



CHAPTER VII

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

[1871-1906 A.D.]

Perhaps the most general feeling throughout the civilised world with regard to French history in the nineteenth century is that it is a chaos of revolutions, one government after another being set up and pulled down in obedience to the fluctuating impulse of the mob. It may well be maintained, as against this view, that nowhere in history is visible a more logical and consistent operation of cause and effect, the whole forming a struggle to solve the problem, which indeed underlies all the history of popular government—how to establish an executive strong enough to govern, and yet not strong enough to abuse its power.—GAMALIEL BRADFORD.^b

FRANCE and Paris had so long been separated that, when they again met face to face, they did not recognise each other. Paris could not forgive the provinces for not coming to her rescue, the provinces could not forgive Paris her perpetual revolutions and the state of nervous excitability in which she seemed to delight. While the provinces, crushed, requisitioned, worn out by the enemy, were hoping for rest which would enable their wounds to heal, Paris, like an Olympic circus, was re-echoing more noisily than ever to the sound of arms and warlike cries. It was the intermediate time between a government which had ceased to exist and a government which was not yet formed; executive bodies were hesitating, not knowing exactly whom to obey, not daring to come to any decision under any circumstances: dissolution was general and indecision permanent.^c

That it was a costly mistake for the Germans to insist on the spectacular parade through so inflammable a city as Paris, is emphasised in the recent work of Zévoort^d; and Jules Favre^e describes the earnestness with which Thiers pleaded with Bismarck and Von Moltke against the project. The Prussians insisted, however, either on keeping the city of Belfort, or on the

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glory of the triumph in Paris. Thiers protested against the seizure of Belfort in the following words:^a

"Well, then, let it be as you will, Monsieur le comte—these negotiations are nothing but a pretence. We may seem to deliberate, but we must pass under your yoke. We demand of you a city which is absolutely French: you refuse it: that amounts to confessing that you are resolved on a war of extermination against us. Carry it into effect: ravage our provinces, burn our houses, slaughter the inoffensive inhabitants—in a word, finish your work. We will fight you to the last gasp. We may succumb; at least we shall not be dishonoured!"

Herr von Bismarck seemed disturbed, says Favre. The emotion of Thiers had won him over. He answered that he understood what he must be suffering, and that he should be happy to be able to make a concession, if the king consented.

It is an unlooked-for spectacle—a Bismarck almost melted and a Moltke almost sentimental, preferring a barren honour, the entry of their troops into Paris, to the possession of a French town, and succeeding in making their master share their point of view. We also see for ourselves that Thiers, though he was well known to be a determined advocate of peace, only obtained the very slender concessions that were made to him by threatening to struggle to the last gasp, and we repeat that a less pacific chamber and negotiators, animated by the same spirit as Gambetta, might, to all appearance, have obtained less hard conditions.^e

After the end of the siege there may be said to have been hardly any government in Paris. General Vinoy, who was in command, had, like all the military leaders, lost his whole prestige during the siege. The army by mixing with the people had imbibed the same spirit, and the government did not interfere in anything. The news of the entry of the Prussians exasperated the people, who were burning with the fever of despair. Tumultuous demonstrations took place at the Bastille; at the same time the crowd seized the guns which had been left in the part of Paris which the Prussians were to occupy. At first they wished to keep the conquerors from getting possession of them; then they kept them, and the most distrustful of the people took them up to Montmartre. The entry of the Prussians nearly brought about a terrible conflict with these crowds, which were burning with fury. This misfortune was, however, avoided. But the march of the conquerors through Paris was not of a triumphal character. Restricted within the space which leads from Neuilly through the Champs-Élysées to the Louvre, they were defied by the street boys of Paris, and were met at every turning by threatening crowds who pursued them with yells. The second day they were obliged to beat a dejected retreat.

Meanwhile the advanced republicans were organising their party; they expected to have to fight the monarchical assembly by force. The law against Paris, the law of *échéance*, caused great indignation. The name of Thiers recalled his struggle against the republic after 1848 and his services as minister under Louis Philippe. All this was too far distant to enable people to judge of the new rôle he intended to play. The republicans of the ministry, Jules Favre, Picard, and Jules Simon, had, after the siege, lost all influence in Paris. A great many men who inspired confidence, left the assembly. Victor Hugo, whose speech had been shouted down by the populace, and Gambetta had resigned. A severe conflict seemed imminent.

Though Thiers wished on the one hand to control the royalists of the assembly, he was determined on the other to deprive of weapons the republicans

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of the large towns. He made a pretext for doing this by demanding the restitution of the cannon which had been seized. Some of the radical deputies intervened to prevent civil war. They had twice almost succeeded in obtaining the restitution of the cannon, and were making further efforts to do so. Paris, too, seemed gradually calming down, when Thiers decided to employ force. On the 18th of March, at daybreak, the troops, under the orders of General Vinoy, ascended the slopes of Montmartre and took possession of the cannon. But things had been so badly managed that the people were aware of what was happening. The sight of those who had been wounded in the morning enraged the crowd; the troops were surrounded and dispersed: there was not even a struggle. The soldiers no longer obeyed their officers, but mingled with the populace.

All Paris was in arms: instantly barricades were raised in every direction. Thiers had for a long time held that when a rebellion is serious it is best to abandon the revolting town and only re-enter it as a conqueror. He commanded a retreat to Versailles. During the night the Hôtel-de-Ville was evacuated by the government. The insurrection had been inaugurated with terrible bloodshed. General Leconte, who in the morning commanded part of the troops at Montmartre, had been detained by the crowd with some other prisoners, and the republican Clément Thomas, who had commanded the national guard in 1848 and during the siege, had been recognised and arrested on the boulevard. These prisoners had been dragged from place to place. At last they were brought to the rue des Rosiers where a committee from Montmartre was sitting. A crowd of infuriated people assailed the house, and in the midst of a scene of wild confusion the two generals, Leconte and Clément Thomas, were pushed against the walls of the garden and riddled with bullets. This slaughter made a bloody stain on the proceedings of the day.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Among the numerous organisations formed in Paris during the two preceding months, the most active and enterprising was that which was known as "The central committee of the national guard," although it was composed of very obscure men. The central committee had taken as large a part as it possibly could in the doings of the 18th of March. It now installed itself in the deserted Hôtel-de-Ville, posted up a proclamation, and thus became the government of the rebel party.

The following day the party of the population of Paris, who had done nothing on the 18th of March, but had remained passive, now began to resist the movement. The deputies of Paris and the mayors elected during the siege joined this party of the people, and summoned to their aid the portion of the national guard led by Admiral Saisset.

Paris was cut in two. A spark would ignite the flame of civil war, negotiations were opened. The central committee offered to retire in favour of men chosen by the city; they were willing to stand for election, but only in order to continue the Revolution and not for the purpose of restoring legal order. Meantime they were governing the part of Paris which belonged to them. Arrests were made at the railway stations, and they threw General Chanzy and Floquet into prison. A series of abortive measures led up to the elections of the 23rd of March. In general members of the central committee, well-known socialists and partisans of the Revolution, gained enormous majorities.

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THE COMMUNE OF 1871 ORGANISED

The commune—this was the name assumed by the insurgents in whose hands Paris had just placed the government—took possession of the whole town, except a corner of the 16th arrondissement, and Mont Valérien, which remained in the power of the army of Versailles, increasing day by day by reinforcements from all directions, and which Thiers placed under the command of Marshal MacMahon, the man who had been defeated at Wörth and Sedan.

