walls of the new Opera foyer with a number of conventional Greek and scriptural subjects, and Harpignies added in the same building his panel representing the Valley of Egeria. Jean-Paul Laurens' 'Francis de Borgia before the Coffin of Isabella of Portugal' and his 'Austrian Staff before the Body of Marceau' were followed by the more famous 'Deliverance of the besieged inhabitants of Carcassone,' now in the Luxembourg. Subsequently, he took up the legend of Sainte Geneviève in the Pantheon, and engaged on his designs for the 'Récits des temps mérovingiens' of Augustin Thierry. Alphonse de Neuville, who also affected large canvases, painted mostly military episodes. His 'Dernières Cartouches' and 'Surprise aux environs de Metz' were scenes from the war of 1870. Later he produced with Edouard Detaille, the 'Panorama de la bataille de Champigny.' Detaille was only just at the

outset of his career as a painter of war. He began in 1872 with 'The Victors,' a picture refused out of prudence by the Salon Committee, but none the less medalled. His 'Salut aux blessés,' soon after, was hung. The greatest of the foregoing is Puvis de Chavannes, both for the originality of his design and his play of colour. Not always equal to himself, he yet possessed an intuitive perception of the beauty of things and a faculty of presenting it pictorially that transcends the more showy workmanship of men whose popular fame he did not attain.

Bastien Lepage, whose statue by Rodin now stands in his native Damvilliers, exhibited in the period his celebrated 'Hay,' which went to the Luxembourg, and a portrait of Sarah Bernhardt as well. Dying young in the eighties, he left behind him several charming evocations of country life—the 'Song of Spring' the 'Flower Girl' and the 'Handy Man,' the portrait, too, of the then Prince of Wales, painted while he was in England. Jules Breton, another landscape artist, was older than Lepage both in years and style. In his 'Fontaine' and the 'Feu de Saint Jean,' as in his later 'Lavandière,' there is even a touch of romance. Edmond Yon with his 'Banks of the Marne,' and Marchal with his 'Eventide,' bathed in light and giving the illusion of earth's fragrance, were each artists of individual talent. Marchal's art, alas! brought him no fortune. Disappointed and poor, he at last committed suicide. By a curious coincidence, he had a striking resemblance to the famous seventeenth-century painter, Claude Lorrain, and served Rodin as a model for the statue that the sculptor was modelling of Claude in the eighties.

Two specialists in portraiture, Bonnat and Carolus Duran, were, at this time, cultivating their style of extreme finish and photographic accuracy which has become a mannerism. The portraits of Thiers and Victor Hugo by Bonnat were produced early in the decade, Duran's 'Emile de Girardin' also. Dubufe, who once or twice collaborated with Rosa Bonheur, painted the likeness of Emile Augier, while Manet was executing his impressionist interpretation of the human body, in canvases which the Salon was not always willing to accept. One of his portraits which had the honour of refusal was that of Desboutin. It appeared at a posthumous exposition of his works at the Beaux Arts, and again at the Centennial Exhibition of 1889.

Benjamin Constant had not yet devoted himself more especially to portraiture. Better known at this date as an Oriental painter, he exhibited a 'Moroccan Harem.' It was a phase in his evolution, which comprised also a sojourn in the decorative style. Henner was just now in the height of his vogue, his forte being the idealized female form in peculiarly ambered flesh-tints on equally peculiar bluish-hued backgrounds. His 'Naiad,' 'Magdalene' and 'Dead Christ' were some of his contributions to the decade.

Besides these, a number of other talents had their admirers—Tony-Robert Fleury, Jules Lefebre, Duez, Luminais, Flameng, Bouguereau and Aimé Morot. Gleyre, too, may be mentioned, since Whistler for a while studied under him. Gustave Moreau was a painter apart in the seventies, skilled in putting on the canvas his weird dreams, with a subtleness of modeling and dramatic colouring that was phantasmagorical

in the effect. Huysmans described him in 1880 as an extraordinary artist shut up in the heart of Paris in a cell where none of the noise of the outside hum could penetrate, lost in his ecstasy of fairy visions and sanguinary apotheoses of bygone ages. He became popular and a *persona grata* with the Academy later in the century ; but the mysterious atmosphere of his claustration remains in the museum which to-day contains his collected work.

Of the engravers, Bracquemond was one of the most talented, and reproduced in wonderful etchings many a masterpiece of both French and English painters. Towards the end of the decade he made the acquaintance of Rodin and helped to advance the great sculptor's interests in the French world of art. The caricaturist, André Gill, has already been spoken of. He and Daumier were the worthy carriers-on of the tradition previously upheld by Gavarni. Gill's *portraits-charges* of the celebrities of the Septennial period are documents of the highest interest. Unfortunately, his madness and death at forty-five cut short a life of fair augury.

In sculpture, the older masters of the decade were Carpeaux, Guillaume, Paul Dubois, Frémiet, Carrier-Belleuse and Barye. The first and last of these died in 1875. Barye connects the Third Republic with that of the Great Revolution ; he was born in 1796. The finest animal sculptor of his time, he was underestimated during his life, and died poor. His 'Lion and the Serpent,' 'Theseus and the Minotaur,' 'The Centaur' and a number of masterpieces besides, belong to the July Monarchy and ~~Third~~ Empire epochs. Nearly all Carpeaux' work was executed before the war. Unlike

Second

Barye, he died in the heyday of his energy, bequeathing to posterity such creations as 'Ugolino,' his 'Allegory of the Globe,' the group known as 'The Dance' on the peristyle of the new Opera, and busts, among which is an admirable one of Gounod. Just as Rude, his predecessor in genius, Carpeaux was a disdainer of facile smoothness in statuary, and aimed at the more difficult representation of movement and characteristic expression. Neither Frémiet nor Guillaume can be considered as more than respectable handicraftsmen. The *poncif* is too largely writ on their production. The latter's 'Archbishop Darboy,' one of the hostages shot by the Communists, and the former's 'Joan of Arc' on horseback now standing on the Place des Pyramides are among the best specimens of their style. Paul Dubois, a descendant of the celebrated sculptor Pigalle, was no unworthy scion of the old stock. His 'Florentine Singer,' in the seventies, had much in it of the Italian Renaissance quality, and his later bust of Pasteur is deservedly praised. Carrier-Belleuse, an exceedingly clever artist, cared more for the commercial than the ideal side of his profession. His lightness, grace, and elegant finish, à la Clodion, caused his statues and busts to be eagerly sought after. Delacroix, Gustave Doré, Théophile Gautier and Renan, had their portraits modelled by him. One of Thiers was shown at the Salon during that statesman's presidency. At present, he is chiefly remembered as having been Rodin's employer and patron for nearly twenty years.

Falguière, Chapu, Bartholdi, and Dalou were still under forty when the Republic was proclaimed. The contributions of the first to the sculpture of the decade were his bust of Pierre Corneille and his statue of

Lamartine. Possessed of sterling talent, which was capable of bringing forth workmanship like that of his 'Diana,' he yet often fell into the commonplace, not only in his sere and yellow leaf, when he replaced Rodin's 'Balzac' with his, but in his fresh manhood. Chapu began his celebrity with the funeral group on Henri Regnault's tomb. He continued it with a 'Joan of Arc' as a child in the Bois Chênu. Like Dalou, he was appreciated in England; and modelled in a subsequent decade the present Queen, the execution being hardly so successful as that of his previous best pieces. It was Bartholdi's good fortune also to find in a patriotic subject the occasion to affirm his capacity for modelling on a grandiose scale. His 'Lion de Belfort' was carved for the Square bearing that name in Paris and perpetuating the preservation of this fortress to France. At the same time, he was preparing himself for the 'Statue of Liberty enlightening the World' which was soon to be erected at New York. Dalou, who was a pupil of Carpeaux, was an older contemporary, as well as a friend, of Rodin. He spent some years after the war in England, where much of his sculpture was bought. At Windsor may be seen his group of Queen Victoria's dead children. On his return to France, in 1879, he executed the celebrated bass-relief at the Chamber of Deputies representing the Assembly of the States-General.

Mercié, Barrias, Injalbert, Dampé and Rodin were juniors in the seventies, although the last, who is at present France's greatest sculptor, had, in 1864, when he was in his twenty-fourth year, produced his 'Homme au nez cassé,' which was refused at the Salon. In 1877, his celebrated 'Age de Bronze' was exhibited, and, a couple of years later, his 'Saint Jean,' both now at the

Luxembourg. Of his *confrères*, Injalbert and Damppt possessed much originality, Mercié and Barrias much *chic*. All were to have a considerable share in the monumental statuary of later decades.

Through the ravages of the siege and the Commune, which called for immediate repair, and also through the modernizing of the capital begun under Napoleon III by Haussmann, a unique opportunity was afforded for architecture to prove its creative energy at the opening of the Republican *régime*. To tell the truth, it can hardly be said that, in this respect, the new excelled the old. In general, too often uniformity substituted itself for harmonious diversity; and, in both public and private buildings, there was a tendency to make size a synonym for beauty, and to sacrifice everything to alignment and façade.

Garnier's Opera was a noble structure, but the credit of it belongs rather to the Empire. Ballu and Depertthes' Hôtel de Ville was handicapped by the souvenir of the lighter and more elegant municipal residence due to Chambiges and Le Boccador and which they strove in vain to resuscitate. The Sacré Cœur Cathedral at Montmartre, raised from the plans of Monsieur Abadie, was imposing, but heavy; and the Trocadéro, in Moorish style, another production of the decade, by Davioud and Bourdais, lost its chief charm when the 1878 Exhibition disappeared, of which it formed a part.

Freer and more audacious in her engineering, the Republic used it successfully, first in strategic undertakings intended to protect the French frontiers, and encouraged de Lesseps in his dreams of another isthmus to pierce, between the two Americas.



Photograph: Bulloz

ANATOLE FRANCE
From the Portrait by W.O.G.

X

LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART IN THE EIGHTIES

IN the literature of the period ranging from 1880 to 1890, the novel takes precedence both for the quantity and the quality of the output. Most of the men already famous increased the number of their masterpieces, and several new reputations rose above the horizon.

Continuing his series of the Rougon-Macquart, Zola brought out his *Nana*, *Germinal*, *L'Œuvre* and the *Joie de vivre*. The second of these four, which is a story of the mines, is perhaps of all his works the one that for simplicity, pathos and good construction deserves to rank highest. Unequaled in painting that which is vast and aggregate (street-life, strikes, riots), he gives an epic breadth to this portrayal of the miner's existence with its perpetual twilight atmosphere. A fifth novel, *La Terre*, was published in 1888. It is realism in its most repulsive aspect, and to some extent justifies the judgment passed upon its author by the great English novelist, Robert Louis Stevenson, in the following words: 'Monsieur Zola is a man of a personal and fanciful talent, approaching genius, but of diseased ideals; a lover of the ignoble; dwelling complacently in foulness; and, to my mind, touched with erotic madness.'

Alphonse Daudet's *Rois en Exil*, *l'Immortel*, *l'Evangéliste* and *Sapho* are four serious novels powerfully written. The first exhibits the world in which sovereigns dwell who travel for their pleasure or because they have lost their thrones; the second is a satire on the Académie Française, and was afterwards made a stumbling-block to those who would fain have had him among the 'forty'; it hardly reveals the novelist in his happiest vein. Much superior are the third and fourth ones: the *Evangéliste*, based on the experience of an English governess who had been in his family, showing what evil can be wrought in a home by hard, ascetic religion which crushes natural affection, *Sapho*, what parasitic influence can be exercised by a pas-sional liaison on youthful principle and ambitions. It is Daudet's merit that, in treating sexual subjects, he is always delicate and chaste.

Ferdinand Fabre's *Chévrier* and *Mon oncle Célestin* had as successors, with an interval between, the *Roi Ramire* and *Lucifer*. The last, which relates a priest's attempts to escape toils continually strewn in his path by the Jesuits, until suicide appears as the only alternative to soul-slavery, is strongly presented and finely written, and may be taken as the author's most characteristic production.

De Goncourt, in the *Frères Zemganno*, *La Faustin* and *Chérie*, turned somewhat from his earlier doctrine of naturalism, if not from his impressionist style. The preface to the *Frères Zemganno* warned young writers that success in realism could only be attained by selecting types in high, not in low society. This was a hit against Zola. Two older novelists, Theuriet and Cherbuliez, whose books, though of ephemeral value,

were a sesame admitting them into the bosom of the Academy, were at present in full activity. Theuriet wrote *Sauvageon*, *Madame Heurteloup*, *Hélène Bigarre* and *La Vie Rustique*; Cherbuliez, *Noir et Rouge*, *La Bête* and the *Vocation du Comte Ghiskin*. Constant to their respective methods, the one selected common subjects in country surroundings, with mild emotions in a narrow gamut, the other, themes more bizarre, yet attractive, complicated with just enough philosophy, psychology and art to refresh the jaded reader.

Claretie's pen was naturally still busy. How he found time for such an outpour is a mystery. *Les Amours d'un Interne*, *Monsieur le Ministre*, *Le Million*, *Le train 17* and *Le Candidat* do not exhaust the list of his fiction in the decade. *Monsieur le Ministre* is generally considered to be the best of all the novels he has written. Like the *Candidat*, it depicts the society of politics, and not the part of it most praiseworthy. *Le Million* is conventional in its plot (the story of an inheritance); but there is plenty of contrast in the characters, and the delineation is simple and truthful.

Anatole France had waited for fame; but, when it came, it placed him at once among the foremost. In the preceding decade he had tried poetry, criticism and classical drama without finding his forte. At length he turned to the kind of loosely constructed novel or story which left him at ease to discourse of everything in heaven and earth and to be captivating the while. His first real masterpiece was *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*, in 1881; and, of the other books written in the eighties—*Les Désirs de Jean Servien*, *Abeille*,

Le Livre de mon Ami, and *Scènes de la Ville et des Champs*—none had quite the same success. His greatest works were yet to come; but, in these books, a *conteur* of subtle power was revealed, with a style that was inimitable for grace and charm.

Pierre Loti is a pseudonym for Julien Viaud, a naval officer, whose profession has enabled him to visit many lands and to introduce into his books, as a background for subjective impressions of his, recalling those of Châteaubriand, an artistic and picturesque representation of the persons and places he has seen. His *Mariage de Loti*, from which he took his *nom de guerre*, preluded to *Fleurs d'Ennui*, *Pêcheurs d'Islande*, *Madame Chrysanthème*, all belonging to this period. Although the scenes of these tales are laid in very dissimilar latitudes, there is the same note of melancholy in them. The story of the Breton girl whose lover never returns from the Iceland fishing expedition, and that of the sailor who goes to Japan and, for a time, beguiles his tedium in the society of a Japanese wife, yield a conviction of the evanescence of things that has both bitter and sweet in it. He depicts in tints of astonishingly fine shading the landscapes of Brittany, the tropics and the East; and catches not a few of their fleeting beauties. These qualities, together with his sensibility, make up his literary worth. In characterization he is artificial.

Paul Bourget's fame depends largely on his attempted analyses of the human heart and mind. Like Loti and France, he has been chosen a member of the French Academy, but is the least of the three. His psychology is much more a thing of his own creation than accurate observation of nature. Leaving out of

count his *Crime d'Amour*, there are three books published between 1887 and 1889 which give the entire range of his psychological vein—*André Cornélis*, *Mensonges* and *Le Disciple*. The first is an adaptation of Hamlet to a modern setting, the second explains the progress of an adulterous love in the heart of a woman of modern society, the third, the effect of a rigid philosophic doctrine on the mind of a young man determined to conform his conduct to it. In each of these studies there is a great expense of talent, but the figures are mere marionettes dancing to the strings pulled by the author. Monsieur Bourget out-Taines Taine in his theorizing and out-Zolas Zola in sensual description, the only difference between him and the author of *Nana* being the gauze that enwraps his nudities without hiding them.

Guy de Maupassant, a godson of Flaubert, was the inheritor of his naturalism and a consummate artist. Dying too young to leave a complete work, he yet produced, both in the long novel and more especially in the short story, creations that for truth of observation and sober vigour of style are unsurpassed in the language. *Une Vie*, *Bel Ami*, a masterpiece, *La Petite Roque* and one or two volumes of tales belong to this decade. There is evidently a pessimistic note in all his writing; but it comes from the subject congruously, and is not factitious. He does not seek to penetrate very far into the characters he deals with, yet interprets, as far as he goes, with absolute fidelity. Only when at last his nervous system broke down, did he incline to the unwholesome kind of fiction represented in his *Horla*.

Huysmans, who, during the eighties, brought out

his *A vau-l'eau*, *En rade* and *A rebours*, was a man of two distinct temperaments, the monk's and the artist's. Torn by one and the other throughout his life, he was continually apologizing in religious asceticism and sojourns in brotherhoods for his ineradicable impulsion towards literature. A word-painter of exceeding richness and endowed with a fancy that played in quaint combinations, he made books which form a sort of *marquetterie* wonderful to behold, but of small quickening quality.

Among the minor novelists, an elder who might have been mentioned in the seventies is Octave Feuillet. In his lifetime, he had a considerable vogue, his sentimental *Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre* being dramatized. In this decade he produced the *Histoire d'une Parisienne*, *La Morte* and the *Amours de Philippe*, experiments in idealistic fiction. A passing mention may here be made of Renan's lighter philosophic sketches—*Caliban*, *L'Eau de Jouvence*, *L'Abbesse de Jouarre*, useful as illustrating the mind-activity of this remarkable thinker.

A young trio of novelists who were destined to become celebrated a dozen years later, published, each in the twelvemonth of 1887, a book that aroused attention—Paul Adam, *La Glèbe*, Marcel Prévost, *Le Scorpion*, and J. H. Rosny (two brothers under one name), *Le Bilatéral*. Georges Ohnet's *Comtesse Sarah* and Albert Delpit's *Mademoiselle de Bressier* were popular society books, which procured the authors money, without possessing the merit of utility and imaginativeness found in the writings of Jules Verne and Hector Malot, both of whom were rejoicing in this period a large circle of readers.

The death of Victor Hugo, in 1885, left Leconte de Lisle the uncontested master of French poetry. Less purely lyrical than his great predecessor, he sings in lines of almost perfect beauty, though the brilliancy is occasionally hard, the fugitive illusions of the world. His *Poèmes Antiques* and *Poèmes barbares* date back to the Empire. To the eighty decade his chief contribution was the *Poèmes tragiques*, which are the best specimen of Parnassian verse existing. Round about him revolved a galaxy of admiring disciples or imitators. Among these, Armand Silvestre, Catulle Mendès, Laurent Tailhade well upheld the traditions of the school, the last being the best of them, both by his imagination and style. Known subsequently as a prince of satirists, he at the moment basked in his *Jardin des Rêves*.

In a manner, Sully Prudhomme was also a disciple of Leconte de Lisle; but he had a very personal style. His lines, thin and vaporous, are blended with sentiment that makes them very pleasant reading—once. His *Vaines Tendresses* and *Justice* belong to the preceding decade. The poem for which he is most remembered is his *Vase brisé*. Another Parnassian, yet individual too, was José-Marie Heredia, who in his sonnets recalls somewhat the Romantics, Lamartine and Théophile Gautier. It is not nature he reproduces, but astonishing carving in gold, silver and precious stones. At the same time, he surrounds it with emotion, so that the outlines are mostly softened.

Surpassing these, if not by their bulk-creation, at least by their invention and influence, were Verlaine and Mallarmé. Immediate predecessors of the Sym-

bolists, they, each in his own way, discovered fresh notes on the French lyre. Poetry after them, and indeed with them, began to recover some of its ancient freedom and variety of rhythmic cadence, lost through the purism of Ronsard, Malherbe and Boileau. Mallarmé's *Hérodiade* and his *Azur*, with some other poems in magazines of that day, contain him at his highest. It was *Hérodiade* which, praised in Huysmans' novel *A rebours* in 1884, brought him prominently before the public. Verlaine's most interesting verse—*La Bonne Chanson* and *Romances sans paroles*—was written either just before or just after the war. His later poems, tinged with religious melancholy, have a certain monotonousness, and are deficient in fancy. But it was chiefly in the eighties, after his imprisonment for shooting and wounding his friend Rimbaud, that he gained his renown, which came to him too late to save his ruined life. His *Jadis et naguère* was published in 1884.

Jean Richepin, to-day an Academician, was in his origins a continuer of the Romanticists. More violent even than Hugo in his vocabulary, and carrying further than his master the flexibility of his rhythm, he sometimes lost himself in the gorgeous maze of his language. His *Chanson des Gueux*, which has some pretty things in it, goes back to 1876. The famous *Blasphèmes* and *La Mer* are of the eighties.

In the historical and biographical literature of the period were published some interesting memoirs and souvenirs, those of Madame de Rémusat relating to the First Empire, those of Renan concerning his childhood and youth, and those of Maxime du Camp telling of the world of letters of his own day. Bourget's

Sensations d'Italie inaugurate the series of his travelling impressions, generally better reading than his novels, and Edouard Drumont's *Mon Vieux Paris* offers more charm than his subsequent anti-Semitic *France juive* and his journalistic gall. The *Empire des Tsars et les Russes*, by Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, and the *Roman Russe*, by the Vicomte Melchior de Vogüé, are both standard works of writers possessing no small merit. The same may be said of Camille Rousset's *Conquête d'Alger*. Albert Sorel and Ernest Lavisse were two rising historians in the seventies, the former emerging with his account of the Franco-German War in its diplomatic aspect, the latter, with his studies on Prussia. Now they turned to earlier epochs, and wrote, one on *Europe and the French Revolution*, the other on *The Youth of Frederick the Great*. More important by its fairness and moderation than by its erudition, contrasting pleasantly with Michelet's hatred of England, was Joseph Fabre's *Jeanne d'Arc*, a single volume out of the immense number pouring forth from the Press on the subject of the French national heroine.

Three eminent critics of nearly the same age began to be appreciated during Monsieur Grévy's presidency—Ferdinand Brunetière, Emile Faguet and Jules Lemaitre. The first brought to the study of literature a culture of wide embrace and reasoning gifts that were solid though a trifle lacking in intuitiveness; he had withal a conscientious fairness which gained him the respect of his opponents. His predilection was the seventeenth century, his favourite author, Bossuet; he detested modern naturalism, and defended the ancient classical school. His method of criticism was analytic; but he combined with it a strong personal taste that

intrudes too much and detracts from the objective value of his judgments. Faguet studies his authors as much as the books they write. A piece of literary composition is for him the occasion to speculate on all its antecedents of character and temperament, which are noted and distinguished with precision. Like Brunetière, he prefers the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, and is scarcely just to the latter. Lemaître's peculiarity, apart from the lightness and grace of his style, is that of hedging and refusing to pronounce definitely, albeit his analyses are full of judicious discrimination. This philosophic scepticism, so far from injuring his influence, has helped to accredit him with his readers, who are flattered by the latitude allowed to their own opinion. Now and again, however, he has passed trenchant condemnations, which have usually been confirmed. The memory of his masterly denunciation of Georges Ohnet still survives. A poet in his leisure hours, he aspired also to shine in dramatic composition, and, though unequal in it, yet occasionally, as in the *Massière*, achieved success and merited his applause.

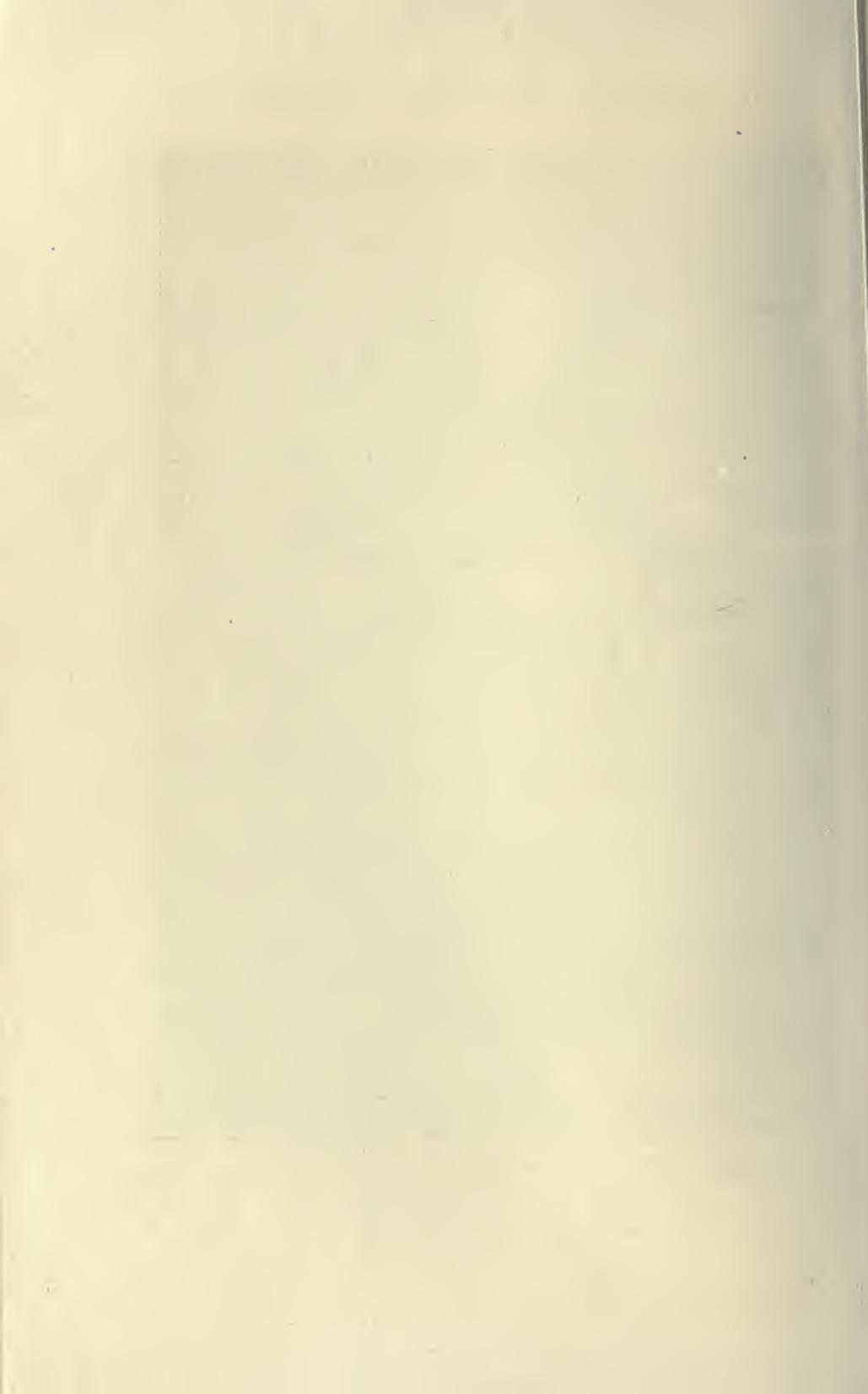
On the stage, Dumas, Augier and Sardou were still the favourite playwrights, Dumas producing his *Princesse de Bagdad*, *Denise* and *Francillon*, and Sardou, his *Divorçons* and *Cléopâtre*, in the latter of which Sarah Bernhardt, supported by Philippe Garnier as Antony, took the rôle of the Egyptian Queen. Augier died in 1889; but there was no lack of fresh talent. A writer of naturalistic comedy, whose pieces rank with the best of the decade, was Henry Becque, to whom a monument by Rodin has just been erected in the capital. His *Corbeaux* and the *Parisienne* reveal a rare faculty



Photograph: Neurdein

ALEXANDRE DUMAS, THE DRAMATIST

From the Portrait by MEISSONIER



of acute observation, yet with too much irony to please popular audiences. Richepin's *La Glu*, and more especially his adaptation of *Macbeth*, with Sarah Bernhardt as his interpreter of Lady Macbeth, was less reservedly praised.

Favourite actors and actresses of the decade were Féraudy and Baron, Blanche Baretta and Jeanne Samary, favourite singers, Reské and Madame Calvé. In grand opera, Gounod's *Romeo and Juliet* and the *Lakmé* of Délibes carried off the palm; and Audran's *Mascotte*, in opera of the lighter kind. Claude Debussy was a musical composer who in music held somewhat the same position as Verlaine in poetry; and with him may be classed Ravel. Vincent d'Indy was a disciple of Franck; he founded what was known as the *Scola Cantorum*, for the purpose of reviving the ancient style. Ernest Chausson had a reputation for chamber music; Francis Planté and Diémer were pianists of great talent, who since have trained a whole generation of younger men that to-day maintain the traditions of the French school.

* * *

In the eighties, science had to deplore, besides Chevreul's death, and that of Wurtz, who left as a heritage his *Dictionary of Chemistry*, still a text-book for students, the loss also of the astronomer Faye and of Jean-Baptiste Dumas, who was the determiner of a large number of atomic weights and the simpler chemical bodies, and the author of a *Treatise of Applied Chemistry*. Other deaths were those of Sainte-Claire Deville and de Debray, known by studies in the dissociation of chemical bodies, and of Charles Robin,

whose microscope work carried microbiology into the investigation of a number of contagious diseases hitherto mysterious in their origin.

A tribute to the French metric system was paid in 1881 by the adoption of the C.G.S. (centimetre, gramme, second) as the universal unit system of computation, the arrangement being come to in a meeting of the Electrical Commission appointed at the instance of the British Association.

In astronomy, one of Le Verrier's successors was Tisserand, whose remarkable *Traité de mécanique céleste*, the *magnum opus* of a *savant* too soon taken by death from his labours, gave a complete tableau of the state of astronomic science at the time of its being written. One of the younger professors at the Collège de France, during the decade, was Châtelier, whose speciality was then and since has been the study of the domain intermediary between physics and chemistry. Lippman, famous by his researches into the solar spectrum, was one of the pioneers in the photography of colours, which he stumbled on whilst seeking to produce stationary luminous waves of light analogous to those presented in acoustics by sonorous tubes, and which subsequently was to prove so prolific in unexpected developments. Another university professor, Monsieur Boussinesq, made his pupils at the Sorbonne acquainted with his discoveries in mathematical physics, including elasticity and the mechanics of fluids, and more particularly with his theories of ether, which he founded on experiments in hydrodynamics. At first sight, ether appears to possess contradictory properties, since, as being a fluid of feeble density, it opposes only an insensible resistance to the movements of the planets, whilst, on the other

hand, it transmits transversal vibrations, just as if it were a solid. Monsieur Boussinesq attempted to explain these contradictions by the relative slowness of the celestial bodies' motion, allowing ether to conserve its equality of constitution in every direction, and consequently the properties of a fluid, whereas the fluidity vanishes and yields its place to elasticity in presence of the excessive speed of the luminous vibrations.

The field of scientific research had become so extensive in the last few years and the methods of observation so minute that scholars and experimentalists were compelled more and more to confine themselves to portions of one branch only in order to obtain results. To speak of all these would be impossible in a brief sketch. To the few names given above can be added here, however, those of Chennevières, the archæologist, Ponchet, the naturalist, Figuier, the *vulgarisateur* of astronomic and other knowledge, and of Janet and Vacherot, both philosophers of no mean worth.

* * *

In 1883, at the early age of fifty, died Gustave Doré, one of the most extraordinary artistic phenomena of his century. Endowed with a sense of form which, had it been cultivated by a patient study of nature, might have given to his country a Da Vinci or a Michael Angelo, he deliberately closed his eyes to reality and preferred to draw and to paint the heroes of literature as his fancy conceived them. It was thus that he illustrated Rabelais' *Gargantua*, *Perrault's Tales*, *Don Quixote*, the *Divine Comedy* and the Bible, with a picturesqueness, a verve, an accentuation of traits, verging on caricature, that compensated for his

incorrectness of anatomy and the repetition of his effects. Never perhaps was genius more wilfully wasted in the enjoyment of a chimera, which tickled the attention of a whole generation but contained nothing by which posterity might permanently profit.

Nearly all the surviving artists noticed in the preceding decade added to their performance in this one, while a number of their juniors in fame succeeded in getting their own claims respected. Manet died in the same year as Gustave Doré, and at the same age. Only when a posthumous exhibition of his aggregate work was held, did his fellow-countrymen realize in his 'Olympia,' and other characteristic canvases, how superior his method of modelling surfaces was to the conventional use of outlines.

Camille Pissarro, slightly Manet's senior, was painting in the seventies and even long before; and yet his reputation dates back rather to his maturity, which coincided with his conversion to impressionism and for a while, also, to neo-impressionism, though the *pointillé* of this latter style was soon abandoned. After painting Norman landscapes and gardens, with the happiest effects of light and transparency, he began the search for that mysterious ambiency of luminous air which, when transferred to his canvases, suggests the ether behind it. His 'Faneuse,' 'Beau Jour d'hiver à Eragny,' 'Pruniers en fleurs' and 'Paysanne gardant ses chèvres,' are some of the finest realizations modern art has attained.

Claude Monet is the typical impressionist painter, the one in whose work principle and practice go most intimately united. In his series of the 'Banks of the Thames,' his 'Gare Saint Lazare' and his fifteen

aspects of a corn-rick under skies changed by season and hour of the day—to mention only these—he shows what surprising variety and unsuspected richness of colour a real artist can see, where a Peter Bell sees the commonplace and nothing more. Whether at times this vision does not lose touch with solidity and weight and even form is debatable. But then, would the pictures gain by the contact?

Raffaëlli, whose portrait of Monsieur Clémenceau is a masterpiece of psychological interpretation, was a curious figure, in the eighties, in his shop of the Avenue de l'Opéra, which he rented for the exposition of his paintings and pieces of sculpture representing for the most part the lower middle classes. These he reproduces with a fidelity to nature that comes from sympathy as well as art. His 'Old Man cutting down Trees' and 'Washerwoman of Asnierès' are good examples of his realism and vigour. His later achievement is in a quieter tone.

Roll, the painter of the 'Grève des Mineurs' and Besnard, whose Grand Prix de Rome—'Timophane'—in 1874 prefaced his vogue both in England and France, developed during the decade not only their very considerable talent as portraitists, but as painters of large decorative panels. Besnard's 'Truth bringing the Light,' for one of the ceilings of the Hôtel de Ville, was conceived and executed in the same note as Puvis de Chavannes' 'Summer' there, and this artist's fine mural decorations at the new Sorbonne. In presence of such workmanship, the more pretentious rush and crush of Rochegrosse's panoramas or even Detaille's clear-cut sections of imagined battlefields appear singularly unattractive.

One of the most distinguished impressionists of the

decade was Alfred Sisley, whose 'Bords de la Seine' was exhibited in 1881, and who continued the like sort of landscapes in his 'Environs of Moret' and the 'Banks of the Loing.' In these pictures the artist delights in showing the bluish hue of verdures where the firmament overhangs grassy paths and reedy levels and where the heat of the atmosphere becomes a visible fact.

Rodin's sculpture dominates the eighties to the extent of nearly hiding that of his brother artists. His prodigious 'Hell Gate,' his monuments of 'Claude Lorrain' and the 'Citizens of Calais'—his best achievement in the Gothic—his busts of Madame Vicuña, Mademoiselle Claudel, Henri Rochefort, Puvis de Chavannes, to mention only a few pieces, were all practically completed and his 'Victor Hugo' begun in the decade. Bringing back more fully into this difficult art what had been neglected and forgotten by the majority of his immediate predecessors, introducing an amplification of parts and a detail of anatomy that gave his creations the semblance of life and movement, he revolutionized modelling methods so radically that thenceforward his bitterest professional opponents were compelled to modify their style.

Jules Desbois, Carriès, and Jean Baffier were specialists in the statuary art, applying themselves chiefly to ornamental carving and maintaining the best French tradition in what they executed. Baffier's 'Master Ironworker' and Desbois' 'Death and the Woodcutter' are specimens of larger sculpture that have become celebrated.

In the comparatively recent application of art to advertizing, Jules Chéret was an initiator. After

spending some years in London, he suddenly burst upon Paris with something that had never yet been done. His wall bills were marvels of design and colour, essential points being thrown into evidence amidst a firework coruscation of graceful forms. It was a novel sort of caricature without satire. Successors soon were numerous in this *genre* which he invented and perfected at once.

Caricaturists who occupied much the same position as Gill in the seventies were Caran d'Ache and Bertall, the former specializing himself in the *portrait-charge*, the latter in recording characteristic Parisian types. Bertall died in 1882. Roby, Levillain, Bourgeois and Ringel d'Illzach were celebrated medallion engravers, the first three chiefly of commemorative medallions, the last more peculiarly of men famous in literature and art. The 1889 Exhibition gave the public an opportunity of knowing and appreciating a number of artificers distinguished by their skill in decorative work. On Gobelin tapestries could be seen the names of Georges Claude, Galland and Parent. Parent also supplied tasteful designs for carved furniture, which Beaufile executed; while in gold, silver and other metals the chiselling of Moreau, Fanière, Marron and Fontenay was marked by originality of design and harmony in the effect.

The great engineering feat of the decade was the tower of three hundred metres, erected in the Champ de Mars by Monsieur Eiffel, which was a triumph of combined art and science, and which, after being the *clou* of the Exhibition, remained to serve, in ways then hardly dreamt of, the purposes of future meteorology and telegraphy. Together with the Palais des

Machines, it was the culminating point in the utilization of iron in large structures—a practice introduced into France by Ballard, when erecting the Halles Centrales.

Another interesting architectural inauguration in the Exhibition year was that of the Bourse du Commerce, near the Rue St. Thomas du Louvre. In its new form, it was the transformation of the old Halle au Blé constructed between 1762 and 1767. This Halle rose on the site of the ancient Hôtel de Soissons, which had been built in 1572 for Catherine de Medici and was demolished in 1748. Of the primitive edifice one column was preserved, which tradition pointed out as being that used by the Queen for her astrological observations. In 1886, the Municipal Council of Paris decided on the transformation. The architect kept the eighteenth-century rotunda, increasing its height by a story and surmounting it with an attic roof. The interior of the cupola was ornamented with paintings by Clairin, Lucas, Laugé and Luminais.

XI

LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART IN THE NINETIES

LITERATURE, as indeed art, in the last ten years of the century, was decidedly transitional. Fresh forms were essayed, and in them there was an increasing preoccupation with the modern problems of life, suggested largely by physical and mental science. In the case of certain writers—Bourget, Coppée, Brunetière, for instance—the evolution was reactionary, carrying them into closer communion with Conservative Catholicism. Brunetière's *Science et Religion* exhibits the tendency clearly. Zola, Anatole France, Paul Adam, de Presensé, on the contrary, evolved towards liberalism and free-thought. Neither on the one side nor on the other was the phenomenon without its disadvantage from a literary point of view. Zola, in his *Débâcle*, *Lourdes*, *Rome* and his *Gospels*, grew progressively duller as he became less gross. And even Anatole France, towards the end of the century, allowed his grace and charm to be a little weakened by the intrusion of politics, so that the *Anneau d'Améthyste* shows a falling-off from his *Orme du Mail*. Fortunately there was his *Thaïs*, published in 1890, in which everything is perfect, and his *Monsieur Bergeret* and *Jérôme Coignard*, wherever they appear, still captivate and please.

Upon a few of the younger novelists, Edouard Rod,

with his *Michel Teissier*, and Paul Margueritte, with his *Force des Choses* and *La Tourmente*, the influence of George Eliot and Tolstoy was plainly visible. There is an intuition of the inner life and a wider moral atmosphere in them than had yet been æsthetically presented in the modern French novel. Similar to their work in some respects was that of the brothers Rosny, whose *Indompté* and *Vamirch* are both remarkably and the latter powerfully written.

Loti, like a number of the older writers of fiction, remained outside of the evolutionist movement. His *Désert* and *Jérusalem* were mere repetitions of what he had already said, the framework only being altered. The same may be said of Huysmans, whose *Cathédrale* appeared in 1897. In Bourget there was a change, but it came more slowly. His *Terre promise*, *Cosmopolis* and *Duchesse Bleue* were books of varying tone, and partly recall his earlier style, partly prelude to his later. His *Outre Mer* of 1895, giving his impressions of America, is less valuable than his previous impressions of England and Italy. One perceives that the writer's vision is unprepared for what he sees and interprets with less truth.

A novelist of great promise, belonging to this period by his best production, was Maurice Barrès, since gone astray into politics and Nationalism, whose *Ennemi des lois* was published early in the nineties, and his *Déracinés* towards the end. His analyses of moral states of mind are more accurate than Bourget's, and he has a sentiment of nature that the latter possesses hardly at all. Léon Daudet, the son of Alphonse, soon to be known as a writer of novels of morbid psychology, obtained a certain notoriety with

his *Morticoles* in 1894. Like Barrès, he later drifted into polemics, and became a rival to Drumont in his diatribes against the Jews and all their works. Better than either of the foregoing was Paul Hervieu, in his *Armature*, a novel of acute observation, dealing with the aristocratic classes. Dramatic composition has more recently encroached on his novel-writing. His *Tenailles* in 1895 was one of the *pièces à thèse* now becoming common on the stage, posing a mental dilemma of moral reference and placing the interest of the play in its solution.

The chief interest of poetry in the nineties was the rapid rise and spread of symbolism. Symbolist poetry contemplates rather than describes a thing. It presents us with images that themselves melt into visions. Thus it is widely different from Parnassian verse, which shows the thing in its entirety and void of association with aught mysterious. There is a good deal of truth in what Mallarmé remarks: "To name an object is to suppress most of the enjoyment of the poem, which is made up of the happiness of gradually divining. To suggest the object gives the dream." Symbolism had already appeared fugitively and by chance in the greater French poets, ancient and modern, as well as in the popular ballads of the country; but no consistently artistic use was made of it until about the end of the eighties. It matters little who was the initiator, whether Ephraïm Mikaël, prematurely cut off after publishing his *Automne*, his *Fiancée de Corinthe* and *Le Cor Fleuri* (dramas), and writing a lyric *Briséis* with Catulle Mendès, or else Gustave Kahn, whose *Palais Nomades*, *Domaine de Fée*, and *Livre d'Images* contain some of

his most characteristic verse. The thing which imports is that, during the last twenty years, a body of symbolist poetry has been produced, containing much that is superior not only to all that the Parnassians, but even to all that the Romanticists ever brought forth, with Victor Hugo to help them.

As being more fitting to their song, most of the symbolists introduced the so-called *vers libre*, which makes light of Parnassian prosody, rhyming, like English verse, rather for the ear than for the eye, uses both assonance and unrhymed lines, and cares nothing for the alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes, while it puts the cesura where it pleases. Moreover, the best and boldest of the free-verse poets make tonic accent the basis of their metre, and often neglect the famous *e* mute. Among the foremost symbolists in poetry that were prolific before 1900, besides the two already mentioned, were two men of American origin but educated in France—Vielé-Griffin and Stuart Merrill.

Under the pen of the latter, French verse regains all its sonorousness of tonic accent that it possessed in the time of Villon. He is a veritable word-sorcerer, his *Fastes* and *Petits Poèmes d'Automne* re-creating the past of experience in sunset colours of beauty or a soft gloaming of chiaroscuro, and his *Quatre Saisons* calling up magnificent vistas of hope.

Vielé-Griffin has a happy union of qualities. His seriousness is never heavy; his lightness is never trivial. His verse has philosophy in it, but so fused in the crucible as to come forth in emotiveness; it has melody, now quaint, now blithe, now solemn. No other poet has used the *vers libre* with greater effect. Certain of



Photograph: Druet

MADAME RÉJANE

From a Caricature by MATTHÈS

his poems, such as *Swanhilde* and *La Légende ailée de Wieland le Forgeron* are dramatic; others, *La Chevauchée d'Yeldis*, are allegories. A small volume, called *Joies*, and published in 1889, is a lyrical masterpiece. It takes up the whole refrains of peasant minstrelsy and gives them a setting that is of pure art.

Between Gustave Kahn's *Palais Nomades* of the first hour—a work of somewhat too evanescent character—and the *Livre d'Images* of his maturity, with its strong human pity, there is a turning to the social ideal, and—what does not always happen in poetry any more than in the novel—a constant maintenance of artistic execution notwithstanding.

Henri de Regnier, de Heredia's son-in-law, is a symbolist who not infrequently reverts to Parnassian prosody and excels in both styles. His *Jeux Rustiques et Divins* and *Médailles d'Argile* both have a plastic shapeliness; and, in the earlier of the two, there is a breath of the Elizabethan amourists.

The symbolists are numerous. To mention all that have distinguished themselves would be impossible in this sketch. Robert de Montesquiou with his *Hortensias bleus*, Paul Fort, a sort of French Walt Whitman, with his *Ballades Françaises* in rhythmic prose half-rhymed, Francis Jammes, Jean Moréas, Pierre Quillard, Emmanuel Signoret must suffice for the rest.

Outside the symbolist movement, and yet affected by it, as all modern French poetry of the higher kind must be, there were, in the nineties, Pierre Louys, who wrote the *Chansons à Bilitis*, and more especially that really great master of song, Albert Samain, whose lines are all music, the author of *Au Jardin de l'Infante*, *Aux Flancs du Vase*, some poetic prose tales, and a

drama *Polyphème*, which has just been put on the stage, some years after his death. Samain's fragment, *Je rêve d'une île ancienne* and his *Happy Isle* are unique in the language.

The historical contributions made to literature in the nineties were mostly books of serious documentation, though not always accompanied by impartiality. Besides the continued labour of men whose names have already been given, there were the Presidencies of Thiers and MacMahon by Zévort, useful but too exclusively political; the *Napoleon and Alexander I* of Albert Vandal, now a member of the Académie Française; Hanotaux' interesting *Biography of Cardinal Richelieu*; Lanson's comprehensive sketch of French literature; Eugène Spuller's *Figures disparues*, dealing with his contemporaries; Houssaye's *Waterloo*, graphically presented; the Duc de Broglie's *Mémoires de Talleyrand*, interesting but insufficiently authentic; Marbot's *Memoirs of the First Empire*, one of the greatest biographical successes of the decade, reading with the attraction exercised by a novel. Ernest Daudet, the novelist's brother, known by his *Souvenirs of MacMahon* and of the *Duc d'Aumale*, published his curious *Coulisses de la Société Parisienne*; Emile Deschanel, his *Lamartine*; Arvède Barine, her *Alfred de Musset*; Gustave Larroumet, his *Etudes de littérature et d'art*; while John Grand-Carteret, carrying on his persevering studies in the history of caricature, brought out *Wagner en caricature*. In criticism and essay writing, the daily papers supplied, as ever, a stream of articles marked by incisiveness and good style; and a number of weeklies—the *Annales politiques et littéraires* being a fair type of them—clever writing of a more deliberate

kind. Brunetière's position in the editorial chair of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* gave a bias to this important periodical, which, at this date, was equalled by the *Revue de Paris*, a re-creation of the decade, under the editorship of Ganderax and Lavisse.

On the whole, the drama of the nineties would appear to have achieved greater success than the novel. Some of the older playwrights were still popular, and won fresh laurels, Coppée, for instance, with his *Pour la Couronne*, and Sardou, with *Madame Sans-Gêne*; while Jules Lemaître triumphed with his comedies characterized by delicate satire: *Le Député Leveau*, *Filipote* and *Le Pardon*. A number of younger and mostly new writers produced pieces that have since held the stage; Hervieu adding *La loi de l'homme* to the *Tenailles* already mentioned; Lavedan giving *Le Prince d'Aurec*, in the style of Beaumarchais, and also *Nouveau Jeu*; Maurice Donnay, *La Dououreuse*, *Le Torrent* and *Amants*; Brioux, *L'Evasion* and *Le Berceau*; Richepin, *Le Chemineau*; Hermant, *La Meute*; Mirbeau, *Les Mauvais Bergers*; de Curel, *Le Repas du Lion*; de Porto Riche, *Le passé*; Rostand, *Cyrano de Bergerac*. Of these authors, Brioux was more directly didactic; Mirbeau more bitingly satirical; Porto Riche more daringly analytical; while Rostand brought back to the theatre a good share of the old romance it had lost. There were other occasional dramatists who also pleased the public: Déroulède, with his patriotic *du Guesclin*, repeating his earlier hit of the *Hetman*; Prévost, with his *Demi-Vierges*; Capus, with his *Rosine*; and Feydeau, with his farce *La Dame de chez Maxim*. At the Opera, the *Thaïs* of Anatole France was played to Massenet's music,

and Zola's *Messidor* to that of Bruneau. Benjamin Godard's *Vivandière* and Saint-Saëns' *Frédégonde* were likewise musical masterpieces of the decade. Among the chief operatic singers, Alvarez and Delmas, with Mesdames Rose Caron and Grandjean, occupied privileged positions; and Paul Mounet, Truffier, Le Bargy, with Mesdames Réjane, Granier and Jane Hading were equally celebrated in tragedy or in comedy.