At Versailles, Paris was looked upon as the refuge of scoundrels and madmen. Thus, in both of these centres, a spirit of civil war seemed part of the air men breathed. On the 2nd the army took possession of the barricade on the bridge at Neuilly. On the 3rd a united attack on Versailles was led by Gustave Flourens.

The first volleys from Mont Valérien threw the crowd into disorder. Flourens, deserted and in hiding at Rueil, was killed by a sabre wound inflicted by an officer of police. Next day near Châtillon the federals were repulsed in the same way, and, amongst others, their leader Duval was taken prisoner.

After this it was impossible for the commune to think of threatening Versailles. Driven back into Paris, it was about to be besieged there. From the first the prisoners were put to death. General de Galliffet had had two of the national guards placed against a wall and shot. Duval was executed without any formal trial.

The commune responded by a decree that all prisoners and partisans of the assembly who were arrested and condemned were to be kept as the "hostages of Paris," and that three of them should be shot each time that one of the federal prisoners was shot by the army. The effect produced by such a terrible threat may be imagined. After this no prisoners were executed on either side till the troops re-entered Paris. The struggle continued during the months of April and May without any fresh battle in the open. The army could only succeed in taking Neuilly street by street, slowly, after a month's fighting. The fort of Issy was defended with desperate determination. Meanwhile Thiers was having Paris bombarded from St. Cloud. The shells poured down upon the Champs-Élysées, reaching as far as the place de la Concorde.

And what was being done by the commune, the mistress of Paris? These were the plans the communists desired to carry out, and which represented the doctrines and political significance of the movement known as "the revolution of the 18th of March"—inside the fortifications the following measures had been proclaimed: the separation of Church and State; the suppression of the ministerial officials, who were all absent; the suppression of night-work for bakers, and a manifesto tending to bring about home rule in every commune in France, for each was to be a distinct state having its own army, its own laws, and its own system of taxation.

The violent measures taken by the commune had soon alienated most of the people from it. It confiscated and destroyed the house of Thiers, seized his collections, and then demolished the Vendôme column. The papers which opposed it most firmly were suppressed one after the other. Arrests and the searching of houses often took place simply on the authority of any officer of the national guard who chose to command them. In this way a large number of priests, monks, police officers, and former magistrates had

been arrested, and with them republicans like Chardey. The commune was divided into two parties. The most celebrated man in the commune, Delescluze, did not belong to either party. The commune was without money and had recourse to the bank in order to raise funds.

THE RECAPTURE OF PARIS

Paris had an unusual appearance: the national tricolour had disappeared and was replaced by the red flag. Strange uniforms were seen in the streets. Certain churches where the services had been put a stop to were used for holding public meetings, and orators of both sexes discussed socialistic questions from the pulpit. The wealthy parts of the town were deserted. The distant thunder of the cannon never ceased night or day. The commune had not succeeded in inciting other towns in France to rise in rebellion, except St. Étienne, Lyons, and Toulouse; there was also a rising in Aude: but these had either failed or been speedily suppressed. The municipal elections took place throughout the country in April and resulted in a victory for the democratic party. From all directions delegates from the new municipalities were sent to Versailles to try if possible to avert a civil war. It was in dealing with these delegates that Thiers first clearly and definitely pledged himself to a republican policy. On the 21st of May the army entered Paris unexpectedly, making an entry by the left bank of the river. Then began that terrible battle which lasted nearly a week, when Paris was retaken street by street amid scenes of indescribable horror.

The powers of resistance of which the insurrection could dispose after its victory of March 18th must have been considerable, to enable it to sustain two months of constant fighting and the great seven days' battle in Paris. Its artillery consisted of 1,047 pieces. Deducting the guns employed on the outposts, the forts, and the walls, 726 were used in the streets when the regular troops at last penetrated into Paris. The cavalry was ineffective and never counted more than 449 horses; but, on the contrary, the infantry was very numerous. Twenty regiments, consisting of 254 battalions, were divided into active and stationary parts: the first set in movement 3,649 officers and 76,081 soldiers; the effective of the second was 106,909 men led by 4,284 officers, which produced a total of more than 191,000 men, from which must be deducted 30,000 individuals who always found means to escape service. Briefly, the commune had an army of from 140,000 to 150,000 soldiers, which it commanded both outside and inside Paris.

To this already imposing mass must be added twenty-eight free companies, very independent in conduct, which acted according to the fancy of the moment and obeyed no one. Their very fluctuating contingent rose, towards the middle of the month of May, to the number of 10,820 followers, led by 310 officers. There were among them men of every origin and of every description, who chose the wildest names—Turcos of the commune, Bergeret's scouts, children of Paris, Father Duchêne's children, Lost Children, Lascars, Marseillais sharpshooters, volunteers of *la colonne de Juillet*, and avengers of Flourens.^c

From the beginning it was evident that the conquerors would be implacable. Hardly had the army entered the city, when the executions began. Some of the vanquished, feeling they need hope for no mercy, soon began the criminal work which was to electrify the world. In the evening of the 23rd, volumes of flame and smoke enveloped the city. Massacres on the one side were avenged by arson and murder on the other. No poet, not even

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Dante, when he was piling horror upon horror in his *Inferno*, ever imagined such a ghastly spectacle as was presented by Paris during the whole of that week. At the barracks people were shot down by the dozen. Whole districts were depopulated by flight, arrests, and executions. In the part of Paris which was still held by the federals, the fury of the populace became more violent as defeat became more certain.

On the 24th, at La Roquette, Raoul Rigault and Ferré had six "hostages" massacred. These included the archbishop of Paris and the curé of the Madeleine. On the 25th the Dominicans of Arcueil, in a terrible and almost incredible scene, were driven forth, torn almost limb from limb, and killed near the Gobelins. Some of the Paris guards and some priests were massacred in the rue Haxo. Other victims also suffered at La Roquette. When the troops reached the château d'Eau, Delescluze, wearing a frock-coat and carrying a walking-stick, walked all alone, with his head held high, straight into the thick of the firing; his corpse was found there riddled with bullets. It was at the taking of the last federal strongholds, Belleville, that the slaughter was most terrible, while in the parts of Paris already taken the summary shooting of prisoners was going on steadily.

Meanwhile long processions of prisoners (forty thousand had been taken) were journeying with parched throats, blistered feet, and fettered hands along the road from Paris to Versailles, and as they passed through the boulevards of Louis XIV's town, they were greeted with yells and sometimes with blows. They were crowded hastily into improvised prisons, one of which was merely a large courtyard where thousands of poor wretches lived for weeks with no lodging but the muddy ground, where they were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, and whence they were despatched by a bullet in the head when desperation incited them to rebel. The Germans, from the terraces of St. Germain, were watching the spectacle of the taking of Paris, and at night saw the great city which was the glory of France decked with its hideous crown of fires.

Certain it is that if such sights as these have not made the country hate the very idea of civil war, if they have not taught France what a crime it is to set armed Frenchmen against each other, the lessons taught by history seem to be altogether useless. On the 29th of May the conquest of Paris was complete. A terrible day of reckoning succeeded the misfortunes which the city had endured while the fighting was going on. Nearly ten thousand convictions were pronounced by the courts martial. New Caledonia was peopled with convicts. Besides these a large portion of the population had taken flight; and thus many industries, which had hitherto been exclusively Parisian, were introduced into foreign countries.