In musical composition, there were men of varied talent, who, if they hardly reached the level of greatness, were nevertheless real artists. Gabriel Fauré, who became Director of the Conservatoire, was distinguished by his *Lieds*, not to speak of his *Prometheus*; Messager,¹ known in England by his having occupied the Directorship of Covent Garden Theatre, excelled in operetta music; Chabrier, of the Impressionist school, personal and original in his invention, produced orchestral pieces full of the picturesque; as two examples may be cited his rhapsody *La bourrée fantasque* and *Gwendoline*. An organist of note during the period was Guilmant; and Raoul Pugno ranked high for his execution on the piano.

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In scientific progress, the decade was, if anything, richer than its predecessors. Important discoveries were made in nearly every branch of knowledge, most of them promising large practical benefit to humanity. One of the most extraordinary was that of radium due to Monsieur and Madame Curie, who had previously detected the existence of an element, which they called polonium, in the metal uranium.

¹ At present Director of the Grand Opera.

Their researches in this direction were originally inspired by their noticing certain peculiar properties in the so-called X-rays. Not long after Röntgen's successful experiments, Monsieur Henri Becquerel proved that uranium and its salts emitted invisible rays capable of influencing a photographic plate and of rendering the air they passed through conductive of electricity. It appeared, besides, that these rays traversed black paper and metals, and that they were neither reflected nor refracted in the process. Another surprising thing was that the emission of the rays was spontaneous; they were produced by no exciting cause and remained intact in spite of chemical combination. The cause of such energy was the object of many discussions, the interest increasing as it was found that other bodies possessed the same radiating properties as uranium, and that the radio-activity was greater in some of the natural ores of uranium and thorium than in uranium itself. Madame Curie concluded that these ores contained traces of new substances strongly radio-active. Helped by Monsieur Bémond, she and her husband undertook fresh experiments which soon led to the knowledge of polonium precipitated in chemical combinations with bismuth, and of radium precipitated with barium. The entrance of radium into the domain of science has begotten a new theory of matter, that of electrons, into which, in its final analysis, it is supposed to be reducible.

Two other physicists of renown, Moissan and Dewar, carried the transformation of elements to a greater extent than had hitherto been reached, the latter solidifying hydrogen after liquefying it, the former liquefying fluorine and changing carbon into small diamonds.

And Deslandres, by means of spectrum analysis, found two unknown gases in atmospheric air, which he named neon and protargon.

Henri Poincaré, one of three distinguished brothers, by his bold treatment of mathematics, gave to astronomy a fresh point of departure which its investigations had long needed. He relaid the foundations of geometry and algebra; and, building on them a system at once surer and of larger embrace, furnished in his *Méthodes nouvelles de la Mécanique céleste*, a guide which, if not as affirmative as could be desired, was yet calculated to save from many errors.

In the field of applied science inventions were also numerous. As examples may be mentioned the cinematograph, with which the name of Monsieur Lumière is associated; Moussards' photography in relief; Linde's apparatus for the liquefaction of gases; Tissot's system of radio-conductors for wireless telegraphy; Richet and Tatin's aeroplane.

In physiological botany, the researches of de Vries cast additional light on the rôle of what is called osmotic force, while another *savant*, Guignard, made a whole series of discoveries concerning the way in which plants are nourished. Loewy in astronomy, Duclaux in bacteriology, followed in the steps of Le Verrier and Pasteur. In medicine Dr. Bra's isolation of the cancer *champignon* advanced the study of this terrible disease and gave hopes of its ultimate cure.

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An event that made some stir among artists at the beginning of the nineties was the secession of a number of prominent painters and sculptors from the official

Société des Artistes Français and the formation of a rival Salon, under the control of a new society calling itself the Société Nationale des Beaux Arts. The split happened in this way. An International Committee of Fine Arts had been elected in the year 1889 for the purpose of awarding medals and certificates to artists whose submitted works should have been approved at the Great Universal Exhibition. Profiting by their international mandate, the Committee made their awards on lines sensibly differing from those previously followed by the Society of French Artists, not only with regard to the foreign exhibitors, but French ones as well. Some of the pontiffs were relegated to the background, and, to certain men of merit whose claims had hitherto been systematically passed over, first and second-class medals were given. Rodin was on the International Committee; so were Meissonier and Dalou and Carolus Duran; and they utilized their opportunity. But when the ordinary Salon committee met and were asked to confirm these decisions, reply was made that the French Society of Artists were not bound to respect them; and the awards were considerably modified in the case of the French artists. Meissonier and his friends opposed this modification, asserting that it was an insult to the International Committee. Finding their protest was ignored, the minority quitted the meeting and proceeded to the Ledoyen Restaurant in the Champs Elysées; and there they agreed to form an association on a broader basis than that of the Artistes Français. The result was that, in 1890, a second Salon was opened in the Galerie des Beaux Arts (a building remaining from the Exhibition), which was

situated in the Champ de Mars; and, presiding over it, was a Society composed of Fellows and Associates, each Associate being entitled to send in one picture or piece of sculpture without submitting it to the Committee of Inspection, while Fellows were allowed to send in six works of any kind. On the other hand, medals and awards of every sort were suppressed. Meissonier was the first President of the Society, the Vice-Presidents being the heads of each section. In the course of the nineties other Salons came into existence, one being the 'Indépendants,' open to those whose art theory and practice—good or bad—were such as to exclude them, voluntarily or involuntarily, from the two larger associations. Private galleries also became more numerous, in which special exhibits of one or more artists were being almost constantly held.

Painting, during the decade, in so far as it evolved, followed the lead of the symbolists, impressionists and pointillists, although some of these last, like Camille Pissarro, already mentioned, and Maurice Denis, so full of mysticism in his panels of the months, his 'Verger' and 'Dormeuse,' abandoned their peculiar colour-stippling for the older sweep of the brush.

Georges Seurat and Paul Signac were protagonists in the Pointillist school, the former dying in the early nineties, after finishing his amusing 'Dimanche à la Grande Jatte,' 'Parade de Cirque' and 'Baignade' and his seascapes of 'Grand Camp,' 'Honfleur,' etc., with their pure skies and milky atmosphere. Paul Signac's pointillism is more marked in canvases representing 'Matin,' 'Soir,' 'Brise,' 'Calme,' and even exaggerates the manner, yet reveals an accurate vision of surfaces and a faculty of painting form in movement.

The talent of Fantin-Latour, Renoir and Eugène Carrière is too personal to be classed in a school, save as creating one. Carrière reduced colour to its simplest expression on his palette; and sought to realize sculptural effects in painting by the almost exclusive use of chiaroscuro. Some of these are extraordinary; they create a new perfection. He, however, undoubtedly carried to an excess the darkness of his backgrounds and the indistinctness of his modelling. On many of his pictures the figures are ghosts rather than flesh-and-blood human beings. Fantin-Latour and Renoir put into their portraiture a profound science of design and colour, and prove their consummate skill in composition and character delineation, standing out from the crowd as great craftsmen in this difficult branch of art. With them Degas should be placed, more material in his interpretation, but of equal verity.

A pointillist who came into notice in this period, with his 'Vertu et Vice,' was Henri Martin, whose large allegorical tableaux have since become popular. More diffuse in his composition, he has a finer pointillism than that of Van Gogh—an erratic genius and short-lived, who sculptured his landscapes at the same time that he painted them, and, in spite of crudities that shock, made neo-impressionism yield some of its most striking performances.

Among the older artists, Benjamin Constant gave, in 1892, his 'Paris conviant le monde à ses fêtes'; Detaille, in the same year, his 'Sortie de la Garnison de Huningue.' In 1894, Jean-Paul Laurens produced his 'Pape et Empereur,' while Roll, Gervex and Puvis de Chavannes went on with their decorative painting for the Hôtel de Ville.

Water-colours had a pleasing exponent in Henri Rivière; pastels in Chéret. Engravers were represented by not only their *doyen* Bracquemond, but others such as Henri Guérard, the husband of Eva Gonzalès, Auguste Lepère, a modern Debucourt, whose speciality was in wood and whose ruling quality was strength. Then there were Odillon Rédon, with his superb lithographs and drawings in Rodin's style; Mademoiselle Mary Cassatt, with her exquisite dry-points, and Lucien Pissarro, the son of Camille, with his etchings of peculiarly archaic savour.

In sculpture, Rodin was more than ever the overpowering individuality, though banned by the conventionalists. His 'Baiser' and the Balzac monument—the latter refused by the Committee of Patronage on account of its originality—were two of his chief pieces of statuary during the period. Not a few other monuments executed by well-known artists were erected to celebrities before the close of the century: one to Emile Augier, by Barrias, in front of the Odéon; one in the Louvre Gardens to Meissonier, who died in 1901, by Mercié, Paris modelled that of Danton, placed in the Boulevard Saint Germain; Verlet, that of Guy de Maupassant, in the Parc Marceau; Puech, that of Leconte de Lisle, in the Luxembourg Gardens. The Balzac statue was taken up by Falguière and hastily finished before the end of the nineties. It stands now in the Avenue Friedland, a poor piece of work compared with his earlier achievement, which ranks high, much poorer than his 'La Rochejaquelin,' produced during the same period.

In 1894, Auguste Cain, the animal sculptor, died. Not so great as Barye, he, nevertheless, had vigour and



Photograph: Crevaux

RODIN

From the Portrait by J. E. BLANCHE

expression, as is seen by specimens of his carving in the Tuileries and the Trocadéro Gardens. A successor in this branch of the statuary art was Frémiet, whose orang-outangs of Borneo were exhibited in 1895.

Of the younger men, one who excelled by the depth of sentiment, especially of regret and grief, which he was able to make his marble and bronze express, was Bartholomé. A funeral group of two—the man accompanying the woman to the tomb—at present in Père Lachaise cemetery, came from his chisel in the decade, and has since been universally admired for its simple grace and pathos. Perhaps the truth of the modelling is less than its charm; but the thing is a masterpiece all the same. Charpentier, Lenoir, Bourdelle were also rising talents, but of the school that sought for its effects through the faithful reproduction of nature. They will be met with again.

XII

LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART SINCE 1900

PERHAPS the most prominent characteristic traits of recent literary production in France are its wider interests, its greater assimilation of foreign influences and its more considerable exhibition of feminine talent. It is true that such traits are not peculiar to France. All over the world the same widening of horizons is visible; the study of foreign languages has become a universal necessity, owing to the more frequent relations of countries with each other; and the more thorough education of women, together with the growth of 'feminism,' is a phenomenon no longer noticeable in one latitude or longitude only. But yet French literature in the past, especially in fiction and the drama, has admitted the foreign element with less readiness than to-day, partly, no doubt, as feeling itself self-sufficing, and partly too from a patriotism that was not without a certain narrowness. Translations into French are still fewer than those from French into other languages, mainly, it would seem, because publishers are timid and live too much on their standard authors. However, the movement is in progress. Not only are such nearer, celebrated writers as Rudyard Kipling, Spencer, Swinburne, Hardy, Wells, and more distant ones such as Edgar Allan Poe, Emerson, Tolstoy, Ibsen, translated,

but a fair number of others that are popular in their respective countries.

The same is true of the stage. Indeed, Wagner had not to wait till the end of the century. After considerable resistance, for he was not tender towards the French, the admirers of his music succeeded in getting tranquil and appreciative audiences for first one and then another of his pieces. In the representation of Shakespeare's dramas, the difficulties were of another kind. Translators who had previously rendered him into French had dealt too freely with his text, so that he had been rather adapted than interpreted. Monsieur Antoine, beginning at his own theatre and continuing at the Odéon, changed all this; and audiences were able to see *King Lear* and *Julius Cæsar* played exactly as they would if they were in London or Stratford-on-Avon. Moreover, the invitation of foreign companies of actors became more frequent, succeeding to the older practice of inviting foreign 'stars'; and plays like *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, *The Monkey's Paw*, of Jacobs (dramatized), and Barry's *Peter Pan* crossed the Channel.

The eminence of French women in literature is more of a transformation and a renaissance than something new. Ever since the times of the Hôtel de Rambouillet and before, there has been a tradition of feminine literary excellence in France, now and again manifested in women writers of great talent, Madame de Sévigné, Madame de Staël and George Sand for example, and oftener in *salons* where conversation and verbal criticism supplanted or supplemented the pen. And the tradition was not wanting even in the earlier years of the Republic. For a number of years, the *salon* of

Madame Adam, the talented editress of the *Nouvelle Revue*, was frequented by an *élite* of people famous in letters, politics and art. But the modern woman professional writer, winning her laurels in competition with the stronger sex, was, until within the last few years, a rarity compared with what is found in England and America. During the two previous decades, such women as Madame Henry Gréville, known by her novels of Russian life, Arvède Barine, by her critical studies, J. Marni and Gyp (la Comtesse Martel), by their lighter stories and sketches, Séverine, by her earnest journalism, Daniel Lesueur (Mlle. Jeanne Loiseau) by her novels and poetry, produced a body of literary work remarkable for its varied excellence. These examples have been followed; and, at present, there is an increasing amount of feminine writing that rivals in every respect with that of men.

One woman novelist, Marcelle Tinayre, belongs more properly to this decade. A few years ago the *Revue de Paris* published her *Maison du Péché*, a masterpiece both by its composition and style, which at once gave its author celebrity. A later book, *La Rebelle*, had hardly the same success. But Marcelle Tinayre is young, and may very well, if she lives, attain the rank of a George Sand.

Since 1900, some of the older novelists have died, including André Theuriet and Zola, the latter after publishing his *Travail*, a continuation of his new Gospels. Anatole France, instead of composing stories like his delightful *Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque*, has preferred to devote himself more to shorter tales satirical and socialistic in tendency, though his *Roman Comique* is a more rounded and a longer work; and

has besides completed his fine, critical history of Joan of Arc. Loti and J. H. Rosny continue their fiction, but also attempt history, the former relating *Les derniers jours de Pékin*, the latter, the *Anglo-Boer War*. The brothers Paul and Victor Margueritte, working together like the Rosnys, give, after their historical novel, *Le Désastre*, histories of the war and Commune, and a new sort of child's story, *Zette* and some others. Paul Bourget deviates further into the novel with a theory, composing his *Etape*, with its still diminished interest and increased mental squint. Rod, in his *Eau Courante*, shows the same sobriety as in his previous fiction; and René Bazin, a younger contemporary who sprang into sudden celebrity, brings out his *Oberlé* and *Terre qui meurt* in which he happily exploits a vein—the sentiment of nature—which has not been made the most of by the majority of French novelists. These two books contain delineations of character both powerfully and yet simply made, and local colouring, too, that is adequate without being overdone. A later novel of his, *Blé qui lève*, is inferior altogether, the essential qualities of the story being swamped by the effort to point a moral. Paul Adam with his *Ruse* and *Serpent noir*, and Prévost with his *Scorpion*, uphold their reputation while not adding much to it. In fact, except in some new authors' books dealing for the most part with subjects of the technical, pathological and risky kind—Muhlfeld's *Associée*, J. Antoine Nau's *Force ennemie* and Willy's *Claudine* series—the novel, save in the case of one or two authors, hardly rises above an ordinary level. One reason of this, perhaps, is that writers of fiction practise it only intermittently, monopolized or

too frequently tempted by other species of literature in which they succeed. This is the case with Gustave Geoffroy, who, after distinguishing himself as an art critic, and spending ten years on his masterpiece, *L'Enfermé*—with Blanqui as its subject—wrote his *Apprentie*, one of the few true novels of the present epoch, giving him a place in French fiction, like that of George Moore in English.

History and biography and art literature have been abundant in the last few years. Lavisser's *History of France* is a full though not a very impartial work. More important are Masson's studies on Napoleon and his *Impératrice Marie-Louise*, Vandal's *Avènement de Bonaparte*, Aulard's *Révolution Française*, Hanotaux' *Histoire de la France contemporaine*, which unfortunately has so far been brought up only to the end of its earlier years, Rambaud's *Histoire de la Civilisation contemporaine en France*. To these may be added a number of books dealing with the history of other countries, of which Reclus' *Empire du Milieu* may be mentioned and Muntz's *Florence et la Toscane*.

To the history of French literature itself, most of the greater critics have contributed much, either in series of articles or in books which contain valuable information. Besides Faguet's recent volume on the subject, René Doumic's *Etudes sur la littérature française* and Lintilhac's *Théâtre sérieux du Moyen Age* are fair specimens of such work, while Chevrillon, a nephew of Taine, has written on Kipling and other English authors. Mary Duclaux, herself an Englishwoman married to a French *savant*, has published in French an interesting book entitled *Les grands écrivains d'Outremanche*, and Emile Boutmy, his *Essai*

d'une psychologie du peuple anglais and *Eléments d'une psychologie du peuple américain*.

As representative examples of biography and souvenirs—some of them autobiography—may be mentioned Lanson's *Voltaire*, a conscientious study, du Bled's *Société française du 16^e au 20^e siècle*, Sarcey's *Quarante ans de théâtre* and Mistral's *Mémoires et Récits*. Mistral is a personage apart, being one of the few literary survivors of the disappearing Provençal tongue, a bard who can still sing in the old Langue d'oc. Daudet has given a pleasant sketch of him in the *Lettres de mon Moulin*. Of the writers on art, Roger Marx, the able editor of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, is a good type. His criticisms of Rodin's sculpture and Sèvres modelling are the best that can be read on the subject. Marcel's *Peinture française au 19^e siècle* is a useful aid to the appreciation of this branch of French activity; and Mauclair's books and articles on recent developments in French painting come from an intelligent lover of art.

On looking at the poets, one sees that the beginning of the century has thinned the ranks of the Parnassians. Sully Prudhomme, Heredia and, last of all, Coppée have gone. But a youthful generation has more than taken the place of the disappearing elders. René Ghil, Hérold, Barbusse (Catulle Mendès' son-in-law), Bataille and Fernand Gregh are some of the new-comers—symbolists and non-symbolists—who have cultivated the Muse with various talent and mood. The last-mentioned obtained recognition and fame in an amusing manner. It was in 1896. Paul Verlaine had just died; and the newspapers and reviews were publishing eulogies on the deceased author of *Sagesse*.

Among the eulogists were Gaston Deschamps, the literary critic of the *Temps*, and Gregh, who, in his article in the *Revue de Paris*, added a short poem of his own entitled *Menuet*, with, however, a mention of its being his, not Verlaine's. Later in the year, Monsieur Deschamps published a volume of his literary studies, including his article on Verlaine, with whose writings he was badly acquainted; and, thinking to embellish his criticism, he hastily looked through a number of other articles on the poet, Gregh's among the rest; he noticed the *Menuet*, and transferred it, under the impression it was Verlaine's, accompanying it with a few lines of praise, to the effect that it was a masterpiece. Of course, Monsieur Gregh hastened to correct the error, which turned to his advantage, since everybody was anxious to learn more of him; and he was at once able to find a reading public for his *Maison de l'Enfance*, and secured a prize from the Academy into the bargain. His *Beauté de vivre* was published in the first year of the present century; and contains, as the previous work, some pieces of very considerable merit.

Barbusse is rather Parnassian than symbolist, as indeed is Gregh. Bataille, who is also a dramatist, is the poet of inanimate things, which, in his *Chambre blanche*, he clothes with a sentiment that renders them interesting and often pathetic. Hérold, a son of the famous musician, is a *savant* as well as a poet; and his verse, without being pedantic, savours of his knowledge. An echo of his father's music resounds in his lines. Certain of his poems—*Les Chevaleries sentimentales* and *Au hasard des chemins*—are resplendent, reminding one, as has been said, of blond virgins with pearls in their

golden hair and with rings set with precious stones on their fingers.

René Ghil is, or at least tries to be, the Wagner of poetry. He would fain combine in his work all the forms of art—the literary, the musical, the picturesque and the plastic. His verse is also, in a manner, orchestral, endeavouring to gather into a musical drama—words being the musical notes—the whole of human interests. The *Dire du Mieux*, *Le Vœu de vivre*, *Le Dire des Sangs*, *Le Devenir* are examples of his expression of a conception which is worthy of sympathy, if not of unqualified approval. Such verse is a prophecy of the future.

Charles Guérin and Francis Jammes have a simpler ambition, the former in his *Cœur solitaire*, and the latter in his *De l'Angelus de l'Aube à l'Angelus du Soir*, aiming at lyric effects, Guérin exhibiting likewise a vein of melancholy philosophic thought.

On the stage, Brioux, Hervieu, Lavedan, Donnay and François de Curel are still foremost exponents of the *pièce à thèse*; the first in his *Remplaçantes* and *Avariés* dealing with grave problems affecting marriage; the second, in such pieces as his tragedy *Réveil*, bringing duty into conflict with the passions of love and ambition. Lavedan's *Duel* treats a similar theme in serious comedy, with a happy ending; and Donnay's *Paraître* flagellates modern society's follies; while de Curel's *Coup d'Aile*, like his earlier *Nouvelle Idole*, gives us a continuation of his philosophic and social moralizing. A younger dramatic author, Bernstein, has in the last few years acquired celebrity by a series of plays—*Le Berçail*, *La Rafale*, *La Griffé*, *Le Voleur*—remarkable for their technique recalling that of

Scribe, Dumas and Augier, with qualities of rapidity and clearness that please the public. They, however, lack the finer emotion contained in some of the best pieces of such playwrights as Bataille.

To the names of good and popular actors and actresses already mentioned in previous decades may be added a few more representative ones—Mayer, Laugier, Berr, Guitry, Taride, Lérant, de Max, with Mesdames Cécile Sorel, Suzanne Després, Simone Le Bargy, Marthe Brandès, Marthe Régnier; and, on the operatic stage, Renaud, Dufranne, with Mesdames Bréval and Héglon.

At the two Operas, Saint-Saëns counts a fresh success with his *Barbares*; Massenet, with *Grisélidis* and *Chérubin*; Camille Erlanger, with his *Fils de l'Etoile*; Xavier Leroux, with *La Reine Fiamette*. Isidore de Lara's *Messaline* and Rabaud's *Fille de Roland* are also important contributions to operatic music.

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In the French scientific movement of the early twentieth century, while great names are not wanting, the phenomenon of chief importance is its closer co-operation with similar movements abroad for the achievement of results needing world-wide combination. As Emile Picard says in his *Science Moderne et son état actuel*: "It seems that henceforth, in scientific life as in social, association will impose itself more and more. Such and such task can only be effected by the collaboration of a mathematician and a physicist; such other will require the mutual help of a chemist and a physiologist. . . . We have recently seen enterprises undertaken which call for a large number of investi-



Photograph: Bulloz

GOUNOD AS A YOUNG MAN

From a Sketch by INGRES

gators in order to succeed. There is the map of the heavens, at which all the observatories of the globe are working. There is the International Geodesic Association, which discusses all questions referring to the form of the terrestrial sphere. And, last but not least, with wider embrace and more unlimited scope, there is the International Reunion of Academies, which, supported by the various principal Societies of Learning, is beginning to organize collective research. Its first session in Paris, in the year 1901, marks perhaps a date in the annals of scientific labour."

It probably marks more, to wit, the initiative of an ultimate co-operation in social and political life that shall federate all the nations of the earth.

Meanwhile, it is pleasant to notice how, in the latest conquest of the air, France has served as a connecting link between other peoples. Santos Dumont, the Brazilian, and Farman, the Englishman, both pioneers in heavier-than-air aviation, constructed their machines in France, with the aid of French mechanics. And Wilbur Wright, the American, had no sooner perfected his invention than he found a French market for its exploitation. Moreover, with these foreigners, there are rivals like Delagrange and Blériot to uphold the national honour, and to remind us that, from the days of the brothers Montgolfier, France has furnished a long line of experimentalists in this field, with Jobert, Penaud, Hureau de Villeneuve, Richet and Tatin, as true discoverers of the art of flying.

Among physicists devoting themselves to the study of electricity, Dr. Arsène d'Arsonval holds a prominent place by his successful applications of electricity to therapeutics. In bacteriology, Dr. Roux, at present

Director of the Pasteur Institute, has earned well-merited fame by his anti-diphtheric serum. There are several princes of surgery, none, however, more celebrated than Doyen, who has made cancer treatment a speciality. In mental science, Bergson's restatement of psychology has created respectful attention not only in France but abroad. Another expert in problems of mind and matter is Gustave Le Bon, who has exposed in his *Evolution de la matière* and his *Psychologie de l'Education* some remarkable theories worthy of consideration. Lapparent, an elder in geology; Bonnier and Flahaut, original investigators in botany; Renault and Depéret, untiring workers in fossil palæontology; and Lebesque and Baire, of the younger generation of mathematicians, are a few of France's illustrious toilers in the modern scientific domain.

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The movement of painting since the commencement of the twentieth century, with its ever-increasing list of famous names, a few only of which can be mentioned, has continued to be largely influenced by one or another phase of impressionism. Common to most of the artists that practise this style is the hatred of the picture of arrangement and a resolute sacrificing of the grace of detail to the exact observation of values, a resolute seeking through the decomposition of colour tones to obtain the vibration of light itself. Guillaumin, Henry Moret and Maxime Maufra—the last in his sea-scapes—have more peculiarly striven to attain these results. In portraiture, impressionism endeavours ever to secure character, exactitude and the bloom of colour. Renoir is one of the chief exponents of such

efforts. His 'Sous la tonnelle' and 'Sur la terrasse' are studies of values in the open air which have been carried far. He often, however, lacks precision in his modelling. Compensating this, the warm blood is visible under the nacre of the skin; in his power of colour and personality of touch he rivals with Monet.

Some of the elder men seem to have evolved, Tony-Robert Fleury in his most recent work and Carolus Duran also. In the latter's 'Marchand d'Eponges' there is a franker study of nature. Other of the elders perfect the manner in which they first excelled. Detaille paints his 'Vers la Gloire'—now in the Pantheon—a really fine military composition full of life and fire and superb colouring. His 'Chant du Départ,' with soberer hues, has similar energy and movement. Besnard supplies the restored Comédie Française with a ceiling on which Apollo salutes with his rays the statues of the poets. Roll, a lover of iridescent tints, gives in his 'Jeunesse en Rose' the powdery effects produced by the colouring of objects in the open air. His latest decorative painting is a panel entitled 'Vers la Nature,' a canvas of masterly execution, in which, amidst a vague landscape, irradiated with slowly dawning light, Science raises her torch to draw men onward in the path of knowledge. Jean-Paul Laurens finishes his picture representing 'Le Désastre,' and creates also an ideal glorification of Beethoven's music, with the great composer's face and figure somewhat superhumanized. In some of these vast allegories, even artists of talent do not always show to advantage. For example, Mademoiselle Dufau, in a canvas intended for one of the halls of the Sorbonne, attempts a personification of Mathematics, Radio-

activity and Magnetism that puzzles and astonishes more than it pleases. There is a similar lack of central interest in Henri Martin's huge canvas, entitled 'Les Faucheurs,' in spite of its main group of disciples gathered round a master who has the outward presentment, yet imperfect, of Anatole France.

Among the elders, too, Jules Lefebvre exposes his rather overdone 'Lady Godiva'; Béraud treats his 'Belles de Nuit' and 'Défilé' in his own realistic way; Aimé Morot and Flameng paint portraits recalling the eighteenth-century artists; Dinet, the Orientalist, gives his 'Printemps' and 'Tristesses'; Lhermitte shows changing scenes of nature in the 'Sortie du Troupeau' and the 'Moisson dans la Vallée'; while one painter, Paul Renouard, previously known by his clever sketches of scenes in London, produces an equally striking series of drawings—each line indicative of characteristic action and speech—made during the Dreyfus trial at Rennes. Subsequently he composes a picture based on the same incident and successfully fixing the chief actors that played their part in it.

Of the younger men, Le Sidaner, after painting his visions of the Ile de France and of Venice, with his happy inspirations of colour-contrast, follows Monet's example and goes to London, where he reproduces from his palette the banks of Thames in their varying aspects, the dome of St. Paul's amidst a slight mist tinged with the sun's rose-red, Trafalgar Square gilded by an autumn setting sun, and Hampton Court with its sombre reds and greens and its trim gardens. Simon Bussy, a pupil of Gustave Moreau, in his 'Lourd crépuscule d'été,' for instance, reveals qualities of the first order by his use of light, the psychological inter-

pretations of his figures and his harmonizing of all the parts of his composition. Cottet and Lucien Simon increase their reputation as 'Intimists'; the former, who has a certain resemblance to Jordaens, completes, with his 'Douleur,' the celebrated series, 'Au pays de la Mer'; the latter manifests in one of his last canvases, 'Cérémonie religieuse à Assise,' the determination common to the vigorous modern school to admit the element of emotion only through the verity of technique.

No mention has hitherto been made of the portraitist Jacques Blanche, hardly a junior yet hardly a senior, once a disciple of Whistler and Manet, whose evolution has been slow and painful. After a quarter of a century spent in experiment and research, he has converted his early facility of brush into a personal style of sober power. Some of his English portraits, notably that of Thomas Hardy the novelist, and some of his French ones, including his 'Berenice' series, illustrate this development best, above all, when they are compared with his 'Supper at Emmaus' and even with the 'Thaulow Family,' in the Luxembourg Museum.

If one or two other names may be added, those of Daniel Vierge, the water-colourist and draughtsman, and of Louis Legrand, a pupil of Félicien Rops, who is the premier aquafortist of the day, ought not to be forgotten. Then there are Lobre, Wéry, Prinnet and Ernest Laurent, who are Intimists; Forain the caricaturist; Steinlen, the talented sketcher of Paris life in all its forms, with philosophy and humour in his drawing; and Veber and Guillaume, painters of great talent in the amusing kind of picture.

Monumental sculpture in Paris, as elsewhere, has been considerably augmented since 1900. Rodin's 'Penseur' has found a site on the Place du Panthéon, and his 'Victor Hugo' is at last about to be placed in the gardens of the Luxembourg, a more characteristic representation of this nineteenth-century giant of literature than the statue, by Barrias, erected in the beginning of the decade. Alphonse Daudet's sitting figure, by Saint-Marceaux, occupies a sheltered nook in the groves of the Champs Elysées; and Mercié's 'Alfred de Musset,' poorly executed, intrudes on the footpath outside the Comédie Française. A more successful effort of the same sculptor is the bust of 'Armand Silvestre,' with its basement group of graceful nymphs, standing amidst the verdure of the Cours la Reine. Saint-Marceaux' 'Alexandre Dumas fils' has been appropriately erected on the Place Malesherbes, opposite the monument of the elder Dumas. 'Chevreul,' the physicist, re-created by Fagel, can be seen in the Jardin des Plantes; Injalbert's 'Auguste Comte' on the Place de la Sorbonne; and Bartholdi's group in souvenir of the 'Aeronauts of the Siege of Paris' has been suitably reared in the suburb of Neuilly.

Of the statuary exhibited, in recent Salons, by well-known sculptors, Picard's 'George Sand' and Mancel's 'Alfred de Musset' form a pleasing and striking contrast, both being works of merit, with delicate and puissant modelling. Bernstamm's 'Pailleron' is accompanied by a beautifully chiselled Muse reproducing the features of the *comédienne* Samary. Bartholomé gives an 'Adam and Eve' discovering their nakedness, which calls to the spectator's mind the Eve sung by the poet Samain in his *Chariot d'Or*. Jules Desbois

has a 'Femme à l'Arc' fashioned with all the fine skill this artist manifests in his miniature figures, and which his long experience in Sèvres modelling seems to have rendered perfect. Rodin continues his series of busts, English, American and French, and his curious studies of portions of the human frame, dominated too often by his admiration of the Greek style. Bourdelle, increasing his power and originality of execution, produces his 'Pallas Athene,' 'Hercules' and 'Danaïds,' and, more recently still, his noble bust of the painter Ingres. Some other men meriting notice are Lenoir, with his 'Saint Vincent de Paul'; Camille Lefèvre, with his figures of women and children; Carlès, with his bust of President Fallières; Alexandre Charpentier, as always, full of energy; Pierre Roche, subtle yet bold, delicate and captivating. Loysel, of the Artistes Français, and Cros, recently dead, have gained renown in the new century. Loysel's 'Jeune Femme au bain,' exhibited in the 1908 Salon, was, though small in size, one of its chief works. And the list is not nearly complete. In spite of its less remunerative character, the statuary art has many followers, not a few of whom produce excellent pieces.

One satisfactory feature of art exhibitions in late years is the readmission of the decorative arts into their midst. Too long there has been a divorce between painting and sculpture, in the ordinary sense of these terms, and the same crafts practised in connection with architecture and adornment; and, in consequence, the former have lost touch with real life and the latter have lacked inspiration. Historically, the reunion is an important thing to notice. On the future of art, both near and remote, its influence cannot fail to be beneficial.

XIII

PARIS

THE fall of the Commune marked the end of the power of the capital to conjure up revolutions at will. A new order of things arose with the new Paris, in which armed insurrection against the authority of Government had no chance of success, and barricades were not more than so much useless furniture to be relegated to the lumber-room of the past. The lesson was well learnt, as was shown when the Boulangist *Fronde* sounded the tocsin of revolt. There was some cheering and excitement, but no response in action. Besides, the capital now had more serious and more profitable matters to attend to. Peaceably possessed of almost every right and privilege which the Commune of 1871 had striven to obtain by forcibly separating from the rest of France, she found herself engrossed by her own resurrection and transformation, of which circumstances were making something bigger than any one could have dreamed at the close of the siege. Compared with the Paris of to-day, the capital of the restored Monarchy and Second Empire was merely a country town.

Sardou, in his preface to Georges Cain's *Coins de Paris*, tells of this city of his childhood, where, on the central boulevards, a single omnibus plied between the Madeleine and the Bastille every quarter of an hour

and there was no danger of being run over by a horse, where the Palais Royal was the rendezvous of politicians, clubmen, gazetteers, open-air orators, stock-jobbers and 'Merveilleuses,' where the Rond-Point of the Champs Elysées was considered a boundary, where all the streets were narrow, but, to compensate, delicious old gardens were plentiful. The faubourgs then were real faubourgs. Near the Rue Chaillot, the Avenue of the Champs Elysées was bordered on the left with a broad turf embankment. 'In the fine weather season,' says Monsieur Sardou, 'I have seen diners cutting up their melon and leg of mutton there, with the naïve joy of city folk enjoying the purer field air.'

The change began while Louis Napoleon was on the throne, and when the era of steam, machinery and applied science had determined an influx of population from the country to the town. But Baron Haussmann's scheme for the embellishment and hygienization of the capital was only in an initial stage of execution when the war broke out; and the ravages of the siege and Commune were such that the work to be done was really a fresh creation. Not having Aladdin's magic lamp, the Town Council were compelled to proceed as best they could amid the stir of the city's daily life. Forty years have not sufficed for the whole project to be realized.

One of the Baron's interrupted tasks that was taken up first and finished was the cutting of the Avenue de l'Opéra. The network of narrow streets was cleared from round the Butte du Moulin, streets whose names—Orties, Petits Champs, Moineaux, Mulets—recalled the former rusticity of the place. It was a ground full of biographic interest. Voltaire had lived in the

Rue Molière, Corneille, in the Rue d'Argenteuil, and Bossuet had died in the Rue Clos Gorgeau. The Boulevard Saint-Germain was completed next, intruding on the tranquillity of the ancient aristocratic faubourg of that name and bringing a busy thoroughfare into its midst. Later came the Rue Réaumur, the Avenue de la République, the Boulevard Raspail, which last is still in the making; these and other arteries, radiating from centre to circumference, passed through what used to be quarters practically distinct and shut off from each other; and, as they passed, carried in light and air and a general improvement of sanitary conditions.

In the way of architectural restoration, besides the partial or entire reconstruction of what the Commune had injured or destroyed, the effort was immense. To match the vaster Sorbonne that was rising in the place of the hostel founded in the thirteenth century by Robert de Sorbon, confessor to King Louis IX, the venerable and famous Jesuit College, which had become the Lycée Louis le Grand, was rebuilt on its flank in the widened Rue Saint-Jacques, the old clock-tower and sundial alone being preserved, as was also Richelieu's Chapel in the University. Then the Collège de France was enlarged, and the School of Medicine with its fine modern library of over fifty thousand volumes, its one hundred and seventy-eight dissecting-rooms, and its Museum Halls filled with priceless collections. In the Saint-Jacques neighbourhood rose likewise a new Law School; in the Luxembourg, a new School of Pharmacy; and additional galleries to the Museum of Natural History, in the Jardin des Plantes. Along the Boulevard Saint-Michel, the Palais de Justice

and the Sainte-Chapelle were completed. The Catholics erected on the heights of Montmartre the Basilica of the Sacré Cœur. On the right bank of the Seine, the ruins of the Tuileries were metamorphosed into the Jardin du Carrousel, and the pavilions of Flore and Marsan were renovated; while, on the left bank, the mouldering Cour des Comptes vanished to make room for the handsome Quai d'Orsay railway station, rivaling with the Gare Saint-Lazare and the Gare de Lyons, which had clad themselves too in new and ampler vesture.

More quietly than the Bastille, the Roquette, Mazas and Sainte-Pélagie prisons were demolished. Henceforward, the prisons of the capital were to be outside the walls. And these walls themselves were condemned. No longer able to contain the city's teeming population, in spite of the five-storied dwelling-houses now running up to seven and eight, they had lost their utility for military purposes and served only to artificially cut off quarters like Neuilly which had grown into integral portions of Paris.

From year to year, facilitated by the multiplying of broad roads, there was an invading rush of locomotion. Tramways and railways pushed their way further into the heart of the town; and, accompanying them, the flash of the cycle everywhere with its contingent of fair sex riders whose bloomer costumes at first amused the *badaud*. In turn, the cycle was crowded out by the motor-car, an invention that coincided with the arrival of cosmopolitanism and the definite disappearance of the Parisian types recorded by the pencils of Gavarni and Daumier. Each universal exhibition left behind it an increase of exoticism. German *brasseries*, Italian

confetti, English mail-coaches, American *magasins* obtained their letters of naturalization; and, at last, the London policeman's staff was imported, to be employed as a wand in regulating traffic.

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Luckily for this huge agglomeration of individuals and interests, the law of April 1871 gave the city a central legislative and administrative parliament of its own, which has always shown itself equal to the growing demands made upon it.

The Paris Municipal Council is composed of eighty members, four being elected by each *arrondissement*, i.e. one by each quarter. The Council chooses its own President and two Vice-Presidents, while the Government is represented by the *Préfet de la Seine*, who has his residence in the Town Hall or *Hôtel de Ville*. Since 1896, the Councillors have had a four years' mandate; and, for the last twenty years, their sittings have been public, as also their voting, though a secret *scrutin* may be taken at the request of any three members. The *Préfet's* rôle is an advisory one, at times extending to a warning that the Council's action is an encroachment on Government prerogative, and may be annulled.

Six great Commissions divide up the administrative work. The first occupies itself with financial matters and taxation; the second, mostly with what Zola in one of his novels calls '*Le Ventre de Paris*'—markets, slaughter-houses, material, etc.; the third, with the roads; the fourth, with education and the fine arts; the fifth, with the relief of the poor and public pawnshops; and the sixth, with sanitation, sewage, water,

etc. Each Commission has twelve members, except the third and fourth, which have sixteen. The Budget and certain business of a general character are discussed and decided by the whole Council; and a few special Committees exist for things of intermittent importance only. Some idea may be gained of the city's rapid expansion by comparing its receipts in 1875 with those of twenty-five years later. From two hundred and fifteen million francs they rose to above three hundred millions. And its liabilities progressed still faster. To-day they amount to considerably more than four milliard francs, which means over one hundred and sixty millions sterling.

Commercially and industrially, the capital has profited by her transformation under the Republic. Besides the introduction of the cycle and motor-car manufactures, and an impetus given to every branch connected with building, nearly all the older trades have doubled or trebled their output; in first line, that of so-called Paris articles—toys and knick-knacks, artificial flowers, coiffures, fans, umbrellas and sunshades; then, art jewellery; then, to quote but one more, clothing—this last branch alone occupying nigh on half a million people. Taking all the trades together, the number of persons that employ labour may be reckoned as between three and four hundred thousand.

This upspring and spread of industry in modern conditions have called into existence the Bourse de Commerce and the Bourse de Travail, the latter originally intended to be a sort of Labour Office for those out of work, but developing soon into a Club and Workmen's Parliament, where unadvised utterance at times was

the cause of outside lawless conduct. More enlightened and useful has been the action of that other trade parliament—the Paris Chamber of Commerce with its thirty-six members elected by three thousand three hundred notables of the city. They represent practical experience and education, and a class who, if lacking some of the boldness characteristic of similar bodies abroad, possess to an eminent degree the quality of making the most of small things. The example may be quoted of a banker that returned to his native country after amassing a large fortune in South America entirely by means of small transactions disdained by English bankers established there. The active share taken by the Paris Chamber of Commerce in the instruction of the young will be spoken of in the chapter on education. Here may be mentioned the fact that it is supplemented by an equally assiduous commercial pioneering in all parts of the world through young men that have been trained for the purpose.

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In no small measure the capital's trade and business depend on the pleasures that have always constituted part of her reputation. During the Republican era, theatres, races, Salons, clubs, café concerts and cafés have all become more prominent features of the city's life. The last of these is the real connecting link between old and new. The Café Procope, which Piron, Destouches and Voltaire frequented, heard also the eloquence of Gambetta; and the *décheance* did not deprive the Café de la Régence of its faithful band of afternoon chess players. However, on the boulevards, the Imperialist Café de la Paix and the Republican



Photograph: Druet

AT THE "MOULIN ROUGE"

From a Caricature by DE TOULOUSE LAUTREC

Café Frontin disputed the precedence of the older Riche, Tortoni and Madrid houses, not to speak of the Foy, Montausier and Corazza of the Palais Royal, victims of the desertion of fashion. The students kept to their Molière, Racine and Vachette establishments round the Odéon and in the Boulevard Saint-Michel. At Montmartre, artist caprice was for ever creating some new vogue, like the Café du Rat Mort; and cosmopolitan Paris subsequently patronized the Sylvain, Julien and American Cafés, on the boulevards, where it was possible to go after exit from the theatres and spend the remainder of the night.

Except in the Quartier Latin, where the Jardin Bullier still maintains ancient traditions, replacing the previous Prado, the *bal public* has both degenerated and declined, owing to the competition of the café concert and variety entertainment. At present, more than three hundred of these café concerts furnish the Paris bourgeois with cheap amusement often of high artistic merit; and, as the theatres hold no monopoly against them, they can give their audiences drama likewise. The dancing, which has not declined, is that of the stage. Here the luxury of spectacular effects has encouraged a development of terpsichorean skill affording more enjoyment to the beholder than imitations of Chichard's *cancan* or of Mogador's and La Goulue's light fantastic toe. In certain music-hall *reviews*, as in certain theatrical plays, a grossness of wit and licence of attire have met with regrettable toleration from *habitués*, and at length compelled the interference of the authorities. More especially the exhibition of the female nude has become a foolish worship among a section of the public, happily not large, who drag art out of its domain. The

famous Bal des Quatre-z-Arts with its nude female dancers was one manifestation of this craze ; and the modern Godiva issuing on to and crossing the street, out of pure bravado, amidst a bevy of admiring male friends, was another.

In the Republic's early years, horse-racing was about the only periodical occasion for great open-air assemblies in which the classes mingled. Though the supremacy of the elder sport remains, football matches, bicycle and even swimming races have begun to draw their throngs of sightseers, with less damage to the latter's pockets than at the Auteuil and Longchamp courses, notwithstanding the Government surveillance of the Pari-Mutuel.

Fringing on Parisian pleasures, in part distinct from them, in part confused with them, is the round of the year's feasts and celebrations, an ancestral inheritance. Time has affected these more lightly, but they have not altogether escaped change. Lent brings its Jour des Rameaux or Pâques fleuries, when the appearance of box-sprigs everywhere heralds the arrival of spring. With April and May come the great Salons,—the gathering of artist clans and the discovery of fresh reputations in sculpture and painting. Easter also brings the people's Ginger Bread Fair preceded by the Foire aux Jambons and the Foire à la ferraille. In June, society and demi-society meet and take *congé* in the Fête des Fleurs and at the Grand Prix, before flying to sylvan shades and seaside casinos, and the capital is abandoned to its workaday inhabitants, the dead season, and the invasion of foreigners. The autumn Salon, at the commencement of October, is the prelude to the reopening of schools and Parlia-

ment. November is inaugurated by the Toussaint, when the cemeteries fill with families seeking out their dead to pay them respect and honour. The custom is traditional, but there is life in it. At Christmas and the New Year, the boulevards are covered with their *petites baraques*, an opportunity for the small inventor to publish his genius and sell his wares. They are supportable encumbrances, coming but once a year, and probably do no harm to the regular shopkeepers, if they do no good. Perennial, yet confined to the exterior boulevards and one or two of the larger squares away from the city's hum, are the ambulatory fairs or wakes that flit from point to point as the season advances. The Foire de Neuilly, which is held in June and July, and is on a large scale, is not an unmixed boon for the inhabitants living on the avenue that leads from the Porte Maillot to the Seine. Twenty years ago, the Lent Carnival had still its popularity of yore; but, with the passing of the century, it has retreated to the more Bohemian regions of the Quartier Latin and Montmartre, bequeathing the boulevards its Jours Gras showers of confetti as a keepsake.

The Parisian population in the main is a laborious as well as a pleasure-loving one; and among the hard workers, whatever their position, there is a good average of sterling qualities in civic, family, and individual relations. Severe criticisms have been passed by some French writers upon the bourgeoisie, and by others on the people or lower class. But, since criticism is usually caricature, each separate accusation needs reducing, before the defects complained of can be estimated fairly. Labour will engender vices in the struggle for life, but here they have the excuse

of necessity, which is absent in the case of the leisured, not to say idle, aristocracy, among whom, however, the active pursuit of virtue seems but little in favour.

The typical aristocrat, who spends six or seven months in Paris and the remainder of the year in the country, is a grasshopper imprisoned in an anthill. Shut out from the diplomatic career by his non-acceptance of the Republic, refractory to every other profession except that of arms, and generally unwilling to work for the examination which alone would permit of his adopting the army as a profession, he finds himself at the age of manhood with nothing to do besides taking his constitutional drive or ride, consulting his tailor, paying visits, frequenting balls and amusing himself at the club. If he belongs to the Legitimist nobility, he will probably enter the Cercle Agricole, which is more exclusive than the Jockey, yet less capricious in its elections, providing the candidate's title is authentically ancient. The Jockey or the Cercle de la Rue Royale will only attract him in preference, if he be a sportsman or a gambler. Of allowable aristocratic failings he has his share—looseness in sexual morality, remissness in paying tradesmen's debts; and compounds for them by strict attention to the outward ceremonies of religion and a devotion to the temporal aspirations of the Church—attention and devotion which do not prevent him from marrying a Jewish heiress, whenever he has the chance. Of the warrior ardour of his ancestors he has preserved scarcely anything but the memory. By leading an existence so void of serious purpose, he has lost the notion of reality, which may account for the Baron Christiani's prowess against President Loubet. Be it

granted the Baron's scutcheon dates no further back than Napoleon I; still, Bonaparte's peerage was based on deeds of valour.