Anger was so bitter against the refugees that the right of other nations to afford an asylum to them was disputed and Belgium even promised to give them up to France. The famous poet Victor Hugo was at that time in Brussels, and published a letter in which he stated that all refugee rebels would find a shelter in his house. The following night an attack was made on his house, which was pelted with stones. Immediately afterwards, the Belgian government expelled "the individual named Victor Hugo." But neither Belgium nor any other country could give the exiles of the commune back to France.

History has rarely known a more unpatriotic crime than that of the insurrection of the commune; but the punishment inflicted on the insurgents by the Versailles troops was so ruthless that it seemed to be a counter-manifestation of French hatred for Frenchmen in civil disturbance rather than a

judicial penalty applied to a heinous offence. The number of Parisians killed by French soldiers in the last week of May, 1871, was probably twenty thousand, though the partisans of the commune declared that thirty-six thousand men and women were shot in the streets or after summary court-martial.

It is from this point that the history of the Third Republic commences. In spite of the doubly tragic ending of the war the vitality of the country seemed unimpaired. With ease and without murmur it supported the new burden of taxation called for by the war indemnity and by the reorganisation of the shattered forces of France. M. Thiers was thus aided in his task of liberating the territory from the presence of the enemy. His proposal at Bordeaux to make the *essai loyal* of the republic, as the form of government which caused the least division among Frenchmen, was discouraged by the excesses of the commune, which associated republicanism with revolutionary disorder. Nevertheless, the monarchists of the national assembly received a note of warning that the country might dispense with their services unless they displayed governmental capacity, when in July, 1871, the republican minority was largely increased at the by-elections. The next month, within a year of Sedan, a provisional constitution was voted, the title of president of the French Republic being then conferred on Thiers. The monarchists consented to this against their will; but they had their own way when they conferred constituent powers on the assembly in opposition to the republicans, who argued that it was a usurpation of the sovereignty of the people for a body elected for another purpose to assume the power of giving a constitution to the land without a special mandate from the nation. The debate gave Gambetta his first opportunity of appearing as a serious politician. The *fou furieux* of Tours, whom Thiers had denounced for his efforts to prolong the hopeless war, was about to become the chief support of the aged Orleanist statesman whose supreme achievement was to be the foundation of the republic.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THIERS (1871-1873)

The French government had two immediate ends in view — to rid the country of foreign occupation as speedily as possible, and to improve the military organisation on a Prussian model. Since the liquidation of great sums of money was necessary for attaining both these ends, a great demand was put on the taxable strength of the country. The object to be gained by the second aim was not to increase the defensive power of the land, since an unaggressive France had to fear no attack, but to prepare for a war of revenge against Germany. The shattered military glory was to be restored, the lost provinces were to be given back, or some compensation, perhaps in Belgium, was to be obtained for them. All parties in France, the monarchists as well as the extreme republicans, were filled with this idea, voted funds after funds for military purposes in the national assembly, and even offered the government more money than it asked for.

Thiers, who had been made president of the French Republic on August 31st, 1871, by the national assembly, negotiated a loan of two thousand five hundred million francs for the payment of the first two milliards of the war indemnity in June, 1871, and a loan of more than three milliards for the payment of the rest in July, 1872. The "financial miracle" was then enacted — namely, forty-four milliards was registered in the public subscription list, in which German banking houses also participated disgracefully. Even if this sum were not intended in earnest, it was nevertheless an extremely favourable testimony to the French credit.

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By the military law of July 28th, 1872, universal compulsory service was introduced, providing that one part of the community was to serve for five years, the other in periods of six months' drill. This law was completed by the organisation law of July 24th, 1873 — which fixed the number of the regiments and divided them into eighteen army corps — and by the *cadre* law of March 13th, 1875. This latter increased the battalion cadres by creating a new fourth battalion for every three which already existed, so that now instead of the regiments of three battalions with a maximum strength of three thousand men, there were regiments of four battalions, which brought the maximum strength of the regiment up to four thousand men. After this law had been carried out, the French infantry, consisting of 641 battalions, numbered 269 field battalions more than in the year 1870, and 171 field battalions more than the German army in time of peace.

This cadre law caused such a sensation that in the spring of 1875 it was generally reported that there was another war "in sight"; that the German Empire wished to declare war on France before these colossal preparations were carried into effect. Nevertheless, the war did not go beyond diplomatic inquiries. The "great" nation tried to put all the responsibility for the military disgrace in the late war upon Marshal Bazaine, who, it must be said, had signed the capitulation of Metz at a very convenient moment for the Germans. He was brought before a military tribunal and condemned to death on December 10th, 1873, but this sentence was commuted to twenty years' imprisonment. He began his period of captivity on December 26th in a fort on the island of Ste. Marguerite, but he escaped on August 10th, 1874, with the help of his wife, and fled to Spain.

The national assembly, divided into parties which were bitterly opposed to each other, developed a very meagre legislative activity. On one side stood the three monarchistic parties of the legitimists, the Orleanists, and the Bourbons, each of which had its pretender to the throne; on the other the republicans, who were divided into a moderate and an extreme Left. Between them stood a group of parliamentarians, who could be satisfied with either form of government, if only the constitutional system were preserved. It is true that the monarchists held the majority, but in the course of the next



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few years they lost considerable ground through the supplementary elections, and they were so disunited among themselves that in the most important questions frequently a fraction of the Right voted with the Left, and the majority thus became a minority. The "fusion," *i.e.* the union of the legitimists and Orleanists into one single party, did not succeed.

Thiers preferred the actual republic to any one of the three possible monarchies, and for that very reason the monarchists were very much dissatisfied with him. When, at the re-formation of the ministry on May 18th, 1873, he wholly disregarded the monarchistic majority and recruited his cabinet entirely from the moderate Left, the monarchists moved a vote of censure upon Thiers. This was carried on May 24th, 1873, by a vote of 360 against 344.

MACMAHON BECOMES PRESIDENT

Thiers and his ministry resigned; whereupon, in the same sitting, MacMahon was elected president of the republic. The duke de Broglie held the place of vice-president under him. In order to strengthen the position of the president the national assembly voted on November 19th, 1873, to fix the term of his service at seven years. The Broglie ministry could not long succeed in this difficult art of steering safely between the parties. It was compelled to retire on May 16th, 1874, through the result of the ballot on the electoral law, and on May 22nd the war minister, Cissey, took over the presidency of the cabinet.

But when the government seemed to favour the Bonapartists and a choice between the republic or a third empire was imminent, the moderate Orleanists separated themselves from the government; from the left and right Centre a new majority was formed, which, on the motion of the delegate Wallon, by its final vote on February 25th, 1875, established a republic with regular presidential elections, and with a senate and second chamber. Thereupon the formation of the Buffet ministry followed on March 10th, the most prominent member of which belonged to the right Centre.^h

MARTIN ON THE CONSTITUTION OF 1875

The constitution was formed as follows: at the head of the executive a president, named in advance by the 1871 assembly, to hold office for seven years, with power to dissolve the chamber of deputies subject to agreement by the senate. He had also a more formidable right—that of suspending both chambers for one month, though not more than twice in a session; that is, he was to be sole and uncontrolled governor in case of disagreement between himself and the direct or indirect representatives of the nation. The senate was composed of two hundred and twenty-five members appointed by the departments and the colonies for nine years, and seventy-five appointed by the national assembly; these last for life. The others were elected by a departmental circle composed of deputies, councillors-general, suburban councillors, and delegates, one from each municipal council.^h

So it came about that the smallest French commune, having hardly enough electors to compose a municipal council, played as considerable a part in the government as Lyons or Marseilles. This meant the subordination of republican towns to country districts, over which the government hoped to exercise a powerful influence. An elector in a tiny commune weighed in the electoral balance as much as two or three thousand electors in large cities. At bottom it was an election of senators in the hands of village

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mayors, under governmental influence. This was a very different thing from the declaration of rights — "All men are equal in the eyes of the Law."

There remained the chamber of deputies elected by universal suffrage. It was elected by borough balloting, but it was not included in the articles of the constitution. This chamber shared the introduction of laws with the senate and the president of the republic. It was named by a mode of ballot that diminished its importance and threatened it with dissolution on the slightest disagreement with the assembly, which was chosen by restricted suffrage. The constitution, however, gave it a supreme prerogative—a supreme means of making the national will triumphant: the introduction of financial laws, the key of the money chest! The chamber of deputies had the most weight in matters of taxing, a prerogative which is not only a republican right but one which is also exercised in all constitutional monarchies. This right the chamber of deputies did not even know how to uphold and defend.

The Versailles assembly, which was unenthusiastic, monarchical, and far more clerical, was principally concerned in promoting in the new constitution the interests of the higher classes above those of democracy, of crushing universal suffrage which it was unable to suppress under the feet of limited suffrage, and fettering as far as possible every liberal or democratic reform. At the end of ten years its entire work still existed and in this sense one may say that the assembly of 1871 was successful.

From the 22nd to the 24th of February the Wallon proposition was disputed foot by foot, word by word, by the Right, who rained a shower of amendments on it. They wanted universal suffrage; an appeal to the people; the declaration of the sovereignty of the people; the interdiction of princes as presidents of the republic. Everything was commenced, but to little purpose. The republicans turned a deaf ear, maintained a staunch resistance and, from the highest to the lowest, kept the promise made in their name. On the 24th of February the senate law and the transmission of the president's powers had a majority. On the 25th of February the bill relative to the organisation of public powers was carried in a third and final debate by 425 against 254. The republic was complete!

SIMON'S MINISTRY

This constitution, the fourteenth since 1789, was the result of dissensions among the monarchists, who preferred republican candidates to their rivals in the legitimist or Orleanist ranks. After this unexpected aid, the republicans gained a large majority in the elections to the chamber, thanks largely to the efforts of Gambetta, who was not, however, rewarded with representation in the cabinet. The first minister under the new constitution was Dufaure, formerly in Louis Philippe's cabinet; late in 1876 he retired, and the new premier was Jules Simon. Simon was of deeply Catholic sympathies and aided in a movement to interfere in Italian affairs for the restoration of the pope to territorial power and the control of Rome.^a

During Simon's ministry the struggle, from being political, suddenly became a religious one between the republicans and the conservatives. Some incidents of external politics in Italy and Germany, whose reverberations extended to France, a demand for the authorisation of conferences, presented to the minister of the interior by the ex-père Hyacinthe, the aggressive ardour of archbishops and bishops and the anti-religious violence of a part of the radical press, all united to set lay society and the clerical world in

opposition to one another and to provoke in parliament a formidable crisis — in the country an agitation which might have produced first a revolution and afterwards war.

Gambetta set himself against the clerical party and demanded that the Concordat should be interpreted as a two-sided contract, obligatory and equally binding on both parties; and he ended by repeating the words of Peyrat: "Clericalism, that is the enemy!" (*Le cléricisme, voilà l'ennemi!*) It has been said that this war-cry was too sweeping, because it included all the members of the clergy amongst the enemies of society. But from that time the epithet "clerical" designated rather the laity than the ecclesiastics, including all those who mingle religion and politics, who wish to use spiritual matters for temporal ends and take their electoral cue elsewhere than in France.^d

There was strong feeling against the agitation meant to ferment a religious war and embroil France in ultramontane politics. Simon declared that he had done all in his power to repress the spirit of war for Catholicism. But votes on two bills only indirectly related to clericalism went against the policy of the minister and were made a pretext for an unusual step.

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF MAY 16TH

On the 16th of May President MacMahon published in the official organ an open letter of rebuke to his minister. This strange act has been called the coup d'état of May 16th.

The president's letter closed as follows:^a

The attitude of the chief of the cabinet raises the question as to whether he has preserved that influence over the chamber which is necessary to make his views prevail. An explanation on this head is indispensable; for, if I am not, like you, responsible to the parliament, I have a responsibility towards France which I ought now more than ever to consider.

Accept, Monsieur le président du conseil, the assurance of my high esteem.

Le Président de la République,
MARÉCHAL DE MACMAHON.

On this strange document Zevort comments severely:

Before studying the real meaning of this letter it will be well to estimate what the very sending of it implied, the unheard-of proceeding to which the marshal had recourse to rid himself of a president of the council who had represented him to the parliament as the model of parliamentary and constitutional chiefs. The letter specified nothing. If Jules Simon had wished to play a close game with his unskilful antagonist, he might indeed have either presented himself before the chamber, procured a vote of confidence, and thus demonstrated that he had preserved that influence which was necessary to make his views prevail; or he might have waited till the approaching council of ministers, and had that explanation with the marshal which the latter declared indispensable. In either case the president of the republic would have found himself in a position of cruel embarrassment, and the conflict he had raised would perhaps have received, on the 17th or 18th of May, 1877, the solution which it was to receive only in the month of January, 1879. Like all timid persons the marshal dreaded nothing so much as an explanation with those he had offended; and his letter, in its prodigious clumsiness, was very skilfully drawn up, if he wished to avoid an interview in the council with the ministers so cavalierly dismissed.

As to the pretexts devised to separate him from the cabinet of the 12th of December, they were really altogether too frivolous. However inexperienced

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the marshal might be, he was not ignorant of the fact that a law under discussion is not a law passed.

The question as to whether Jules Simon had sufficient authority over the chamber was either a premeditated insult or the proof of a singular defect of memory; and had not Jules Simon—in the most weighty divisions, on the 4th of May, 1877, and the 28th of December, 1876, when the prerogatives of the chamber were themselves at stake—had more than two-thirds of the voters with him, and was the law of majorities no longer, as on the 26th of May, 1873, the supreme rule of parliamentary governments?

"I am responsible to France," said the marshal, who had been elected by 390 deputies, thus borrowing the phraseology of Napoleon III, who had been chosen by five million electors; and was not France directly and regularly represented by the senate and the chamber of deputies, and had not the constitution (Article 6) already indicated the single case in which the president of the republic is responsible—namely, the case of high treason?