And the men that earned it were not a few. The first Emperor created 9 princes, 32 dukes, 388 counts, 1090 barons, 48,000 chevaliers. After this what could the Restoration do but imitate? During the reign of Louis XVIII, the peerage-roll was increased by 17 dukes, 70 marquises, 83 counts, 62 viscounts, 215 barons, and 785 titles of simple nobility. Following on, the July Monarchy made 3 dukes, 19 counts, 17 viscounts, and 59 barons; and Napoleon III, 12 dukes, 19 counts and viscounts, and 21 barons.

From the moment when the Republic was proclaimed, none of these titles, nor yet those of the older Royalty, had any legal value. However, they have flourished more than ever in their fictitious character, each child of a noble family extending the *particule* to his own descendants, and additional recruits being supplied by patent papal instead of by patent royal. While abolishing hereditary dignities, the Republic conserved the honorary ones already existent and created others. The red ribbon and rosette belong to the Legion of Honour, which, with its ascending grades from Chevalier to Grand Commander, was formerly a military order. It is now conferred as a high honour, without reference to employment. Similarly the blue ribbon and rosette of the Officier d'Académie and the Officier de l'Instruction publique used to be reserved for members of the learned professions. At present, they are accorded for the more numerous public services that do not call for the higher distinction.

The Parisian bourgeois, as much as his provincial brother, is, as a rule, fond of these decorations, which stimulate his ardour in civic effort. His desire for them is a harmless foible, and his pride in obtaining them is at least as justifiable as that felt by the possessor of a title who has done nothing beyond being born to it. Perhaps, among the criticisms too harshly and sweepingly expressed by Octave Mirbeau, himself a bourgeois, upon his own class, there has been and still is, though in a diminishing degree, a certain truth in the following lines: "When travelling, we French never tire of satirizing the German, English, Italian families we meet with on the way, families that often give us examples of physical health and good education. With fierce joy and imbecile pride, we take pleasure in carping, always to our advantage, on what we style their absurdities, their blemishes, which, may be, are only virtues. . . . But it is understood that nothing is fine, elegant, sprightly, witty, nothing is intelligent that is not France. Great men of other countries are mere copyists, sorry plagiarists. Dickens owes everything to Alphonse Daudet, Tolstoy, to Stendhal . . . The whole of Ibsen is in the *Révolte* of Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. . . . What would Goethe have been without Gounod and Thomas? . . . And, as for Henri Heine, the less said the better of that vile spy pensioned by Guizot." This naïve and narrow patriotism, which after all is not exclusively French, is an anachronism in days when each morning's newspaper gives a lesson in universal geography and history.

The Parisian artisan class differs somewhat from that of other localities, being, on the one hand, more heterogeneous, on the other more perfectly organized.

Here the individual is also more than elsewhere under the control of the Labour Confederation, which enlists him *nolens volens*, and dictates to him the terms whereon alone he may work. His organization and discipline have permitted him to treat with the powers that be and to get a good deal of legislation to his liking, yet have not freed him from the iron law of economic progress—is it progress?—which, if it puts within his reach many things previously monopolized by the wealthy, has crowded him into unhealthy proximities, submitted him to the stress of forces that not even his syndicate can protect him against, and weakened him physically and morally. The irritated feelings fostered by such circumstances are largely responsible for the so-called apachism or hooliganism that has become so unpleasantly prominent in the capital of late. The apache and the anarchist bomb-thrower are both lunatics, but the former has no method in his madness.

Still more than that of other great cities, the population of the French capital would seem to be an epitome of the divers sub-nationalities of the country. The Norman, the Auvergnat, the Toulousain, the Breton, the Alsatian are to be met with in every station of life, drawn from their native provinces through the channels of art, business or trade. This gives an astonishing variety of physiognomy and character, making it difficult to discover common distinguishing features, unless accent and idiom be admitted. The Parisian born and bred has a throat pronunciation of the *r* that is practically peculiar to him; and he abuses the past indefinite in a way that his southern brother disapproves. Indeed, in spite of

the capital's intellectual supremacy, the purest French of tradition is spoken nearer to Blois on the banks of the Loire than to the banks of the Seine round the Ile de Saint-Louis. But it should be added that the French spoken in Paris, even by the people, is not a vulgar idiom, exception made for special *argots*. Whatever be the cause, there is nothing to shock the educated ear in the ordinary speech and pronunciation of the artisan class. The same cannot be said of the provinces, where a very wide difference exists between the language of the peasant and the châtelain. North and south and east and west amalgamate easily in the central crucible of the national life. Little jealousies crop up at times, more especially between the men of the north and the men of the south; but these have no deep significance, save perhaps in politics, a profession that appears to have favoured southerners. Similar jealousies show themselves, intermittently, against Protestants and, permanently, against Jews, both being accused of exercising too great an influence in public matters and of lacking patriotism. These accusations and the prejudices prompting them, which are not well grounded, are resuscitations of the ancient *odium theologicum* that produced the Saint Barthélemy massacre; and, unfortunately, as the Dreyfus Affair proved, they are deliberately used to stir up civil strife, and can now and again arouse popular passion to inexplicable aberrations of conduct.

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One consequence of the capital's aggrandizement has been the tightening of the conditions of living. Rent, food, clothing have all grown dearer under the Republic. The rise of the first has especially affected

flats occupied by the middle classes of modest fortune, who, in every *arrondissement* near to the centre, must pay, if they are to have anything comfortable, three and four thousand francs a year. And the accommodation at that is not large. The richer middle-class apartment ranges from five to ten thousand francs or more, while, in the Champs Elysées and the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne quarters, flats and mansions mount to twenty-five, thirty thousand, and still higher figures. Of the older moderate-rented flats from a thousand to two thousand francs, there are scarcely any reproductions in newly erected blocks of buildings; and the workman's flat is being eliminated from all parts but the east and south and relegated to the outskirts of the city. Here and there, in forgotten nooks and corners—for Paris has its squalors as well as its splendours—the poor herd together in single rooms where they have scarcely the space to turn or breathe, paying for such miserable accommodation prices that would procure a good cottage in the country. The providing of good, cheap dwellings for the numerous families whose earnings are only three and four francs a day—and less—is a problem in a city where ground has tripled and quadrupled in value during the last quarter of a century. Something, however, has been done towards its solution by the new metropolitan system of railways, which, since the opening of a first line in 1900, has spread in every direction. The uniform second-class fare of three sous for any distance, and four sous return ticket taken before nine o'clock in the morning, allow the humbler working-class to live much further from their occupations than was formerly possible. When the fortifications shall have been de-

molished and the broad girdle of land round Paris is thrown for disposal on to the hands of the Municipal Council, the best use they could make of it would be to build model workmen's flats, with vast intervening public gardens, and let the apartments at a reasonable rent to the poorer toilers of the city.

In articles of daily use and consumption, the rise of value has chiefly affected fuel, meat, butter and milk. Top prices in coal reach seventy-five francs a ton, in meat, two francs fifty centimes a pound, and in butter, nearly three francs fifty. Bread, vegetables, fruit and eggs have remained, on the whole, at the rates quoted a generation ago, though bread is still too dear. Some benefit would accrue to shallow purses, if direct local taxation were substituted for the *octrois* or town dues, which are imposed only for revenue purposes and protect no trade or industry. The suppression of the wine dues some few years since was the beginning of a reform which has not been continued.

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Paris fashions under the Republic—at any rate those for ladies—are too well known the world over to need much particular mention. They have been adopted on the other side of the Channel, whatever their intrinsic merit, absurd in the bustle, tree-trunk skirt and *coiffure à la chien*, graceful in the simpler and ampler curves of gown, suavely coiled hair and dainty hat or bonnet. The exaggeration of the eighty decade has had some repetition in this century, exaggeration manifested in eccentricities of head-gear, extinguishing the bonnet entirely and setting up the reign of hats that are flower gardens when they are not animated trays.



Photograph: Bulloz

PUVIS DE CHAVANNES

By RODIN

As a return compliment, the well-dressed Parisian gentleman still patronizes English styles of tailoring and dress, the custom being responsible for stories of his sending linen to be washed on the banks of the Thames and turning up his trousers, even in fine weather, because it might be raining in London. This does not prevent him from preferring a longer and narrower *chaussure*, his foot not being so broad as an Englishman's—so 'tis said.

Of recent importation is the English tea-room, now quite a Paris institution. In every portion of the city frequented by Briton and American, such afternoon refreshment lounges tempt the tired sightseer, *flâneur* or business-bound pedestrian, and rival with the cafés in their attractiveness, though not displaying their tables on the *trottoir*. Less agreeable on the tongue than the beverage which cheers but not inebriates is the verb *five-o'clocker*, which may be heard occasionally among the English words, sandwich, meeting, leader, football, etc., naturalized in pronunciation without change of spelling. True, 'beefsteak' became 'bifteck' before the *Entente Cordiale* and the foundation of the 'Société pour la propagation des langues vivantes.'

In fine, Republican Paris has gained in assimilative power, and has increased its intellectual importation, which it pays for by liberal exports, without troubling to ask who are its creditors. The time has gone by when any one capital could be the hub of the globe. Co-operation is the utmost that each and all can pretend to. If, in the future, the fair mistress of the Seine will content herself, as now, with this ambition, there is none shall say her nay.

XIV

THE MUTUALIST MOVEMENT

THE French Mutual Help movement, which is probably the most perfectly organized social agency in Europe, began life modestly in the period immediately following the Great Revolution of 1789. The sweeping legislation of the First Republic had abolished the divers Corporations and Guilds which previously served to mitigate the evils of the struggle for life. By a decree of the 17th of June 1791, the National Assembly forbade citizens of the same trade or profession, the workmen or companions practising any art, to gather for the purpose of electing president, syndic or secretary; and forbade too the keeping of registers, the holding of deliberations, the framing of rules in view of their so-called common interests. And yet, in spite of the law, the new *mutualisme* was born. At first, timidly, periodic collections were made in aid of one or another charitable object. Then, by degrees, societies of benevolent intent grew up in Paris, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Lyons, and Marseilles, no fewer than thirteen of them between 1794 and 1806 in the capital alone. A kind of sanction was conferred by article 291 of the Napoleonic Code, which enacted that no association of more than twenty persons whose object was the discussion of matters religious, literary, political, etc., should meet regularly, except with the

consent of Government and under such conditions as it should please the authorities to impose. After the fall of the Empire and the restoration of the Monarchy, this measure of toleration was mingled with sympathy; for, in 1821, the city of Paris voted a donation of fifty thousand francs to the existing Friendly Societies on the occasion of the baptism of the Duc de Bordeaux. Statistics of that time reveal that there were one hundred and twenty-four societies which profited by the gift, and that in Paris as many as ten thousand workmen belonged to one or another of them.

In 1835 was passed the first Act of Parliament mentioning by name societies of mutual benefit. Under it they were empowered to deposit at the National Savings Bank amounts not exceeding six thousand francs. This privilege, small as it was, gave a great impetus to the movement. Twelve years after, more than two thousand Savings Bank accounts were held by the various sections. A later Act in 1850 enlarged the powers granted by previous legislation, and authorized the deposit of the whole of the funds, payable to members, in the National Savings Bank at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest, while the societies, on certain conditions, were permitted to receive legacies and donations and to acquire real and personal property. But most progressive of all was the famous law of the 26th of March 1852. By it, the societies gained the right to promise pensions to their active members—a right before refused,—it being stipulated that for this they must have a sufficient number of honorary members. As an encouragement to the fresh departure, they were presented with ten million francs, these being part proceeds of the sale of

the property of the Orleans family. Now also the societies were divided into three categories: Free, Approved, and Recognized. The Free were to have no specific Government aid, but, on the other hand, were less controlled in their action. The Approved enjoyed certain monetary subsidies, with the added privilege of the largest interest on their bank deposits. The Recognized were mostly aggregations of sections—the pioneers of a subsequent more widely embracing co-operation; and functioned under the State's patronage, as being of public utility. This recognition bestowed on them civil personality, with powers of purchase and sales just as if they were individuals.

From 1852 onwards, the Mutualist movement extended rapidly. Before the close of the century, under the fostering hand of the Republic more especially, the number of societies in the first two categories was three thousand odd and eight thousand respectively; and the membership, three hundred and fifty thousand, and one million four hundred thousand; while the capital amounted to forty-five million francs, and two hundred million. Corresponding to this increased membership and wealth, was the constant growth of initiative. The work achieved or attempted by the three classes was such as to call for further Parliamentary sanction; and, in 1898, the law of the 1st of April defined and regulated their present activity. "Mutualist Societies," says the Act, "are provident associations proposing to attain one or more of the following objects: To assure to their participating members and members' families help in the case of sickness, injury, or infirmity; to constitute for them retiring pensions; to contract for their benefit indi-

vidual or collective insurance against old age, death, or accident; to provide for the funeral expenses of those that have been active members, to afford aid to all surviving members of their families. These societies may specialize themselves and open employment offices, organize technical classes, undertake insurance against accidents happening during daily occupation, and distribute sums of money to those out of work."

Lastly, the Act of 1898 made it lawful for the societies to combine to any extent they might wish. Already, in regions where the Mutualist propaganda had flourished most—the Seine, Nord, Gironde, and Bouches du Rhône departments—some of the sections had grouped themselves under a central control for the carrying out of certain objects which, alone, they were less able to accomplish. The grouping tendency, however, would probably have taken much longer to produce results, had not the question of Old Age Compulsory Pensions been pushed forward in Parliament by the Socialists, who desired a uniform State scheme universal in its application, whereas the Mutualists, who since 1852 had been perfecting their more elastic voluntary method, were strongly of opinion that this latter was cheaper and could, with proper Government patronage, be made the more effective.

In presence of what seemed a grave danger to their organization, the heads of the Mutualist movement, Messieurs Caze, Lourties, Cheysson, Mabileau, and some others, redoubled their efforts for the consolidation of the sections and their unions throughout the country, deeming that the cause dear to them might be gained if pleaded by a completely federated

band of associations. These efforts were not in vain. In June 1902, a formal proposition of federation was brought forward at a meeting of the Grand Council of the Bouches du Rhône; and, five months after, at a constitutive and representative meeting of the various societies held in Paris, the foundations of a National Federal Union were laid, final sanction being given to the thing by the 1904 Congress of Nantes.

One sequel of this National Federation was the step taken by Monsieur Louis Keller in the direction of a still wider International Union of Friendly Societies all over the world. Invitations were despatched to the various countries; and Belgium, Austria, Denmark and Italy at once replied by sending delegates to Paris to confer with Monsieur Léon Mabileau, the Director of the Musée Social, and his colleagues. A committee was appointed; and, at the Liège Exhibition of 1905, where a Congress was held on the Mutualist question, the project was discussed. At first, a proposal of the Belgian delegates was voted establishing an International Inquiry and Information Bureau which might enable Mutual Help associations in all lands to co-ordinate their statistics and see what was being done elsewhere. Then, Monsieur Mabileau, speaking in the name of the French delegates, appealed to the Congress to widen the programme so as to include the alliance principle. His reasoning and eloquence convinced the meeting; and the International Alliance of Friendly and Mutual Benefit Societies was formed. As a factor in the creation of a future world-wide harmony of interests, this remarkable achievement is historically of the highest importance.

Some idea of the usefulness of French Mutualism may be obtained by paralleling its action with that of the State *Assistance Publique*, which, in lieu of the British Workhouse system, occupies itself with the relief of the poor. The *Assistance Publique* department costs the budget annually some two hundred and sixty million francs; and for the results accruing is notoriously expensive. Out of this sum about fifteen millions is spent in furnishing free medical attendance to those unable to pay for a doctor. The Mutual Help Societies out of their own resources spend each year about the same amount for free medical attendance, which, however, is given under conditions more acceptable to those that benefit by it, and, on the whole, is more efficacious.

The distinctive feature of Mutualism in France is its accentuation of the social ideal. At first admitted on tolerance, this ideal soon became the predominant partner and helped materially to prepare the union of the sections. These in the beginning were heterogeneous and have since remained so. Out of the eighteen thousand at present functioning, three thousand five hundred are those of labourers, artisans, clerks, doctors, etc.—trades and professions, in fine. Some sections are mainly agricultural, determined by the locality. If they had been content to provide only for the individual needs of their members, they could hardly have attracted much outside sympathy. With the introduction of the social aim, this sympathy was acquired, and augmented their funds by donations and honorary subscriptions. Thus they found it possible to start auxiliary branches having some end in view of common profit. Among the most considerable are the

Mutualité Maternelle, the *Mutualité Scolaire*, and the *Mutualité Familiale*.

The first, intended to help women during pregnancy and confinement, was founded in 1891, mainly through the efforts of Jules Simon, the statesman and philanthropist. Paris led the way, and the provinces were not long in imitating the capital's example. To-day, there are nearly a hundred such institutions in France, all providing mothers with a month's rest at their confinement, with an allowance of twelve francs a week and an encouragement premium of twenty francs if they suckle their children, and also with free attendance and medicine during the month. Further, when necessary, the last month of pregnancy may be spent in a home, and the time of convalescence, when tardy, likewise. Later additions were *crèches* for babies up to two years of age, pure milk dispensaries, etc. A payment that does not exceed a halfpenny a week entitles the member to all this; and a recent modification in the rules of the Society admits any woman-member of an ordinary Mutualist section to equal rights in the *Mutualité Maternelle*, in return for a yearly payment of one franc. Since these institutions have existed, infant mortality among Mutualists has fallen from 30 per cent to 5 per cent in Paris, and, in other localities, the decline has been quite as remarkable.

The *Mutualité Scolaire* was founded not so many years ago by Monsieur Cavé, a deputy of the French Chamber, whence the Societies have earned the nickname *Petites Cavé*. The object is to lessen the burden of contributing to the Old Age Pension Fund by an early entrance into the Mutualist ranks. One half of the scholar's weekly penny subscription is paid

into the Pension Fund, and the remaining sou into the Sick Fund. A membership of considerably over half a million and annual subscriptions of nearly four million francs testify to the popularity of the movement, which has been one triumphal progress since the start. In order that the child's membership might be preserved during the period between his leaving school and his creating a home of his own, an Old Scholars' Mutualist Society was formed, intended to serve as a connecting link between the two others, so that it is possible for the whole life of the French citizen to be accompanied by this prudential guardianship, with but very little monetary sacrifice on his part.

The *Mutualité Familiale*, of which Monsieur Cheysson has been the untiring advocate, is in the early stages of its development. It takes in the whole family, instead of its head only; and, while not discouraging any individual member of it from separate contributions in view of the future, it espouses the cause of women whose time and labour are absorbed by their homes, and also that of young children who are not at school. Notably, at Lyons, Angers and Bordeaux, it has long been the custom to oblige each active male member of a Mutualist section who is married to affiliate his wife and children, paying for them at a reduced rate. At Nancy, for example, the man's monthly payment being one franc twenty-five centimes, his wife is affiliated for seventy-five centimes, and each child for twenty-five, with a maximum of seventy-five centimes, whatever the number of children.

A consequence of these extra-benevolent associations grafted on to the parent ones was to run up the lists of honorary members. When rich people saw what was

being done, they willingly gave their money, especially as the Mutualist Statutes assured them that, in the event of adverse fortune overtaking an honorary member, he would receive all the benefits of an active member who had contributed the same instalments. In many societies, indeed, honorary members are almost, if not quite, as numerous as active ones.

As a matter of fact, the development of the social side of Mutualism, more perhaps than anything else, in the first instance suggested the combining that led to federation. The sections found that their wider enterprise would be better tackled if a number of them clubbed together, with at least a portion of their capital. This was the beginning of Town Syndicates, which dealt more peculiarly with insurance and pensions. When, later on, the organization of free Labour Offices, Out-of-work Funds, Special Hospitals, Medical Dispensaries, Old Age Homes came into the range of possibility, the amalgamation of Town Syndicates and Country Unions into Departmental ones was tried; and, success attending these experiments, whole regions joined together for the purpose of taking up Hygiene, Prophylaxy, Sanatoriums, Health Resorts worked for the benefit of Mutualist members. At length, through such phases, National Federation was reached.

The National Federation is not a deliberating body in the ordinary sense. It does not put its meetings in the place of the older National Congresses, but organizes them by bringing in all the unit forces of the Societies, and makes the meetings a sort of Grand Mutualist Lodge of France. Again, it has no representative rôle, but is rather a High Advisory Council,

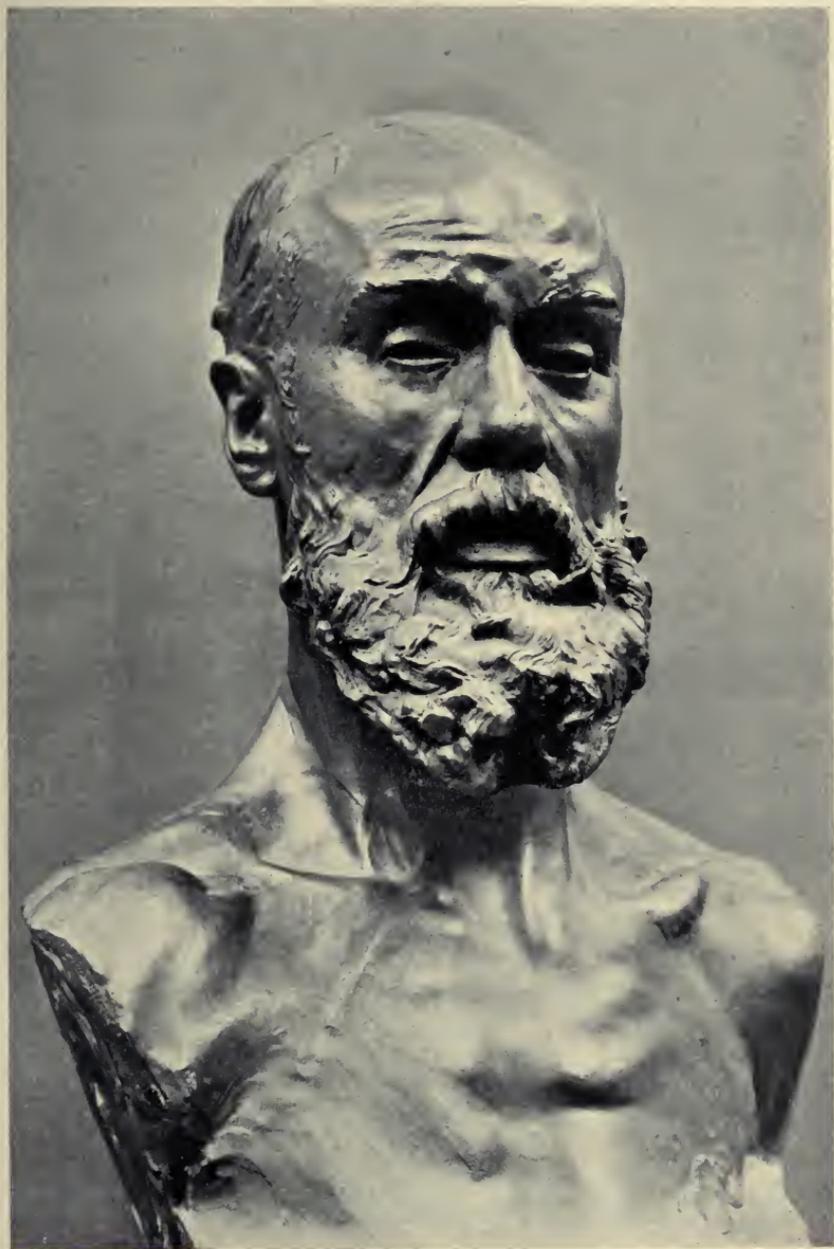
constituting a convenient intermediary between the bodies that have elected it and the Government. Here it may be explained that, when the Mutualist movement assumed something of its present responsibilities, and the State commenced both to patronize it and to surround it with certain legislative safeguards, the Ministry of the Interior delegated its censorship to an official appointed *ad hoc*. The duties of this functionary and his staff becoming gradually more onerous, he has been recently raised to a superior grade in the administrative hierarchy; and, to-day, there is a Government Director of the Mutualist Department in the Ministry of the Interior, who is entrusted with the superintendence of all the Friendly Societies throughout France, in everything that concerns the legal part of their activity. This alone attests the enormous influence wielded by the Mutualist movement among the population.