Such was that document of the 16th of May, which left everything to be feared because it went beyond all measure, which did not exceed the bounds of legality but which exhausted it at the first blow. The marshal was about to declare in his speech, in his Orders of the Day, that he would go to the farthest bounds of this legality, whose utmost limit he had attained with one leap. The constitution of 1875 had assured him a quasi-royalty: yet he was now going to put himself outside or above the laws, under pretence of the higher interests of the public safety, that facile pretext for all dictatorship; he was about to engage, haphazard, in a formidable venture, ignorant of what might result from his victory or his defeat.^d



JULES GRÉVY

The coup d'état of the 16th of May was from its inception condemned throughout Europe. MacMahon was neither sufficiently ambitious nor unscrupulous to institute a military dictatorship. The most important events in the political calendar were the electoral campaign and Gambetta's noted speech at Lille, on the 15th of August, when he wound up with, "Believe me, gentlemen, when France has once spoken with her sovereign voice there will be nothing left but submission or resignation" (*se soumettre ou se démettre*). The jingle caught the popular ear and Marshal MacMahon on the 13th of December submitted unconditionally.

GRÉVY BECOMES PRESIDENT (1879)

Gambetta, it is generally conceded, was at this period the foremost politician in France. A thoroughly republican ministry was formed under Dufaure, president of the council and minister of justice, with Freycinet as minister of public works. President MacMahon in his message "accepted

[1878-1879 A.D.]

the will of the country." Gambetta now sagaciously expressed his wish that MacMahon should be permitted to complete his term; and thus the advantages of republican rule might be the better demonstrated by his duly and peacefully elected successor. The great exposition of 1878 brought MacMahon some prominence, but the old soldier found himself isolated, and utterly sick of the part he had to play.

On the 28th of January, 1879, MacMahon, finding himself unable to agree with his ministers and hopeless of forming a new ministry conformable to his views, resigned and in his last acts conducted himself with such dignity as to bring even from Zevort ^d this commendation:



LÉON GAMBETTA

"From the beginning of the governmental crisis the marshal had conducted himself as a man of honour, and preserved an attitude the most correct and most deserving of respect, and employed the simplest and most becoming language. From the moment that the politician had vanished, the honest man, the good citizen, the successful soldier had reappeared, and the lofty dignity of his retreat made men forget the errors for which he was only half responsible."

What part Gambetta acted in the crisis of January, 1879, when MacMahon's ministry fell, it is difficult to decide. At the critical juncture he appears to have absented himself from Paris. He abstained from speaking in the debate on the policy of the ministry, neither did he vote in the final division. There is every reason to believe that, had he willed, he might have contested the presidency of the republic successfully.

But he waived his claims in favour of Jules Grévy, who was elected president on the 30th of January, 1879, by 536 votes against 99 for General Chanzy, Gambetta becoming president of the chamber and Waddington the prime minister.

THE LAST DAYS OF GAMBETTA; ASCENDENCY OF FERRY

The deputies were united now as "the national assembly," and the legislature returned from Versailles to Paris. Both executive and legislature were now thoroughly republican.

Prominent in Grévy's cabinet was the minister of education, Jules Ferry, who was strongly anti-clerical in his views and advocated an educational bill excluding the Jesuits and all "unauthorised orders" from acting as teachers in France. Jules Simon secured the rejection of the bill by the senate, but the unauthorised orders were disbanded and many priests and nuns expelled amidst public feeling embittered by the wrath of the clerical party and the zeal of the anti-clericals. The Bonapartist cause suffered when the young

[1870-1885 A.D.]

prince imperial was killed by the Zulus. Waddington resigned the ministry to Freycinet and he to Ferry, who still kept Gambetta from office.

Gambetta now began to fight for power and to gather republican sentiment about him until it was necessary to call him to the prime-ministry. The jealousy of his magnetism or "occult power," as it was called, and his distribution of the portfolios succeeded in shortening his lease of power to ten weeks. Gambetta, in the days of his power, advocated all measures that would tend to place France in the position she occupied before the war. He approved of the expedition to Tunis, for he desired to extend her influence in the Mediterranean. And he upheld the dual action of France and England in Egypt. To quote his own words in almost the last speech he ever made: "For the last ten years there has been a western policy in Europe represented by England and France, and allow me to say here that I know of no other European policy likely to avail us in the most terrible of the contingencies we may have to face hereafter. What induced me to seek for the English alliance, for the co-operation of England in the basin of the Mediterranean and in Egypt—and I pray you mark me well—what I most apprehend, in addition to an ill-omened estrangement, is that you should deliver over to England and forever territories, and rivers, and waterways where your right to live and traffic is equal to her own."

On the 31st of December, 1882, Gambetta died at the age of forty-four from an accidental wound. Thus ended prematurely the strange career of *le grand ministre*, as he was called ironically, less memorable for what he did than for what everyone felt he might have done.

In the first month of the same year (January, 1882) another new ministry had been formed with Freycinet president of the council and minister for foreign affairs. This ministry lasted only half a year, being succeeded by that of Duclerc, during which all the members of royal families were exiled from France in consequence of a campaign of placards waged by the son of Jerome Bonaparte of Westphalia. The brief premiership of Fallières gave way to that of Jules Ferry who, though a former rival of Gambetta's, united with his disciples to form the so-called "opportunist" party.

During Ferry's comparatively lengthy tenure of office of over two years, some revision of the constitution was accomplished in uncharacteristic peacefulness. The typical volatility of the people, however, was revealed by the explosion of rage over the news of a check received by the French army at Tongking. The bitter speeches of the cynical Clémenceau brought about Ferry's resignation and Brisson became prime minister. A reaction now grew against the republican administration, and the elections of 1885 were forty-five per cent. monarchical. The alarm over this dangerous weakness put a momentary end to republican internal factions, and Grévy was re-elected president December 28th, for a second septennate.

Freycinet formed a new ministry, his third, giving the portfolio of war to General Boulanger—a curious figure neither whose past nor whose future justified the remarkable prominence he acquired. His first acts were sensational in that he erased from the army list all the princes of royal families and exiled his first patron, the duke d'Aumale; he also repressed all the army officers of reactionist sympathies. The populace showered on Boulanger the favour it withdrew from the president, and he became powerful enough to unseat Freycinet, who was succeeded by Goblet. Boulanger took a spectacular position on the arrest by the Germans of a French officer named Schnebele, and showed great energy in preparing for a war with Prussia. Goblet resigned. Rouvier followed, and sent Boulanger to an army post. In 1887

scandals arose concerning the sale of Legion of Honour decorations, in which a deputy named Daniel Wilson was implicated and in which it was shown that he used the president's residence as a sort of office. This provoked an outcry before which Grévy resigned.

In his nine years of administration, President Grévy had had eleven ministers—in itself a proof of lack of policy or at least of power to carry out a policy. In the first period, from 1879 to March 20th, 1885, however, much had been accomplished for the establishment of public liberties—the freedom of the press being assured in 1881, the municipal councils given the right to elect their mayors in 1882, and the laws of divorce replaced in the civil code whence the Restoration had removed them. The schools had also been rendered secular, as we have seen.

The application of these reforms, reductions in the taxes, coinciding with



SADI CARNOT

bad years and the ruin of the vintage, produced the most serious difficulties with regard to the budget—difficulties which were still further augmented by the participation of France in the colonising movement then attracting all Europe. The Tunis expedition (1880-1881), that of Tongking (1883-1885), the first Madagascar expedition (1883-1885), the foundation of the French Congo (1884), and the advance towards the Sudan belong to this period. In the second period parliament and public opinion are in a state of profound disturbance after the 30th of March, 1885, and anarchy reigned in the ministries, the parliament, and public opinion.^d

In this critical situation, when Freycinet and Floquet, aiming for the radical vote, are said to have had a secret agreement to restore Boulanger to power; when the monarchists were planning to vote for Ferry in the hope that his unpopularity would provoke one of those mob disturb-

ances which had so often brought back the monarchy, Clémenceau skilfully secured the nomination and election of an unexpected figure—Sadi Carnot, a man of unassailed reputation, whose grandfather was the great Carnot to whom France had owed her magnificent military organisation during the revolution.

THE PRESIDENCY OF CARNOT (1887-1894)

Sadi Carnot, though perhaps not a great man, displayed as president of the republic the same qualities of conscientiousness, diligence, and modesty for which he had been noted in those more humble days when he built bridges at Annecy. These years were unexampled in France for the virulence of political passion and the acrimonious license of the press. The decoration scandal, the Boulangist movement, and the Panama affair filled this period with opprobrious accusations and counter-charges.

Carnot chose Tirard for his premier; under him Wilson was sentenced to two years for fraud, and Boulanger was deprived of command for absenting himself from his post without leave. Wilson appealed, and the higher courts

[1887-1894 A.D.]

reversed the decision against him. As he was a relative of Grévy, this provoked public suspicion, which was aggravated when Boulanger was elected a deputy by an overwhelming majority and was immediately expelled from the army.

Tirard's ministry fell and Floquet succeeded, with Freycinet as minister of war. A duel ensued between Floquet and Boulanger, in which, singularly, the civilian, who was also of advanced age, wounded the doughty general in the throat. None the less, Boulangism increased rapidly and was enlarged by the royalist vote. The time was ripe for a coup d'état, but the general did not move; indeed, he denied in his speeches any ambition for dictatorship and actually withdrew to Brussels, April, 1889, when he heard that Tirard, who had been recalled as premier, was about to arrest him. He was now found guilty of high treason and the senate sentenced him to life imprisonment.

He went to Jersey and lived there quietly, while Boulangism died of inanition. In July, 1890, his mistress, Mme. de Bonnemain, died, and September 30th, 1891, he blew out his own brains on her grave. This last act was consistent with his whole career, both in its strong emotionalism and in its weakness. He was a man idolised by his soldiers, whom he treated with good-fellowship and even tenderness; he was thrilled with a passion to revenge France on Prussia, a passion bound to be popular there in France; he was a smart soldier and on his black horse made a picturesque figure; a popular tune added to his vogue—"C'est Boulanger qu'il nous faut"; and it might have proved a "Ça ira" of insurrection, but he lacked the courage—or shall we not more mercifully and justly say, he lacked the villainy?—to lead a revolution. While he missed the glory of a Napoleon, he also escaped the bloody crimes of that despot.



CASIMIR-PÉRIER

Boulangism having committed suicide, it suffered disgrace from the monarchic coalition, and reform went on peacefully. In 1890 Freycinet added the premiership to the war ministry, and 1891 saw no change of cabinet. Conciliation with Rome was the policy of both France and the Church; and in February, 1892, Leo XIII recognised the republic in an encyclical. Freycinet resigned the premiership and Émile Loubet became premier.

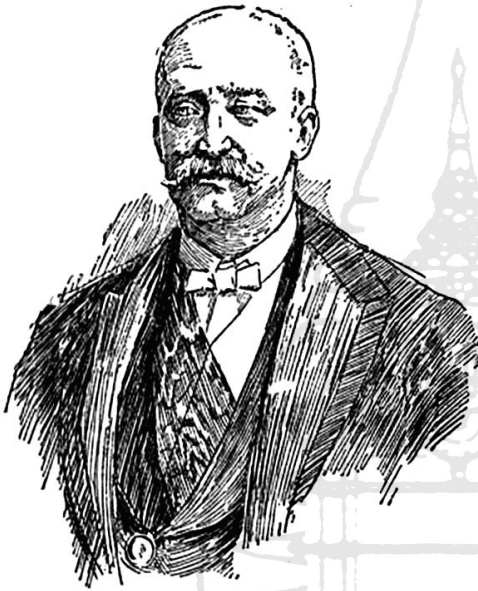
Now the Panama scandal came to shock all the world with the revelations of official corruption, of wholesale blackmail, and of the abuse of funds largely subscribed by the poorer masses. The trials were peacefully conducted, and while only one former minister was convicted and a sentence was passed on De Lesseps, the engineer of the Suez Canal and also of the Panama venture, the deep disgust of the public did not take the usual recourse to riotous expression. Loubet was followed in December, 1892, by Ribot and he later by Dupuy. Casimir-Périer, grandson of the famous statesman, succeeded for a time, to be followed again by Dupuy. On June 24th, 1894, President Carnot was stabbed to death by an Italian anarchist named Caserio.

THE PRESIDENCIES OF CASIMIR-PÉRIER AND FAURE

Casimir-Périer, who like Carnot bore a name unsullied by scandal, was elected by the congress June 27th, 1894, but he could not endure the attacks of opposition newspapers; and January 15th, 1895, he resigned on the ground of overburdensome responsibilities without adequate powers.

Félix Faure was chosen to succeed him; he was of humble origin and a successful merchant. Ribot was his first premier, Léon Bourgeois his second, and Méline the third; Méline's ministry lasted from April, 1896, to June 28th, 1898, the visit of the czar, and the sealing of the Franco-Russian alliance giving it distinction. Dupuy came back as premier, but February 16th, 1899,

President Faure died of apoplexy and the then president of the senate, Loubet, was elected in his place. The Dupuy ministry held over till June, when Waldeck-Rousseau became premier and managed by a combination of firmness with an effort at conciliating the various parties to carry France through the violence of anti-Semitism and its culmination in the two trials of the Jewish captain Alfred Dreyfus.



FÉLIX FAURE

THE DREYFUS TRIAL

In January, 1895, Dreyfus had been sentenced to life imprisonment on Devil's Island off French Guiana, the charge being that he had sold military secrets to Germany. The dramatic ceremonies of his degradation and his earnest denials of guilt attracted the atten-

tion of the world, and it was claimed that he was the innocent scape-goat of anti-Jewish rancour and of true guilt among Gentile officers. The efforts of certain French officers, writers, and editors, notably Colonel Picquart and Émile Zola, to reopen the case were vain for some time, Colonel Picquart being imprisoned and Zola driven into exile. In 1898 new proofs against Dreyfus were produced, but Colonel Henry confessed to forging these and committed suicide.

After a ferocious newspaper war in which the foreign press joined with unusual vigour, Captain Dreyfus was brought back for retrial in August, 1899. It is difficult for a foreigner to decide on the merits of the case, as the sincerity of both factions was only too evident, and the charges of militarism and anti-Semitism against the anti-Dreyfusards were met by charges of venality and of purchase by Jewish gold. Even the new president, Loubet, was accused of this. The new court, by a majority of five to two, again found Dreyfus "guilty of treason with extenuating circumstances," and sentenced him to ten years' detention. The curious wording of the sentence, as well as certain methods of court procedure, amazed the foreign world, in which

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the opinion is practically unanimous that the evidence published has no value at all in proving Dreyfus guilty.