Since the French National Federation has become a *fait accompli*, its higher groupings have occupied themselves with the elaboration of two services known as *subsistance* and *mutation*.

The former is an arrangement by which the Mutualist is enabled, whatever his enforced absences from his usual locality, to keep his position and advantages in the section to which he belongs. The latter, viz. *mutation*, allows him, in case he definitely changes his residence, to enter another section without losing any of the rights and privileges he may have previously acquired. As regards the temporarily absent member, the problem was of easy solution. Under the present system of grouping, all that has to be done for him to be attended in sickness—the most common contingency—is that he shall be accredited to the section of the

place in which he is for the nonce domiciled, and that this section shall in return draw up an account of expenses incurred and settle it with the patient's own society through the medium of the Syndicate or other union. The problem of *mutation* gave more trouble on account of the Old Age Pension. The member having effected his payments for a series of years in one place first, and then in another, calculation must be made, in each case, not only of these payments but of the amount of social capital, variable in the two or more sections, to which he is entitled. A practical suggestion has been put forward by one of the delegates on the High Council that there shall be a yearly inventory of each section's assets, and that on the member's book shall be inscribed his credit both social and individual for that and each year. This done, the member who definitely quits one locality for another has only to submit his book for a final estimation to be made of his share.

The manifold applications of Mutualist social endeavour is far from being exhausted by these examples quoted. Under what is called *Mutualité Hygiénique*, working-class conditions of living are being everywhere raised by the Societies' initiative. On the programme exist the building of sanitary houses, realization of home and personal cleanliness, the suppression of alcohol as a beverage, the inculcation of proper physical exercise and the study of all means to prevent tuberculosis and other diseases that are the present scourges of humanity. In some of these things France may be behind her neighbours, but there is no doubt that her Mutualist organization, if allowed to continue its beneficent activity unfettered, will soon make up



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JEAN-PAUL LAURENS
By RODIN

*in

leeway and equal what is being done elsewhere for the people's health. The zeal with which it is pursuing its mission of bringing the whole of the democracy within its pale is shown by its latest achievement. By Governmental permission, every regiment in the army has now its Mutualist Section, enrolling, if not perforce, at least by persuasion, each soldier as a member, if he is not already on the lists. Since military service is compulsory on every valid male, the probability is that no man will henceforth quit the army without being in some way affiliated to the movement.

XV

EDUCATION

THE reform of education in France has been almost entirely the work of the Third Republic. Such efforts as enlightened statesmen made under the restored Monarchy and the Second Empire to build up a new system capable of being applied to the whole nation were rendered almost entirely nugatory by the resistance of the clergy, whose policy was encouraged by the passing of the Loi Falloux. To the children of the people, the friars and nuns taught little else than catechisms ; and the Jesuits, who controlled the education of the richer classes, had nothing better to offer their pupils, after years of Latin and Greek, than a useless initiation into scholastic logic. As for the National Universities, already in a decline at the end of the eighteenth century, they had still further suffered from their treatment under the first Napoleon ; and even the Sorbonne dragged on a precarious existence throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and more, its several Faculties disunited, and its influence more and more undermined by the opening of Catholic University Colleges, where dogma ruled every one and everything.

From a report drawn up on the education question in 1864, it appeared that, in nearly a thousand communes, there was no elementary school, and that only

two-fifths of the children between eight and eleven years of age were receiving instruction. Among the adult population, twenty-eight per cent of the males and forty-four per cent of the females could not sign their names, while, in the army, a third of the soldiers could not write. And yet there was universal male suffrage. As Jean Macé said in 1882, when criticizing this state of things: 'Before coming to universal suffrage, we ought to have passed through thirty years' compulsory education.' To this same Jean Macé was mainly owing the awakening of public opinion on the subject. In 1866, he founded the French Educational League, for the purpose of creating a legal agitation throughout the country in favour of compulsory, free, secular instruction of every child. Between 1866 and 1870, the League thrived; a number of branches were formed in the great centres: and a monster petition to Parliament was set on foot, with the support of Gambetta and other men of mark. The war checked the League's action for a time; but, as soon as peace was definitely secured, the Parisian circle of the League resumed its propaganda, enlisting members on payment of a halfpenny fee. They now called their League 'The Commission of the National Halfpenny Movement against Ignorance.' Their numbers rapidly increased until they had over a million and a quarter adherents. At last, on the 19th of June, 1872, through their agency, the National Assembly of Deputies was presented with a petition, inscribed on a hundred and fifty volumes weighing two hundred kilograms, which needed a wagon to convey it to Versailles.

As the Clericals had a Parliamentary majority, Monsignor Dupanloup, their champion, succeeded in

getting the question shelved by the Deputies. But the League, instead of being discouraged, appealed to the Town, Arrondissement, and General Councils, five hundred of which gave votes in favour of the League's programme being adopted. However, as long as MacMahon's reactionism swayed the country, no legislation was undertaken. It required the advent of Jules Ferry to power for an adequate project of State elementary instruction to be elaborated by the Chambers, and to be put into execution, liberated from all the Church's dogmatic restrictions. Thenceforward, primary education was fee-free, compulsory and secular. Every child whose parents did not on their own initiative provide for his instruction was compelled to attend one of the Government Schools from the age of seven (those younger could attend Infant Schools, but the attendance was optional), and entered on a curriculum extending over six years, during which he was taught: (1) Moral and Civic duties; (2) Reading and Writing and Arithmetic; (3) The French language and elements of literature; (4) and (5) Geography and History, more especially French; (6) Some common notions of Law and Political Economy; (7) The elements of Natural Science, Physics, Mathematics, with applications to Agriculture, Hygiene, the Industrial Arts, Manual Labour, the use of tools in the chief trades; (8) The elements of Drawing, Modelling and Music; (9) Gymnastics; (10) Drill (for boys) and Needlework (for girls).

This programme was a comprehensive one, and, with the pedagogic capacity now insisted on in teachers, was thoroughly dealt with in the limits of simplicity prescribed. At eleven years of age, i.e. after four

years' study, the pupil was allowed, if apt, to present himself for an examination conferring on the successful candidate a Certificate of Proficiency, which exempted him from further compulsory attendance at school. Yet facilities were afforded him of continuing his instruction, and even, if exceptionally intelligent, of entering a higher Elementary School, or even a Lycée with a scholarship, in which latter case he was entitled to carry on his studies until the age of sixteen or seventeen.

The effect of the reformed scheme of elementary education showed itself most clearly first in the reduction of illiteracy almost to vanishing point. Whereas in 1870 twenty-five per cent of males and more than thirty-seven per cent of females were illiterate, the percentage fell by 1898 to four decimal seven for males and to seven decimal two for females. The moral gain, perhaps, was less easily calculable in figures; but it was equally evident as a fact.

The Higher Elementary schools, to which allusion has just been made, were originally brought into existence by the law of 1833, which authorized the establishment of one in every town of above six thousand souls. But not being recognized by the Falloux Law of 1850, they neither grew nor prospered until 1878, when a credit of 100,000 francs was voted to encourage the various communes of the country to build them. From this date, when their number was forty, they steadily increased, until, to-day, there are nearly four hundred of them, with a Government annual grant of about 3,000,000 francs. Although the instruction they give is not free, as that of the Lower Elementary Schools, the fees, which amount to about ten pounds a

year, are not beyond the means of the *petite bourgeoisie*, whose children mainly frequent them, especially as reductions are often made and the scholarships are numerous.

The teaching here is frankly practical and utilitarian, in a manner professional yet real. It is not an apprenticeship; nor is the school a workshop. Together with a more extended study of the subjects taken up in the Lower Elementary Schools, Modern Languages, more advanced Mathematics, Geometric Drawing, Designing and Modelling are on the programme; and, for girls, Cutting-out and Putting-together in dress-making. Further, an attempt has been made to diversify the teaching and studies according to the region in which the school is situated; and, from the second year, to give subjects connected with either agriculture, manufacturing or commerce, the prominence dictated by each region where these occupations are paramount. In Paris, there are, at present, five such schools—Turgot, Colbert, Lavoisier, Jean-Baptiste Say and Arago, all of them fine institutions with staffs of University graduates of proved pedagogic ability.

Of some other institutions helping the children of the people to prepare themselves for their future, a brief mention is not out of place in this connection. Under the name of 'Ecoles Primaires Supérieures Professionnelles' may be classed such schools as the Ecole Boulle, which trains engravers, carvers and furniture-makers; the Ecole Diderot, which trains fitters, joiners and smiths; the Ecole Dorian, which trains mechanics; the Ecole Estienne, which trains bookbinders; the Ecole Bernard-Palissy, which trains

potters ; while practical chemists are instructed at the *Ecole Municipale de Physique et Chimie industrielles*, where the late lamented Curie, with his devoted wife, made the discovery of radium. Then there are apprenticeship schools for commerce and manufacturing, which are under the control of the Minister for Commerce. These latter are distinct from the Boys' Commercial Schools to be spoken of below. For girls, six Professional and Housekeeping Schools exist, where laundry-work, dress-making and millinery, embroidery and flower-making are taught.

Not inferior to the foregoing has been the establishment and spread throughout the country, during the Third Republic's history, of free evening and day classes, held either in the *Mairies* or other public buildings lent for the purpose. In these, practically every subject of utility and of scientific or artistic interest may be studied by the young and, indeed, the adult, in their hours of leisure. Some of the professors and teachers are paid ; but most of them give their time. This good work is carried on, under Government patronage, by a number of societies, some of them older than the Republic, for instance, the '*Société pour l'Instruction élémentaire*,' the '*Association Polytechnique*,' the '*Association Philotechnique*,' some of them younger, like the '*Union de la Jeunesse Française*,' the '*Union de la Jeunesse Républicaine*,' the '*Société Républicaine des Conférences populaires*,' the '*Société Populaire des Beaux Arts*,' etc.

However, not content with all these means of supplementary education and culture at its disposal, the French democracy has created another movement, known as the '*Universités Populaires*,' entirely apart

from outside control, Church or otherwise (the Catholics have started something similar on sectarian lines). The first of the 'Universités Populaires' was founded in 1899 by a former working typographer, Monsieur Georges Deherme, in the Paris Faubourg Saint Antoine, and comprised a reading-room, a library, a small museum, a room for games and a lecture-room. In the following year, the number increased to eighteen, and to-day there are over a hundred similar institutions. Although, for the time being, help is accepted from lecturers, professors and entertainers, and from donors belonging to the leisured, wealthy classes of society, the ambition of the promoters is to form their instructors, and to be a self-contained, as they are a self-governing community. Perhaps there is some false pride in the ideal; yet one is constrained to admire it.

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The education which, in France, is called Secondary, lies between the Higher or University studies properly so-called and those that are Elementary. Under the old *régime*, the appanage of the rich, it was, as already stated, then given chiefly by the Jesuits. Not until the Second Floréal of the Year X in the Revolution annals, i.e. A.D. 1802, were Lycées (corresponding to the modern English Grammar and Public School combined) created in France; and since, under Napoleon I, the ancient programmes were reverted to, Latin and Greek, with Mathematics taught as a branch of philosophy, were the beginning and end of instruction.

In 1852, the first step towards a change of system was taken by bifurcating pupils after four years' teach-

ing, and directing them more especially either towards Letters or towards Science. A dozen years later, Monsieur Victor Duruy, the Minister, framed a separate curriculum for pupils intending to enter on a business career, as distinguished from those of public life. This latter, which was three years shorter than the Letters, and two years shorter than the Science curriculum, obtained great favour during the early period of the Republic; and, when it was transformed, in 1890, into what was termed an *enseignement moderne*, with its own University degrees, giving access, like the older classical and mathematical course, to the higher State University Schools, such as the Ecole Polytechnique, the Ecole Militaire de Saint-Cyr, the Ecole Nationale Forestière, etc., the number of students trained by it gained rapidly on those devoting themselves to the *enseignement classique*. In order to check what seemed to be a too general abandonment of Letters, the Government in 1902 again modified the whole programme of Secondary studies, and strove to render them at once more supple and more coherent. The ordinary Lycée curriculum was fixed at seven years' duration, which the pupil commenced at the age of eleven, coming either from a Preparatory course at the Lycée itself, or from some Elementary School. Under the reformed system, the pupil passes through a first cycle of four years' work in one of two sections. In each section, Modern Languages are taught compulsorily, with the usual French language and literature, Geography, History and elementary Mathematics. Peculiar to the classical section are Latin and Greek (the latter, however, optional); and peculiar to the modern section are special French, Mathematics, together with Science.

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At the end of the first cycle, which the pupil is supposed to finish at fifteen, and which may suffice for him if entering early on his life's career, comes the second cycle of three years' work; and in this there are four sections. The pupil who goes into Division A specializes in Latin and Greek; if he goes into Division B, he specializes in Latin and Modern Languages; if into Division C, in Latin and Science; if into Division D, in Modern Languages and Science. Of course, all the four sections have common subjects, among these, Philosophy and Mathematics. But at the Classical end, Philosophy is studied more fully; at the Scientific end, Mathematics; and the time devoted to all the common subjects varies in the different sections.

While still at school, the pupil of seventeen or eighteen goes in for his Bachelor's degree, which, under the new system, has the same value in all the sections, and should properly have no other name than the simple 'Baccalauréat'; but the mention on his diploma of the subjects in which he has passed it, causes the degree to have an epithet usually attached to it: 'Baccalauréat—Latin et Grec'; 'Baccalauréat—sciences'; 'Baccalauréat—langues modernes,' etc. Both the youthful age at which this diploma is conferred and the relative superficiality of the questions put to the candidate render its value inferior to that of an Arts degree in an English University. The nearest equivalent to it would be something between an Oxford or Cambridge Local Senior and the London Matriculation. The value of the instruction given in the Lycées should entitle it to rank quite with the London Matriculation; but the Examiners content themselves

with a moderate percentage of the maximum marks obtainable, and allow one subject to make up for another, both in the papers and the *vivâ voce*.

The rôle that Victor Duruy played in extending to girls the benefit of State education has been alluded to in an earlier chapter. What he was able to do was to organize classes for girls in Literature, Science and Modern Languages. The opposition of the Bishops, who wished to keep their Convent schools full, prevented the movement from developing much until the Third Republic was firmly established. Camille Sée and Jules Ferry, in 1880, were the chief instruments in carrying a law providing for the foundation of Girls' Lycées; and sixteen towns straightway availed themselves of the State's permission and pecuniary help. The first institution of the kind was opened at Montpellier in 1881. To-day there are nearly one hundred and fifty, with some twenty-five thousand pupils. Paris alone has five: Fénelon, founded in 1813; Racine, in 1867; Molière, in 1888; Lamartine, in 1893; and Victor Hugo, in 1895. At first the teachers were mostly men, but now women graduates are everywhere taking their place.

The programme comprises Moral Instruction, French, Ancient and Modern Literature, Geography and Cosmography, French History, Outlines of General History, Arithmetic and Elements of Geometry, Chemistry, Physics and Natural History, Hygiene, Domestic Economy, Needlework, Outlines of Law, Drawing, Music, and Gymnastics. There are two cycles, from twelve to fifteen years of age, and from fifteen to seventeen. In the first, every subject is compulsory; in the second, some subjects, such as

Latin, Mathematics, and Oral Music, are optional. A sixth year exists in Paris Lycées for studies that prepare pupils to enter the School Mistresses' Secondary Training College at Sèvres. After the first cycle, a certificate of proficiency in secondary studies is obtainable; and at the end of the second, a diploma.

In French Lycées boarders are taken, but so far the Boys' *Internat* has not yielded very satisfactory results. Most men who have experienced it find fault. For one thing, it has been worked in the past too much on military lines, with little or no family life, small opportunities for recreation, and, in towns especially, but little space for outdoor recreation. What is needed is the house-system that has been found so good in England. Since such attention is being paid at present in France to everything concerning education, the *Internat* is certain to be thoroughly modified and rendered more acceptable.

Nothing has been said, in the preceding sketch of State Secondary Instruction, of an experiment which is being tried in Lycées in devising a distinct course of study throughout the two cycles for the profit of certain pupils preparing themselves to enter on technical careers that require the training to be begun very early. As yet, the experiment is only in its initial stage. On the other hand, Secondary Commercial Schools, which receive pupils at a tender age and provide for their education up to sixteen and seventeen, have existed for a number of years, being carried on under the administration of the French Chambers of Commerce, independently of the State, yet approved and patronized by Government. Like the Lycées and the Higher Elementary Schools, they offer free instruction through



BERTHELOT

From a Photograph by PIERRE PETIT

scholarships to a certain number of intelligent scholars coming from the Lower Elementary establishments. Three modern languages, English, German, and Spanish, are taught; and, before the end of the curriculum, book-keeping, commercial law, and other branches of knowledge necessary in business life.

In the Commercial Schools the fees are about £9 a year. The Lycées ask more, except in their low preparatory classes. Here the fees range from about £12 to £20, according to the form the pupil occupies. Indeed, the highest class of all, in which a pupil, after passing his 'Baccalauréat,' may spend another year to be coached for the University and Superior Technical Schools, requires a payment of about £30. The Lycée *Internat* is not expensive, ranging in its charges for the two cycles from about £40 to £60 a year.

Private schools, both day and boarding, have followed in France, as in England, the same tendency to diminish, since the State has taken the care of Secondary Education into its own hands, the diminishing tendency being more marked in boys' schools than in girls'. These latter, however, are likely to be affected in the same degree, before long, by the recent legislation against the Religious Orders. There is even a doubt, at present, as to whether in the near future a State monopoly of education will not be exercised against all schools under private management, exception made only of the family, and some classes for special subjects.

* * *

The Modern University System in France dates back no further than the year 1890. Before the Great Revolution, the ancient Sorbonne was the chief seat of

higher learning; and enjoyed undisputed fame and authority due to its illustrious past and its privileged position in a capital which dominated the rest of the country. There were, however, provincial universities to the number of twenty-one, having their seats respectively at Bourges, Orléans, Rheims, Dijon, Besançon, Nancy, Strasbourg, Douai, Caen, Angers, Nantes, Poitiers, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Pau, Montpellier, Perpignan, Aix-Avignon, Orange and Valence. In the eighteenth century, such renown as had ever belonged to these smaller University institutions had almost entirely disappeared, so that, when the Revolution suppressed them, in the general overthrow, the loss was less important than in the case of the Sorbonne. Similarly, when the Empire reorganized the University system on its own rigid plan, these provincial Faculties furnished little or nothing to the country's higher teaching. In fact, the Sorbonne itself languished during the greater portion of the nineteenth century. Its various Faculties had no real cohesion; and, in spite of the lustre conferred by men of genius on some professorial chairs, they were unable to contribute, in a combined effort, to form an adequate national culture. By the 1890 Act of Parliament, the Sorbonne was reconstituted—it had been also rebuilt—and six Provincial Universities were created: Lille, Lyons, Bordeaux, Montpellier, Nancy and Toulouse; as a matter of fact, only the first two were really new creations. The other four rose from their ashes. This was again the case when, six years later, eight more Universities received their charter, namely, Aix-Marseilles, Besançon, Caen, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Grenoble, Poitiers and Rennes. Two or three only had never existed before.

In their reorganized form, the institutions of Higher Instruction, while placed under the supreme control of the Government and the Education Department, were given a large measure of independence, both in the formation of their Faculties, and in the drawing-up and carrying-out of their programmes. However, the teaching and the examinations were so co-ordinated by the State as to make the degrees conferred equivalent in each and all of the University bodies.

The University of Paris, as the oldest and largest, is naturally the most complete in its faculties. Of these there are five: Law, Medicine, Science, Letters and, until now, Protestant Theology. This last Faculty seems an anomaly in a country which, on the one hand, has done away with any State patronage of religion, and, on the other hand, has so few professing Protestants. The explanation is that, whereas the Catholics, in the middle of the nineteenth century, founded universities of their own and withdrew their students more and more from the Sorbonne, the Protestants, having no separate University Faculty of Theology, and requiring a theological degree from their Ministers, the Sorbonne Faculty of Theology was maintained for them, since in 1890 the three chief religious bodies, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, were still endowed by the State and formed an Established Union of State Churches.

The Chancellor or Grand Master of all the Universities is the Minister for Public Instruction. Under him and appointed by him, each University has its own Rector; and, for the rest, is governed by a Council composed of the various heads of Faculties and Directors of schools, sitting by virtue of their

office, and of a number of other members elected, two from each Faculty and school. Its revenues are derived from examination fees and the interest on gifts, and also from certain annual grants. Its professors are appointed by the Minister for Public Instruction generally from among the staff of Lycée teachers, exception made for certain chairs whose professors are perforce recruited among *savants* not engaged in school-work. All the Lycées are under University supervision, each University centre having its own sphere of influence; and the Professors are to some extent responsible to the Rector of the University in whose sphere their Lycée is situated. Thus, they have three hierarchic superiors, the *Proviseur* or Head Master, who administers but does not teach, the University Rector and, above him, the Minister for Public Instruction.

University teaching in France, in the stricter sense of the word, does not begin until the Bachelor's degree is taken, or, in the case of girls, at least the 'Brevet Supérieur.' Its various lectures prepare the student for the Licentiate's, Doctor's and Agrégé's degree in the different faculties. The 'Agrégation' is obtained by a competitive examination in which only a small number succeed each year, and is more peculiarly a teaching degree, those who pass having the right to a post as professor in some State school of secondary or higher instruction. It has some analogy to the Honour degree of an English University conferring a Fellowship. In modern languages, a pedagogic degree inferior to that of 'Agrégé' may be obtained by a competitive examination, which also gives the successful candidate the right to a post in

provincial Lycées. This diploma is called the 'Certificat d'aptitude secondaire.' The student who has it may subsequently present himself for the 'Agrégation,' without needing to go in for his Licence.

Under the Republic, pedagogy has become an important part of University training. Quite recently, the 'Ecole Normale Supérieure,' which for many years was a sort of small independent University school for the training of an *élite* of Lycée professors, has been made an integral part of the Paris University. Even to enter it, there is a stiff competitive examination; and, when the student has gone through the curriculum, he usually issues as an 'Agrégé,' and often as a Doctor as well. To the highest 'Agrégés' in their degree year, travelling scholarships are generally awarded, so that they may spend a year or two abroad, studying the systems of other countries, before they begin their own work.

In the Law Faculty, the Licentiate's degree is obtained after three years' study and three examinations, one at the end of each year. In the Medical Faculty, the course is a longer one, on account of the number of subjects taken up, and the necessity of gaining practical experience in dissection and hospital work. The *Internat* in hospitals, corresponding to House Surgeonships in England, are posts coveted by all medical students, and are obtainable only through a difficult competitive examination; and, since the M.D. degree is never taken by the *Interne* until he has finished his term in the hospital, the medical curriculum may cover a period of nine or ten years. A lower diploma, that of 'Officier de Santé,' corresponding about to the Apothecary's degree in England, entitles

a student to practise medicine; but, to-day, nearly every one adopting a medical or surgical career proceeds straight through to the Doctor's degree. The Licentiate's degree in Letters or Science may be obtained in one examination passed by the Bachelor at any age, and without any specified term of lectures. This is because the French Universities, although teaching as well as examining, do not require residence, or, in general, even attendance at lectures from candidates for degrees. At the same time, the Licence is a much harder degree to get than might be imagined. The knowledge insisted on is thorough, and the candidate, who has two chances each year allowed him, may sometimes have to undergo several failures, indeed may have occasionally to give up his endeavours to pass. The same, in fact, is true of all higher degrees. The Doctor's degree in Letters or Science is conferred on those entitled to present themselves for examination, that is to say on Licentiates who are able to write a Latin thesis on a subject chosen by them and approved by the University examiners, which subject they must subsequently treat *vivâ voce*, to the examiners' satisfaction.