The French government, however, put a stop to the agitation by pardoning the prisoner and recommending a general amnesty. This was perhaps the wisest course, though hardly satisfactory as an example of fearless justice. Every nation has its judicial scandals, but no other has had so universal an airing, and a prejudice has been excited against the whole French people as a result of this affair. A British writer, J. E. C. Bodley,^g has thus summed up its manifold phases:

"The Dreyfus affair was severely judged by foreign critics as a miscarriage of justice resulting from race-prejudice. If that simple appreciation rightly describes its origin, it became in its development one of those scandals symptomatic of the unhealthy political condition of France, which on a smaller scale had often recurred under the Third Republic, and which were made the pretext by the malcontents of all parties for gratifying their animosities. That in its later stages it was not a question of race-persecution was seen in the curious phenomenon of journals owned or edited by Jews leading the outcry against the Jewish officer and his defenders. That it was not a mere episode of the rivalry between republicans and monarchists, or between the advocates of parliamentarism and of military autocracy, was evident from the fact that the most formidable opponents of Dreyfus, without whose hostility that of the clericals and reactionaries would have been ineffective, were republican politicians. That it was not a phase of the anti-capitalist movement was shown by the zealous adherence of the socialist leaders and journalists to the cause of Dreyfus; indeed, one remarkable result of the affair was its diversion of the socialist party and press for years from their normal campaign against property.

"The Dreyfus affair was utilised by the reactionaries against the republic, by the clericals against the non-Catholics, by the anti-clericals against the Church, by the military party against the parliamentarians, and by the revolutionary socialists against the army. It was also conspicuously utilised by rival republican politicians against one another, and the chaos of political groups was further confused by it. The controversy was conducted with the unseemly weapons which in France have made parliamentary institutions a by-word and an unlicensed press a national calamity; while the judicial proceedings arising out of it showed that at the end of the nineteenth century the French conception of liberty was as peculiar as it had been during the Revolution a hundred years before."

COLONIAL WARS (1882-1895)

Foreign affairs in France have been marked by various small wars, notably the war in Tongking, where in 1882 the successful commandant Rivière was killed. Admiral Courbet, however, retrieved these disasters by vigorous action and won a treaty, August 25th, 1882, by which the French protectorate over Annam and Tongking was acknowledged. General Millot now took control of the land forces and Courbet by means of his fleet secured from Li Hung Chang a recognition of the Tongking protectorate, after bombarding certain ports and destroying two Chinese cruisers.^a

The joy caused by the signing of peace with China was disturbed by the news of the death of the man to whom peace was due. Admiral Courbet died on June 11th, 1885, from the effects of an illness against which he had long struggled. Although he felt he was dangerously ill, he would not leave his

[1861-1900 A.D.]

post. He understood perhaps that no one could have replaced him. All France felt the blow; a magnificent funeral was given the sailor who had raised the glory of his flag in the extreme East.

In 1802 there was a short and successful war with Dahomey. It has been summed up by Lanier,^k as follows: "This glorious campaign, where two thousand soldiers had had to struggle against twenty thousand natives, admirably supplied with implements of warfare, taught and trained to the offensive, not to speak of jungles, swamps, dysentery, and fevers, had lasted just three months, and cost France ten million francs. It reflected the greatest honour on the general who commanded it."

Disputes had been of frequent occurrence between France and Madagascar since 1642, when the French destroyed a Portuguese settlement. In 1861 a treaty between France, Great Britain, and Madagascar was signed.



ÉMILE LOUBET

But in 1864 again there were disputes between the French and Hovas; to be followed in 1877 by a serious quarrel respecting certain lands given to one Laborde, a missionary, which the Hovas now reclaimed. In 1882 the French claimed the protectorate of part of northwest Madagascar by virtue of a treaty made in 1840-41. This resulted in an appeal to the British government; a native embassy was also sent to France to protest. Peaceful measures failed; and Admiral Pierre with a French fleet, in the year 1883, bombarded and captured Tamatave. From that time forward there was constant warfare; sometimes one side and sometimes the other gaining indecisive victories. On the 12th of December, 1895, Madagascar was attached to the French colonies.

In 1899 the poet Paul Déroulède vainly tried to prevail on General Roget to leave President Faure's funeral and march to evict President Loubet from the Elysée palace. A like failure attended the effort to provoke a war with England over the Fashoda affair, in which Major Marchand with a handful of men claimed a right over territories he had explored for France. The British government treated him and his claims with small respect and French pride was injured, but fortunately no further steps were taken.

In 1900 the world's exposition failed to have a political effect, and was not a financial success. A great sensation was caused by the revelation that the French birth-rate was on the decrease, but similar statements concerning England were later made. When the nineteenth century began, France had one-fifth of the total population of Europe; at the beginning of the twentieth century she has hardly a tenth. In that time her population has increased only forty-six per cent., while that of Great Britain and Ireland has increased one hundred and fifty-six per cent.

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

The years 1901-1905 were remarkable for the contest between state and church in France, culminating in the final disestablishment of the latter. Under the terms of the famous Concordat of 1801 between Napoleon I and Pius VII the French government paid the salaries of the clergy and had the

[1901-1907 A.D.]

right of nominating bishops, an arrangement which worked smoothly for the greater part of the ensuing century. After the establishment of the Third Republic, however, the influence of the church, and especially of certain orders in it, had been frequently cast against the government. When this friction became threatening, Pope Pius IX gave counsels of moderation, recommending the French Catholics to recognise the government *de facto*, that is, the Republican *régime*.

Possessed of a vast amount of wealth which escaped taxation, these orders, whose leaders were in many cases foreigners, independent of French authority, and often living abroad, inclined to a monarchical form of government, and not infrequently assisted the royalists in promoting their propaganda. As the education of a large part of the youth of the country was in their hands, they constituted a distinct menace to the Republic. Actuated by a desire to lessen this danger, and perhaps also by a more general hostility to the ecclesiastical system, the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry in 1901 secured the passage of an act requiring religious associations to secure legal authorisation from the government. This act appears to have been intended rather in the nature of a weapon in reserve, but the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry resigned in June 1902, and the new ministry of M. Combes at once entered on an extreme anti-clerical policy. Despite violent resistance in some parts of the country, particularly in Brittany, the law was rigidly enforced, and a vast number of associations were broken up. In 1904 events occurred which increased the tension still further. In the early part of the year President Loubet, when visiting the King of Italy, failed to pay a visit to the Pope. The Papal authorities protested against this omission in a secret note, which was communicated by a German diplomatist to M. Jaurés, the socialist leader. The publication of this note caused great indignation among Republicans and did much to embitter relations between the Quai d'Orsay and the Vatican. Later in the year the Pope ordered two bishops of Republican tendencies to resign their sees. Angered by this attempted interference on the part of the Pope, the government recalled its embassy from the Vatican and informed the Papal nuncio at Paris that his presence was superfluous.

In January 1905 the Combes ministry resigned, but that which followed under M. Rouvier pursued the same policy with regard to the church, and on December 6th the bill for the disestablishment of the church finally passed the senate. Under this law, the churches were separated from the state, members of all creeds were authorised to form associations for public worship, and the state was relieved from the payment of salaries. The Concordat, in full, and an abstract of the Separation Law appear in the appendix at the end of this chapter. In January 1906, the legal formality of taking inventories of church property began, and in many places the military had to be summoned to overcome the organised resistance to inspection. The general election of May resulted in the return of a large Republican majority. The Nationalists were badly defeated, and no doubt remained as to the country's approval of the Separation Law. In January 1907, a supplementary law was passed, dealing with the situation created by the main act.