The non-resident character of French Universities enables a student to gain his degree more cheaply than in the older English Universities. The fees for the Licentiate are under £20, and, in the medical curriculum, do not exceed £60.

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Side by side with the five ordinary University Faculties, there exist a number of higher educational institutions, of equal rank, which train for special careers, and some of which confer degrees or diplomas.

The most famous and ancient of these is the 'Collège de France,' situated in the Rue des Ecoles, close to the Sorbonne, with its forty-four professional chairs and its eleven laboratories. The 'Collège de France' holds no examinations, confers no degrees, and gives its instruction without fees. Here the student of any age may attend and gain knowledge in Languages, Physics, Chemistry, Medicine, Natural History, Psychology, Legislation, etc., under the tuition of some of the most eminent men in the country. Other such institutions are the 'Ecole des Chartes,' a training school for historians; the 'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes,' with premises, like the preceding, in the Sorbonne precincts; it was founded in 1868, and was enlarged in 1885 with a section for Religious Science. Training students in scientific investigations of divers kinds, it has laboratories scattered about the country, for instance, a Geological one at Lille, one for Vegetable Biology at Fontainebleau, others for Maritime Zoology in the French ports. Then, there are the 'Ecole Libre des Sciences Morales et Politiques,' founded in 1877; the 'Ecole des Sciences Sociales'; the 'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales'; the 'Ecole du Louvre,' with a three years' course for Archæology, Epigraphy, and the History of Art, training future Curators of Museums; the 'Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers,' a sort of Industrial Museum, to which are attached seventeen Chairs for the higher teaching of science as applied to the arts, the classes being held in the evening. For Higher Commercial training, there are in Paris the 'Hautes Etudes Commerciales' and the 'Ecole Supérieure de Commerce,' both under the control of the Paris Chamber of Commerce; and similar colleges exist

in the departments. The 'Ecole des Beaux Arts' is the national training school for sculptors, painters and engravers; while another institution exists for the study of architecture. The Conservatoire of Music and the Dramatic Art is illustrious throughout the world by the number of musicians and actors of first rank that are formed by it. Less celebrated, but doing good work, are the 'Ecole des Langues Orientales' and the 'Ecole Coloniale,' the latter more peculiarly training functionaries for the country's colonial possessions. The usual Army School for officers is 'Saint-Cyr,' corresponding to the 'Ecole Navale' for midshipmen. From the 'Ecole Polytechnique,' too, the army receives a contingent of sub-lieutenants. This institution admits only an *élite* of candidates, and confers a diploma which is a life-prize to the young man obtaining it. Engineers are formed here, but also at the 'Ecole Centrale des Arts et Métiers,' an exceedingly valuable college for those requiring higher applied mathematics. The civil engineer that aims at something big goes to the 'Ecole des Ponts and Chaussées.' Agriculture and Mining are not without colleges for students that can pass the entrance examination; and these go through an excellent curriculum of an advanced character.

It would take up too much space to give a complete enumeration of all such auxiliary university institutions. In some, perhaps, the theoretical encroaches too much on the practical, and would be better learnt after acquaintance had been made with the latter. Yet counting one with another, they are doing a wonderful work, not only in the education they give to their *alumni*, but in their combined efforts of research, with a view to the student's advantage in his after-career.

XVI

THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

THE Parliamentary system of the Third Republic, like many other French institutions, is not very old. No independent Legislative Chamber in France existed before the 1789 Revolution. The famous *Etats Généraux* of the ancient Monarchy were occasional gatherings of the three orders, nobility, clergy and common people. They were called by the kings for purposes strictly personal, and exercised their functions only by the royal pleasure. Much nearer to the independence of the Stuart and Georgian Parliaments were the old French judiciary Parliaments composed of judges and lawyers, which arrogated to themselves the right of objecting to the King's *ordonnances*, and were often in opposition to the royal will.

The great step was taken, and the Rubicon was crossed, when the *Tiers Etat* of the 1789 *Etats Généraux*, compelling the adhesion of the nobles and clergy, constituted themselves a national assembly and framed a government depending on one legislative chamber composed of seven hundred and forty-five deputies, to be elected every two years by the *scrutin de liste* and according to a sort of household suffrage exercised indirectly through an electoral college. Between this experiment and the final one which in 1875 issued in the present legislative arrangement and provided for

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its future revision, there lie no fewer than fourteen successive Parliamentary systems drawn up, and, most of them, put into execution by Republic, Emperor or King.

The most curious of all, as also the most illusory, was that of the 22nd of Frimaire, An. VIII (12th of Dec. 1799). Great in war, Napoleon I was great too in his simplification of the administrative machinery of France, ordering everything so that it should turn on the pivot of his yea and nay. He gave to the country even a kind of universal suffrage. All Frenchmen of twenty-one years of age, whose names were on the lists, had a vote. This vote, however, conferred on them no effective share in governing. What it elected was six hundred thousand *notables*, from whom the Emperor that was to be chose his petty village functionaries. These six hundred thousand elected sixty thousand higher *notables*, from whom the future Emperor chose his departmental functionaries; and, in their turn, the sixty thousand elected six thousand, from whom the future Emperor chose his State functionaries, including the Supreme Council, the *Tribunat*, and the Legislative Body. The Senate alone was a kind of self-recruiting organization, yet, in fact, also depending on the *Consulat*, which, in other words, was Napoleon. Under this Constitution, the Supreme Council proposed laws; the *Tribunat* discussed them, without voting; the Legislative Body voted them, without discussion; and the Senate approved them; and, as all four were controlled by the *Consulat*, and the other two Consuls, Cambacères and Lebrun, were mere ciphers, it was the *Petit Caporal* who ruled as despot.

The modern Parliamentary system created in 1875

has since received no important modification except in the brief trial of the *scrutin de liste*, during the eighties. In 1884 it was that the Republican form of Government was definitely sanctioned and all members of previously reigning families were excluded from the Presidency. In its working, the French system resembles the English one in the main. There is, however, a theoretical power possessed by the French President which is not possessed by the British King. He is able to take the initiative in the making of laws; and a Bill emanating from his suggestion is called a *projet de loi*, whereas Bills emanating from the two Chambers are called *propositions de lois*. On the other hand, the President has no real veto discretion. All he can do, if he does not approve of a Bill that has been passed, is to request, any time before its promulgation as an Act of Parliament, that another deliberation shall take place in each of the Chambers. Should the Bill be revoted, it becomes law without his consent. No case of such dissent, indeed, has occurred since 1875.

The share of the ordinary citizen in legislation is limited to his choosing his Parliamentary representatives; and this he can do as soon as he is twenty-one and as long as he enjoys his civil rights, exception made for soldiers, during their compulsory military service, who are temporarily disqualified. No referendum or plebiscite has been held during the Third Republic.

The method of voting for the Chamber of Deputies, called the *scrutin d'arrondissement* is practically the same as in Great Britain, a member being allotted for each hundred thousand inhabitants. Its great disadvantage is to aggravate the injustice done to minorities by placing a constituency of twenty thousand inhabi-

tants on an equality with one of ninety thousand. The *scrutin de liste* substitutes the Department for the Arrondissement, and allows each elector as many votes as the Department can send members to Parliament. These votes he can either distribute, or concentrate on one candidate. Each and every political party can present as many names as there are seats to be filled; and assignment of seats is made to the various parties in proportion to the number of votes obtained by their respective lists. Among the candidates of each list, the selection takes place in the order of their majorities; and, where the suffrages are equal, the elder precedes the younger. Under this method, by-elections are suppressed, vacancies being filled up from the remaining candidates of the preceding elections that did not get in, and now form a reserve.

All French elections, whether legislative or municipal, are held on one and the same day, Sunday being invariably chosen. For a candidate to be elected in the first general *scrutin*, he must have not only a quarter of the votes possible in any given constituency, but also an absolute majority of the votes actually deposited in the urns. For example, in a constituency of twenty thousand voters, he must receive at least five thousand votes; and, if ten thousand record their votes, he must have of these at least five thousand and one. When the several candidatures for any one seat divide up the votes, so that the above conditions are not realized, a *ballottage* or second election is held on the Sunday fortnight after the first, if it is a legislative one, and on the Sunday week, if it is a municipal one. In this second test a simple majority decides; and, in the *scrutin d'arrondissement*, as in the

scrutin de liste, when two candidates obtain equal votes the elder has precedence.

As already mentioned in a previous chapter, the Chamber of Deputies with its five hundred and eighty-nine members is elected for four years, and usually exhausts its mandate. The only requisites for eligibility in France are (1) to possess civil rights ; (2) to be twenty-five years of age ; and (3) to make a declaration of candidature in *one* and *not more than one* constituency. Ineligible exceptionally are members of families that have reigned in France, bankrupts that have not been rehabilitated, foreigners until they have been naturalized for ten years, and citizens while serving in the army or navy.

The Senate is composed of three hundred members chosen by the Departments and Colonies according to the *scrutin de liste* method. The election is moreover indirect, the voters being delegates from the Chamber of Deputies, the *Conseils Généraux* and *Conseils d'arrondissement* (sorts of County Councils). The communes are also represented, but their delegates are taken from the local Councils, who themselves nominate. By the constitution of 1875, seventy-five of the three hundred senators were appointed members for life. This privilege was abolished in 1884, so far as any further creation was concerned.

Senators are elected for a period of nine years ; but the renewal of the Senatorial body being by thirds every three years, the institution has a character of permanence greater than that of the Lower Chamber. The conditions of eligibility are the same as for deputies, with this addition, that candidates must be at least forty years of age. In the elections, two *ballottages*

may be asked for before a simple majority of the votes recorded is accepted.

The Chamber of Deputies, as well as the Senate, is supposed to sit all the year round, each annual session beginning on the second Tuesday in January. Happily for tired orators and harassed ministers, Parliamentary holidays are longer even than school holidays; so that, in fact, the legislative year is reduced to about six months. With regard to the validity of elections, the Chamber is its own judge. Indeed, the validating of the members is the first business of each new Parliament. For this purpose, a temporary Chairman or Speaker is appointed, and, when half the elections have been verified, the definite *bureau* is appointed. Any dispute about majorities or any petition against a deputy's return is settled within the walls of the Palais Bourbon.

The Chairman or Speaker, the four Vice-Chairmen, the Secretaries and *Questeurs* (Members entrusted with the surveillance of expenses) are nominated for one year; but it more often happens that the Chairman is re-elected, as long as he makes himself agreeable to the majority of the Chamber. Both Senate and Deputies give their Chairman a yearly stipend of seventy-two thousand francs. The Members themselves used to receive an annual salary of nine thousand francs. Quite recently they have raised this sum to fifteen thousand. Besides these fees, they have the privilege of travelling gratis on the State railways, and enjoy immunity from prosecution, criminal or civil, during the Parliamentary session. Such inviolability, however, may be lost either through a vote of the Chambers or if the offence be *flagrante delicto*; and it does not pro-



Photograph: Druet

ROUEN CATHEDRAL.

From the Picture by CLAUDE MONET

fect from a fine for petty offences. Further, there is a responsibility accompanying the prerogative. If a deputy is condemned for a cause entailing deprivation of eligibility, he is solemnly deposed from his seat and relegated to private life.

Allusion has already been made to the varying name of a Bill, according as it emanates from the initiative of the President of the Republic or from one of the Chambers. There is also a variation in its treatment. The *projet de loi* needs neither to be approved by a preliminary Commission, nor to be taken into consideration. The more ordinary *propositions de lois* are submitted to these formalities, except in cases of urgency.

The *prise en considération*, if recommended by the preliminary Commission and voted by the Chamber, means that the Bill is examined in detail by a special Commission appointed for the purpose. An amendment to the Bill comes under discussion either at this stage or in the Chamber, when the principal debate is held; and those who propose amendments can claim to be heard by the special Commission, after sending in their written statement of objections. When once the Bill is printed and distributed to the Deputies, which is done on the completion of the Commission's labours, it may be debated in a public sitting within the twenty-four hours.

Except in extraordinary circumstances, two deliberations, together with a favourable vote, are necessary for a Bill to pass through the Chamber. The same procedure is followed in the Senate; and the Bill only becomes law when an identical text of it has been agreed to in the two Chambers, both of which enjoy

equal rights in initiating or amending legislation. If either of them should reject a Bill, it cannot be re-considered until after a lapse of three months; and then only on the Government's proposal. In order to avoid the rejection that may result from the two Chambers coming into conflict, a conciliation Committee exists in each, the two meeting when necessary, and making recommendations to their respective assemblies, and these latter in turn deliberating on the suggested compromise. If, nevertheless, the Bill falls through, it may be reconsidered two months after, instead of three.

The chief cause of disagreement between the Upper and Lower Chambers is the annual Budget, which the Deputies have a prior right to draw up and discuss. This right is not disputed by the Senate; but the Deputies would fain prevent the Conscript Fathers from altering the Lower Chamber's decisions in financial affairs, and confine them to merely giving their advice. A lively struggle occurred in 1894, which terminated by the Upper Chamber's vindicating its claims; and, as long as individual deputies are able to propose an increase in the Estimates, it is not likely that any diminution in these claims will be allowed.

The means possessed by both Chambers for influencing the Government's action comprise (1) the questions common to all legislative assemblies; (2) interpellations, which are the favourite weapon employed in France against Ministerial majorities; and (3) the obligation for Ministers to publish periodical *Yellow Books*, and to add, if required, verbal explanations on all that concerns their own department.

The interpellation consists first in a written request

addressed to the Chairman of the Chamber for a day to be fixed on which the question raised may be discussed. The Chairman consults the deputies or senators, and a date is given. If the question is one of foreign policy, the Minister attacked may ask the Chamber to choose a date which practically shelves discussion. In questions of home policy, a month is the longest delay that can be obtained. If the interpellation has not been withdrawn by its originator before the time accorded for its discussion, it is dealt with in one of three ways. (1) The Members can vote an *ordre du jour pur et simple*, which means that, after hearing both sides, they pass without further comment to the other business they have in hand. (2) They can vote an *ordre du jour motivé*; in other words, they pass a resolution approving or blaming the Government. (3) They can refuse all discussion of the interpellation, if judged untimely or unconstitutional. Of course, the Minister attacked may, if he likes, refuse to answer, though, in so doing, he exposes himself to blame on this score.

In rare cases, both Chambers are called upon to act in a judiciary capacity, the Senate as judge and jury, and the Deputies as a sort of Grand Jury returning a true bill of accusation or throwing the accusation out. This would naturally happen, if a President of the Republic were impeached of High Treason, or a Minister, of a crime committed while in the exercise of his functions. The Senate, indeed, is a permanent High Court of Justice, competent to deal with all offences against the State, and, during the Third Republic, has on several occasions judged in this capacity.

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When united and agreeing, both Chambers likewise have a power enabling them to revise and modify constitutional laws. Such revision could only be carried out at Versailles in a common assembly voting by an absolute majority. The last attempt of the kind made was that of Monsieur Naquet on March 15th, 1894. His proposal to amend the Constitution met with little or no support, however; and, since then, any agitation in favour of a change has been only outside the precincts of Parliament.

Unique in Europe is the French *Conseil d'Etat*, which besides its advisory functions in matters of administration, its privilege of initiative, together with the President, in the proposing of laws, acts as a tribunal in a way that makes its existence one of the greatest boons of the Republican Constitution. It descends from the old *Conseil du Roi* or King's Privy Council, and was first modernized by Napoleon I, who used its members in framing his Code. Under the Second Republic, it obtained a certain jurisdictional power, which, however, was lost on the accession of Napoleon III. Again invested with the right of civil judging, in the year 1872, it had this function confirmed and enlarged in 1888 and 1900; and is now able to protect the citizen against Parliament and even members of the Executive, high as well as low, if they overstep their domain or are guilty of injustice. That this jurisdiction is not a mere legal fiction is proved by the thousands of cases that have been decided between State officers and the public, and not infrequently in favour of the individual against the State. In fact, so precious has its aid been, and so bold its action, that the Society for the Defence of the Rights of Man has more than

once been moved to express its gratitude to this Supreme Council of Equity.

Every care has been taken to render its members independent of pressure from interested parties. They are paid, sit only for a fixed period, and may not hold, at the same time, any other salaried public office. There are ninety-eight ordinary members and eighteen extraordinary, the former being elected, the latter sitting *de officio*. Moreover, in their judiciary capacity, they hold open court and can compel the appearance of any citizen, whatever his official position.

The Government Departments now provided with a Minister are twelve in number: the Interior, Foreign Affairs, War, Marine, Finance, Public Instruction with the Beaux Arts, Public Works, Agriculture, Commerce, the Post Office, Labour (a new creation), and Justice. With the last mentioned there used to be coupled Public Worship, but the disestablishment of the Church has done away with this ministerial responsibility.

Administratively and electorally, France is divided into eighty-nine Departments, which again are subdivided into 'arrondissements.' The arrondissement can also be the subdivision of a large town, Paris having twenty. The canton is a section of the arrondissement, but has only a judiciary character, whereas the commune has preserved somewhat of its old feudal existence, being originally a chartered 'bourg' or city having the right of self-government. To-day, it is a territorial division administered by a Mayor and Municipal Council. Of such communes there are thirty-six thousand one hundred and twenty-one. Some have a very large population, Paris, for instance, with its nearly three million inhabitants, and some,

a very small one. Morteau contains only twelve people. This commune is the smallest. However, there are seven hundred and sixty-eight with a population under a hundred, and seventeen thousand with fewer than five hundred inhabitants. The Mayor and Municipality of Morteau have an easy time of it. In Paris, each *arrondissement* has its own Mayor; but the city or commune has none. Instead, the Prefect of the Seine sits with the Municipal Council, and acts as a Government censor. The Council dislike such grandmotherly surveillance, and would prefer having their Lord Mayor.

The Prefect in each Department is the State's representative, with functions mostly derived from those of the *Intendant* of the ancient *régime*. He is an intermediary between Government and citizens; and, under the Republic, is appointed by the Minister for the Interior. He himself has the right to appoint certain petty functionaries. Further, he checks the action of the various municipalities in his Department, passes bargains for the execution of public works, authorizes public expenses, distributes credits, represents the State before Civil Tribunals and local jurisdictions, renders taxes executory, takes care of public property and hygiene, and proposes the budget of the *Conseils Généraux*. Altogether he is an important officer, and receives a salary rising from 18,000 to 35,000 francs. The *Préfet de la Seine*, holding the premier post, receives 50,000.

XVII

CONCLUSION

THE main interest of French national life since 1870 lies in its having discovered a river bed giving it the possibility of a permanent way towards the ocean of societies to come. Content with being a means, not an end, the Republic has persisted. A second general interest lies in a number of important changes made in the country's government, institutions, laws and language. Each has been obtained at the price of controversies, some of which have brought the nation perilously near to catastrophes. That these latter have been avoided is a proof that French character in bulk has gained, through past experience, elements of quiet strength capable of dominating excesses of temperament.

Fiercest of all struggles has been that concerning the army, the disputants being those who wished to make it the instrument of the *Revanche*, the Restoration, or both ; those who wished to abolish it altogether, and those who wished to transform it into an organization aiming only at defence and at education in civic virtues. The last have so far triumphed. They have triumphed because they based their reforms upon a satisfaction of the national sentiment. This sentiment demanded that the army should be rendered thoroughly effective, and superior in every respect to what it was before the

war. Towards the attainment of such efficiency and superiority all parties contributed. Parliament never hesitated to vote the annual sums of money required. Every possible improvement in arms and equipment and tactics was eagerly sought, and adopted as soon as found. Between 1870 and 1903, the active forces on a peace footing were raised from 394,000 to over 600,000 men, and the War Budget was proportionately increased from 376 to 688 millions.

[Unquestionably, it was the country's quick military recovery which hastened the signing of the Franco-Russian Alliance. True, the Russians wanted French capital; finance was an essential factor in the agreement. Yet, but for the feasibility of military co-operation, no formal pledges would have been exchanged. To a less extent, the same fact was responsible for the Mediterranean understandings of more recent years. Commercial reasons and also sentimental reasons had something to do with the *rapprochement* between Italy and France and Spain and France; but, against Germany's pressure, they could have availed nothing, without the growing military force of France to counteract it.

Parallel to this growth, there was a gradual modification of tone in German diplomacy and the German press towards the Republic. During the seventies, the Chancellor and his official journals, more often than not, used language which was either comminatory or overbearing. After the conclusion of the Alliance, both style and matter were altered; there were periods of coaxing alternating with scoldings, like those bestowed by a dominating husband on a self-willed wife. This later manner has not yet entirely ceased, as the

Moroccan affair abundantly shows. Still, the Trans-Rhenan Chancellory is learning, though tardily, to treat France with the circumspection and courtesy due between equals.

So much the army has accomplished in the domain of diplomacy and international relations; and more it can hardly realize. The revision of the Treaty of Frankfort is no longer its object, even if, in the earlier days of the Republic's rule, those who presided at its resurrection toiled in that hope. Fate, which is stronger than will, has made the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine an impossibility. Alone, the formation of one European Commonwealth could henceforth, in any sense, effect the reunion of these provinces and France.

Probably, next to the Dreyfus Affair, the tacit recognition of the territorial *statu quo* has helped most the efforts of those who are striving to make the army democratic in the best conception of the word, to render it a training school in which the acquired qualities of military courage, obedience and sacrifice may be supplemented with higher virtues of moral discipline, mutual respect, forbearance and esteem.

A fervent apostle of this reform is Georges Duruy, a son of Victor Duruy the Minister, and Professor of History at the Ecole Polytechnique. One day, Monsieur Duruy went to the War Office and asked for an interview with his hierarchic chief. 'Mr. Minister,' he said, 'I want you to give me an order.' The Minister for War smiled; he wondered what order it was that the eminent Professor desired. 'I want you,' pursued the visitor, 'to order me to give my class of military cadets in the school a series of lessons on the duties of

every army officer as a social educator of those who, for the time being, are under his command.' And with these introductory sentences, Monsieur Duruy proceeded to expose his plan in detail. The result was that the order was given, and the military career officially provided with a fresh ideal. Perhaps the Professor himself does not see as far as the remoter consequences of his teaching. But, when the further reduction of military service arrives, as it must before very long, and its burden is diminished to a minimum that can be cheerfully borne by all, the conditions required for such teaching to be put into practice successfully will be much more easily obtainable than at present, and the best uses of a citizen-army much more clearly perceived.

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The Church and State quarrel, with which the problem of youthful education is so intimately connected, has not yet been terminated. However, the phase into which it has now entered may safely be said to be final as regards the exclusion of clerical influence from all State institutions. The Republic, in depriving the Catholic Church, and indeed any other Church in France, of the (arrogant) claim to be the supreme judge in morals, has proclaimed morality's independence of religion in so far as religion pretends to possess infallibility or authority not derived from experience. The Republic's position is that right and wrong have only to do with relations of people to each other, and that the attempt of any Church or Churches to determine right and wrong by virtue of an extra-terrestrial mandate is no more to be

tolerated to-day than the old exploded doctrine of the divine authority of kings. Consequently Christianity, or any other religion, however respectable its tenets, can only be allowed to exist as a public organization by submission to the State; and, if its adherents, whether bishops, priests or laymen, preach revolt against the laws of the land, they must be dealt with as offenders, and rendered impotent to continue their offence.

For the moment, the rebellion of bishops and priests against the Government is likely to continue. The Pope and his advisers imagine that history will repeat itself, and flatter themselves that the episcopacy will again do as the successor of St. Peter and seat its chiefs in the places of emperors, kings and presidents. Unfortunately for their hopes, modern societies are less and less inclined to imitate the past, and decadent empires are resuscitating without inviting the Vatican's aid. The resistance of the laity to the Government's religious policy is largely due to their fear of the priests, who never hesitate to threaten Church people with damnation if they send their children to State Schools. Until the spread of instruction and enlightenment shall have destroyed the superstition that causes people to believe in the priest's power to dispense — False rewards and punishments in a future life, the State has to find some way of nullifying its action. And everything seems to point to the adoption of a State monopoly in education, at least as far as primary and secondary instruction are concerned. There are inconveniences attaching to this method of defence. It is not one to be approved *a priori*. But the fight is with an adversary who has always approved and used

monopoly when she was the monopolist, and who therefore cannot complain of its being employed by the State against herself.

The eviction of Catholicism from its political ascendancy has been rendered possible because of the enormous shrinkage in the number of its adherents. According to the computation of the Bishop of Annecy and of the *Univers* (a Catholic organ) there are no more than ten million professing Catholics in France to-day; and of these very many are only occasional attendants at mass. Add to them about a million or so of Protestants, and there are two-thirds of the population whose only connection with Christianity is that they have perhaps been baptized. ^R J.D.M.P.

The vast majority of the nation, therefore, have abandoned the Christian faith, without adopting, save in a few scattered conventicles, any other dogmatic creed. They remain free-thinkers, with their own individual notions and theories about the world and life; and do their duty as parents and citizens as well as their Catholic fellow-countrymen. From such comparisons as are forthcoming between the two categories in the middle class, which is the fairest standard to judge by, it would appear that there are fewer breaches of morality among those who would be styled 'unbelievers.' In the last quarter of a century, ethical culture circles, called 'cerceles laïques,' have multiplied considerably. All of them have a moral and social end in view, and succeed in grouping large numbers of the young for the purpose of self-improvement.

Of the newer creeds, Theosophy alone has gained a certain footing in the country, branches for its study and practice now existing in the chief towns. The

general attitude of the modern French unorthodox mind is neither materialistic nor yet entirely pantheistic. It is rather that of a man who finds no doctrine of causes logical, reasonable and understandable, and prefers to leave the matter alone. The word *agnostic* is as much French in its application as English, and probably more. The slight Catholic reaction of the nineties, already mentioned, seems to have been strictly confined to the French Academy's sphere of influence; and modern French psychology, with its spiritual interpretation of phenomena, has too much of the obscurity of Haldane's *Pathway to Reality* about it to be accessible to the ordinary thinker. There are signs that the French clergy, freed from their subservience to the State and adopting a bolder attitude towards their bishops, will make future Catholicism in France a more vital thing than it has been. But in the process it is not unlikely that orthodoxy will go by the board.

* * *

While the evolution of the French democracy, with its trend towards Socialism, has not been an altogether peaceful one during the reign of the Republic, for workmen's strikes have been frequent and on several occasions have been accompanied by riot and bloodshed, it has yet provoked less bitter feeling than either the Church or army agitation. This is partly owing to the fact that France is already, through her inheritance of the First Revolution and Napoleonic legislation, and also through her habit of centralization, much more Socialistic than other European countries. Not to speak of conscription, which is pure Socialism, there are a thousand points at which the individual is laid

hold of by the State and prevented from acting except in accordance with the community or family or Government. Even death does not free him from such restrictions, since the State dictates to him the disposal of his property by will and testament. Therefore, the notion of the State enlarging its rôle is not one to which the Frenchman instinctively objects.

Naturally, there are strong Individualists of the Herbert Spencer type in France, but they are a small minority. The rank and file of the so-called non-Socialists, whether among the Rights, the Centres or the Lefts, protest rather against certain special doctrines held by the various sections of Socialists than against the common, fundamental principle. What frightens them most is the seeming progress of the Collectivist or Communist party represented by Jaurès, as distinguished from the older party of ordinary State Socialism. Their consolation is that Monsieur Jaurès has not yet brought in his Bill for the expropriation of the Capitalists, an expropriation presumably differing from that which resulted in the *Familistère de Guise*, and certainly less equitable to the individual.

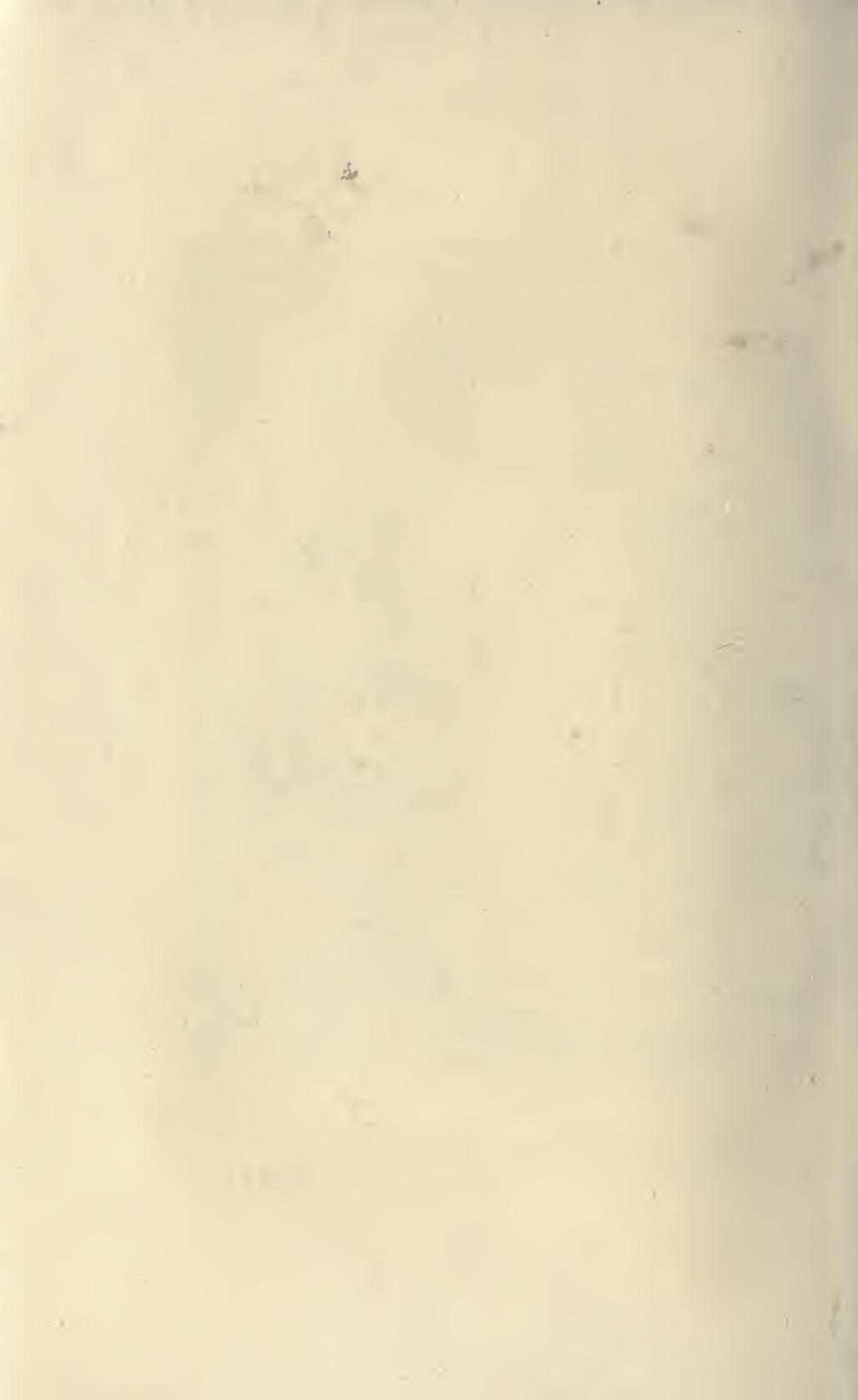
The founder of this *Familistère* was a Monsieur A. J. B. Godin. In his early manhood a journeyman tinker, he was converted to the doctrines of Fourier and Saint-Simon. Having managed to save enough money to start in business on his own account, he established at Guise a small manufactory of kitchen utensils and heating apparatus. Wishing to try the experiment of associating his employees with himself and of forming a sort of phalanstery, he built a block of dwelling-flats on a piece of ground close to the works, rented these at a low rate to the workmen, and



Photograph: Neurdem

LA GRÈVE DES MINEURS

From the Picture by ROLL



began, at the same time, to distribute to them a portion of his profits, and to instruct them in his scheme. In 1880, the Association proper was created. Monsieur Godin invested in it a capital of 4,600,000 francs, in the name of the corporate members, and received in lieu a yearly salary of 15,000 francs, plus an annual interest of five per cent on his investment. When the yearly expenses of the concern, including the education of the children belonging to the *Familistère*, were paid, the remaining profits were shared among all the members according to the salary of each. In round numbers this division meant about two-thirds for the workmen and a third for himself. However, instead of paying the profits in cash he used them to convert the men into shareholders, so that the original capital might be paid off. At his death, the redemption not being completely effected, he bequeathed over a million and a half to the *Familistère* for that purpose.

This essay, shrewdly carried through, and without spoliation, produced not a Collectivist community in Monsieur Jaurès' understanding of the term, but a group of workmen capitalists bound together in one enterprise, each of them being a part owner, and the family of each participating equally in a number of most important advantages. The weak side of the enterprise—and of others that have since been engaged in on similar lines—is that, being carried on amidst a contrary system of competition that isolates instead of binding, there is the same risk of failure as is incurred by all commercial and manufacturing undertakings.

The problem posed for the consideration of the sociologist is whether, instead of the Collectivism preconized by Jaurès and Guesde, labour communities

could not themselves be grouped and federations be formed which might mitigate or remove the evils of competition without destroying private capitalism. At any rate, in France, any change involving a vital attack on capital has but little chance of success, since the democracy with whose support such attack would have to be made is in majority composed of capitalists. In addition to those of the population employed in agriculture, who mainly own the land they cultivate, there are no fewer than 594,000 small business or manufacturing concerns employing from one to twenty people;—in 1896, there were 573,000, so that the increase in a decade or so has been more than twenty thousand. Facts like these must be taken into account by impatient politicians. The solution of the social question, however pressing, cannot be identical in every country.

It will have to be made in accordance with the circumstances and character of the people to whom it is applied. And the French people, however prone to rely on the State, are averse from any collectivism wider than that of the family.

* * *

A good deal has been written in the last ten years about depopulation in France. The phenomenon, such as it is, has become more apparent during the Third Republican era, without being peculiar to it. In 1906, there were 109,000 fewer births than a century before, in spite of the inhabitants being 39,000,000 against 29,000,000 in 1806. This means a relative decrease of one per cent. Yet in 1906 marriages were relatively, as well as absolutely, more numerous, 302,623 against 210,000 in 1806.

From these facts and others carefully collated by statisticians, gloomy conclusions have been drawn by anxious patriots, some of whom charge the Republic with preparing the day when the French population will have been reduced to a solitary couple. Heroic remedies have been proposed for the evil—if evil there be: the heavy taxing of celibates and families without children, the granting of subventions to happy families having their quiver full of them, the making of marriage compulsory, in fine, anything and everything short of polygamy. Yet the birth-rate either declines or remains practically stationary; nor is it probable that artificial remedies will raise it, since the check has been mainly brought about by people's growing prudence, the result of education and reflection. Legislation too against recalcitrant celibates or households would certainly fail in its object; and the victims of it, if heavily burdened, would simply quit their native country.

In reality, this falling of the birth-rate is not a danger to the nation's future; it will not go beyond the limit at which families can provide for their offspring in comfort. Nor is it a menace to the nation's military security. For purposes of defence against the forcible intrusion of a more populous neighbour such as Germany, the present average of nearly forty millions, which judicious measures can render constant, will amply suffice, if the army they furnish be maintained in a condition of efficiency. France is rather to be congratulated than pitied on her reaction against nature's brute law; she offers the Government of the Republic an opportunity of suppressing pauperism, and of thus increasing the vigour of the whole corporate body.

The colonial expansion of France since 1870 has rivalled with that of Great Britain both by its rapidity and its importance. Bismarck favoured instead of thwarting this phase of the country's renascent energy. He is said to have hoped it would bring her into conflict with England; and he certainly thought it would distract her attention from the lost provinces. French colonies, however, while affording advantageous fields for agriculture and commerce, have not attracted many settlers from the fatherland. Not even to Algeria, which, on account of its proximity, might almost be considered a prolongation of France, do Frenchmen emigrate much; they are a minority of the European inhabitants in Algeria, and do not number more than three hundred thousand, though this colony has been French now for half a century. Persevering efforts have been made in the last few years to create a movement of emigration towards Tonkin and Madagascar; but these places, for climatic reasons, are hardly likely to obtain a very large French population. A better opportunity is afforded by the north-west of Africa to any scheme of State-encouraged settlement abroad. If a greater France is to be created beyond the seas, it must be chiefly in Algeria and Morocco.

* * *

Languages evolve under any *régime*; and the French language has changed considerably since the age of Rabelais. Unfortunately, while gaining in richness and force, it has gained too in grammatical complexity, which is a quality less serviceable to the ordinary speaker and writer than to the professional grammarian.

The story runs that Prosper Mérimée once gave a piece of dictation to some assembled guests at the Court of Napoleon III; and the Empress, who joined in the exercise, had eighty mistakes in her copy. It is true that Mérimée had specially composed the passage for the occasion.

As far as orthography is concerned, French is probably no more difficult to a Frenchman than English is to an Englishman; but it is not easy. Even in the commonest vocabulary, homonyms are frequent, and irregularities are numerous, which betray the unwary person into slips; so that one is not astonished to find a genius like Rosa Bonheur disdaining correctness in spelling and filling her sprightly letters with an orthography of her own that would have inevitably plucked her at the examination for the *Brevet simple*.

Where the difficulty really begins is in syntax. Genders, plurals, the agreement of participles, and the subjunctives—all have rules that are the despair of the educated Frenchman. A veritable Chinese puzzle! confesses the professor; and the pupil, indulging in a stronger epithet, is of the same opinion. As long as instruction was almost entirely literary, it was possible for the student, by dint of long application, to acquire a fairly complete knowledge of the elegant art of writing; but, in proportion as programmes were widened, aspirants for University degrees often found themselves rejected for venial solecisms that had little to do with their general intelligence. Groaning under this burden, they looked to the Académie Française for relief—to the Academy by whose will and authority alone any alteration could be introduced into the structure of the language. But the 'Forty's' habit is to be always

behind the time. With the rate of progress at present made in the new Academy dictionary, it will be completed in about a hundred years' time. In their revised dictionary of 1818, the Academy ventured on a few modifications in spelling—these not very consistent, since the Greek *h* is suppressed in *rythme* after the *r* and preserved in *rhéteur*. But they did practically nothing towards simplifying grammar—except in their individual writing, where solecisms may be discovered. At last, the Minister for Public Instruction, in the beginning of this twentieth century, issued a sort of decree of tolerance, by which candidates for the Baccalauréat, and other examinations held under the Government's auspices, were freed from the observance of rules depending on fine-drawn distinctions. It was a step in the direction of a language reform which, although not yet sanctioned by the Academy nor by men of letters, will, ere the century is much older, become an accomplished fact.

* * *

In speaking of the Republic's commercial progress, the fact cannot be overlooked that it has been obtained under a policy of Protection, substituted for that of the Second Empire, which was not very different from that of Great Britain. The commercial receipts of 1906 amounted to about four hundred and ten millions sterling, while those of 1870 were barely more than the half of this sum. Of course, the year of the war was an exceptionally bad one for trade, so that the hundred per cent augmentation wants discounting. However, if only the last twenty years are taken, they exhibit an increase of sixteen per cent. The three

nations whose commerce has progressed more quickly are Great Britain, Germany and the United States, the rise being respectively thirty-four, sixty-six, and eighty per cent ; and, in their case, one cause of the superiority is the growth of population.

That the Republic was wise in reverting to Protection, France has never doubted ; that Monsieur Méline's party carried the policy to an excess, the country has amply acknowledged. The principles guiding the conduct of Parliament are these : unlike the Free Importers of Cobden's school, they held that the producer, in other words, the worker, ought to be considered first, since, unless he produced, he could not consume ; whereas the rich could consume without its being necessary for him to work. Seeing, therefore, that between the interest of the producer and the consumer a choice must be made, they deemed it advisable to choose the interest which, if any one were to suffer, would cause it to be the rich. They determined that, as far as in them lay, every man should have work, that to this end home agriculture, manufacturing and trade should be preserved against undermining agencies, that, in the measure in which the country was able to furnish articles of consumption for the population's requirements, outside supplies should be discouraged, and that an intelligent Government control should be exercised over the exchange of goods with foreign countries, not allowing sudden attacks to be made on this or that portion of home activity, by which it was liable to be destroyed and the foreigner would be subsequently enabled to sell his articles at his own price. In a word, the policy pursued was one of defence ; and, under the gradually elaborated system

of commercial treaties, has in the main worked to the profit of the nation. There are still improvements that might be effected, since duties are maintained on articles that the country cannot produce, and no one is protected. Moreover, as some of the articles in question come from only one or two sources and competition between foreign importers is not sufficient to force these outsiders to pay the duties, which indeed are rather high, the French consumer pays dearly for them, without any compensation that is adequate. But then, the English consumer is treated in the same way by a Government which defends free imports as a dogma.

* * *

To some extent the institution of marriage in France has been modified in the direction of liberty during the last forty years, but, on the whole, more by custom than by legislation. Placed on its proper civil basis before the advent of the Republic, it had to wait until 1907 for a few of the restrictions surrounding the celebration of the ceremony to be rendered less irksome. The law, as it stands, allows two young people to marry at twenty-one without the consent of their parents, on condition of their declaring their intention through a public notary. This condition must be observed by those under thirty years of age, whenever there is parental opposition; and a delay of thirty days is required after the notice is given. A month's residence in the commune where the marriage takes place is necessary for one of the parties, and a single publication of the intended marriage ten days before the ceremony, in each of the communes inhabited by the parties,

when the place of residence is not common to them both.

If these formalities were all, the new law would be a great improvement ; but bride and bridegroom have further to produce family papers and certificates, sometimes difficult to obtain, and always more or less troublesome. Although not the only cause, such *paperasserie* has been one of the causes of the increasing number of *unions libres* not only among the working-class, over whom Mrs. Grundy has little influence, but also in higher ranks of the nation. Quite recently this came out in an open court inquiry held by the *Matin* newspaper, when a wide feeling was revealed in favour of such contracts freed from State control. As a matter of fact, many of the *unions* continue throughout the life of the two parties, and are marriages in every respect save the ceremony, those who contract them assuming the title of husband and wife under one family name. There is besides a tendency in certain circles to treat them as real marriages, which indeed is better, when they are founded in mutual affection and fidelity, than to have, as is sometimes the case, a society acceptance of Monsieur X and Madame Y, whose illicit and culpable relations are well known, and whom the hostess therefore places side by side at dinner in delicate recognition of the circumstances.

However, experience proves that the *union libre* has defects as grave as those of the old ecclesiastic marriage which Milton found so unsatisfactory. In an organized society, it can scarcely be more than a *pis aller*. Probably it will descend to a minimum again in France when legislation makes the contracting of mar-

riage as simple an affair as it is in England and its dissolution a thing honourable and advantageous to both parties, if they are unable to carry on the partnership.

* * *

Of the Feminist or Woman's Rights movement what can be said is that it is practically as advanced as on the other side of the Channel, albeit the question of female suffrage has not yet been actively agitated. Women barristers, women doctors, women university professors, women journalists are creations of the Third Republic, and join the band of business women who have long existed in France and demonstrated their ability to replace their husbands or brothers at the head of important manufacturing or business concerns. At present there are women Jehus who handle the ribbons skilfully and, acting as cabbies, conduct their 'fare' along the boulevards, not to dwell upon a whole standing or sitting army of midinettes that earn their living in offices or shops. At the last municipal elections, there was a woman candidate who secured a fair measure of support in votes, which the returning officer was compelled to throw into the waste-paper basket, since women town councillors and women members of Parliament are conquering heroes—of the future. When the remaining disabilities of the fair sex shall have been swept away, perhaps there will be a Feminist movement in favour of woman conscription, which, if it should happen, would permit of grand military manœuvres much more interesting than at present, since the country's army of male defenders might be tested by another army of Amazons with its brilliant

staff of women officers, and, from a fighting point of view, the problem of sex superiority be settled.

Meanwhile the new race of French women is rising. The ancient convent system of education, with its clausturation of the *jeune fille* until her marriage, is slowly but surely decaying. In another generation or two it will have disappeared. The freer atmosphere in which French girls are now being brought up is one of the changed elements in social life which will most affect the nation's destiny.

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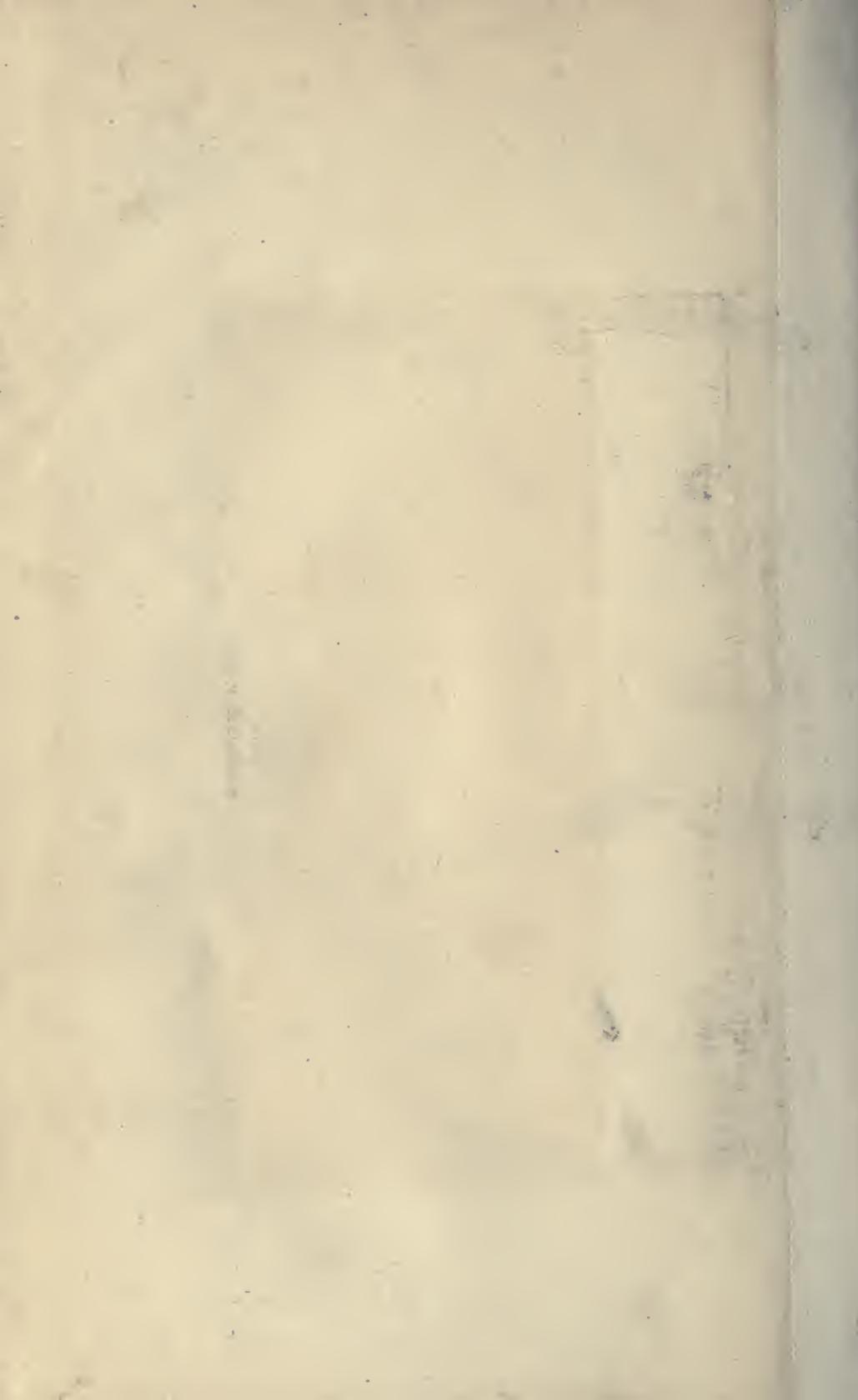
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