THE "ENTENTE CORDIALE" AND THE MOROCCAN QUESTION

The *entente cordiale*, or agreement with England, was one of the chief characteristics of this decade. The diplomatic seal was set to it by a visit of MM. Loubet, and Delcassé to London in 1903, and a convention

with England in 1904, by which either power recognised respectively the other's predominance in Egypt and Morocco. This agreement was apparently accepted by Germany, and Prince Buelow explained to his critics in the Reichstag that German commercial interests were not menaced in Morocco. In 1905, however, Germany decided to intervene. Whatever was her aim in so doing, the motive generally credited to her was a desire to disturb the Anglo-French *entente* which M. Delcassé had done so much to bring about. On March 31st the Emperor of Germany landed at Tangier and met the representatives of the Sultan of Morocco, whom he is believed to have encouraged in resistance to France. In response to this move, King Edward saw M. Loubet in Paris and subsequently visited Algiers. Exchange visits between the English and French fleets were also arranged. But a furious attack on M. Delcassé began in the German press and was carried on by German agents in France. War was hinted at if he were not removed, and it was even said that Germany's peace terms were already arranged. England was of course bound to support France in a quarrel arising out of the Anglo-French understanding, and, according to articles subsequently published in *Le Matin*, she expressed herself not only as ready to co-operate with her whole fleet, but also as prepared to land 100,000 men in Kiel harbour. The French government, however, resolved to remove M. Delcassé, on the ground that he had not notified the Anglo-French convention to Germany, and his place was taken by M. Rouvier, who entered on a series of concessions to Germany and agreed to a conference on the Morocco question.

This conference met at Algeciras in January 1906, its object being to discuss the question of reforms in Morocco. Although France and Germany were the nations most directly affected, yet the importance of the questions at issue naturally caused lively interest on the part of other European nations, especially England and Spain. The principal delegates were: For France, M. Revoil; for Germany, Herr von Radowitz and Count Tattenbach; for England, Sir Arthur Nicolson; for Spain, the Duke of Almodovar, who was chosen to preside; for Italy, the Marchese Visconti Venosta; for Austria, Count Welsersheimb; and for the United States, Mr. Henry White.

The two subjects of dispute on which France and Germany were most opposed to each other were those of the organisation of the police, and, in a minor degree, of the State Bank. It was not until April 7th that an agreement on these questions was finally reached. The object of Germany in contending for the internationalisation of the police was to place France on the same level as other powers, and so to deprive her of her predominant position in Morocco. France, on the other hand, claimed a mandate to herself and Spain. Germany's final proposal, to which she held to the last moment, was the appointment of the suggested inspector of police in command at Casablanca. This proposal, however, was resisted, not only by France and Spain, but by England and Russia, and on Austria's suggesting its withdrawal, Germany gave way; the concession of an internationally controlled State Bank being made to her in return.

Thus the differences that had at one time threatened to develop into an open quarrel were settled. The understanding with England had been tested and found true, and though Germany had shown that she could effectually oppose such arrangements if made without her consent, she had nevertheless discovered that an aggressive policy on her part was not likely to be supported by any European power.

Many evidences were shown during 1906 that the crisis had strengthened, instead of weakening, the *entente*. In February the London County Council

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paid a visit to the Municipal Council in Paris. In June King Edward visited the President on his journey to and return from Biarritz, and in October the Lord Mayor of London was enthusiastically received in Paris. Other signs of the movement were the reception of representatives of the French universities in England, and the special invitation to Sir John French, the eminent British cavalry officer, to attend the French army manœuvres.

RELATIONS WITH JAPAN AND GERMANY

France also realised, since the Russo-Japanese war, the advantage of an *entente* with Japan for the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in the Far East. After the war, France had felt some solicitude with regard to her colony of Indo-China, but through the efforts of French and Japanese diplomats all danger had passed. In 1907 M. Pichon, the French foreign minister, thought that the moment was opportune for a definite agreement with Japan. It had been known for some time that such an agreement was in progress, but it was not until June 10th that it was finally signed. This was the complement, and, in a measure, the result of the Anglo-Japanese agreement of 1905, and, though not implying a formal alliance, was directed toward the same purpose, the maintenance of peace in the Far East; its main principle being respect for the independence and integrity of China. The agreement was well received in Russia, where a similar convention with Japan was subsequently entered upon. At the same time some desire was shown for a *détente*—to use Prince Buelow's expression during an interview in July 1907—a slackening of the old strained relations with Germany. The Kaiser's words of welcome to M. Jules Cambon, the new French ambassador in Berlin, and the latter's visit to Prince Buelow at Nordeney, were especially noticeable as tending in this direction.

SEQUEL TO THE DREYFUS CASE

The sequel to the Dreyfus case culminated on July 12th, 1906, when the Cour de Cassation, after a long investigation, finally and completely exonerated Major Dreyfus of all the charges brought against him. The contrast between the attitude shown towards Dreyfus in 1899 and 1906 was characteristic of the French people. He was now reinstated in the army, received by President Fallières, and appointed a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Nor were his two champions of 1899 forgotten. Colonel Picquart was restored to the active list. It was too late to do anything for Émile Zola, but as a posthumous honour his remains were transferred to the Pantheon.

M. FALLIÈRES CHOSEN PRESIDENT

On January 17th, 1906, M. Clément Armand Fallières was chosen president to succeed M. Loubet. The retiring president had won the respect of the world by his sterling qualities, and his term of office was marked by national progress. In it there had been a decided reaction from militarism, as is evidenced by the fact that in 1904 the length of the term of military service was shortened to two years, and that the idea of a *révanche* on Germany occupied much less attention than formerly. In fact, France was seldom in a more contented, sane, and wholesome condition than when, under her worthy peasant-president, she devoted her best efforts to extending and solidifying her prosperity.

WINE-GROWERS AND THE ADULTERATION LAW

During 1907 grave disturbances took place in the wine-growing districts of the south of France, owing to the distress caused by economic conditions. The over-production, arising from the increase of vineyards after the disappearance of the phylloxera, had combined with the free import of the Algerian product to make the wine of the Hérault district almost unsaleable. But the peasantry considered that the cause of their miseries was to be found in the adulteration of wine and the manufacture of artificial wine by means of sugar—malpractices which they suspected were carried on in the district. In May disturbances broke out at Narbonne, at Béziers, and at Perpignan. Agitation was set on foot against the government, under the lead of a wine-grower, M. Marcellin Albert; threats were held out of resisting the payment of all taxes until the government had applied some remedy, and there was even some wild talk of setting up a rival republic in the south.

On May 23rd the government adopted a bill against adulteration, but the disturbances continued. In June many southern mayors resigned, all administrative employees were compelled to cease work, and the non-payment of taxes was threatened. This direct challenge to the central government led to a conflict between M. Clemenceau and the committee of Argeliers. Legal proceedings were instituted against many of the latter, and troops were sent against the revolted districts, but the danger was increased by the disaffection which existed among many regiments. On June 28th, however, the bill for the suppression of adulteration was finally passed. The revolt had been weakened meantime by the fall of M. Marcellin Albert from popular favour, and by the beginning of July the measures taken by the authorities for enforcing the law had almost restored peace.

FURTHER TROUBLES IN MOROCCO

In spite of the Franco-Spanish demonstration in December, considerable hostility was manifested by the natives towards French subjects in Morocco during the early part of 1907, culminating in the murder of Dr. Mauchamp, a French physician, in Marakhesh, on March 24th. This murder caused much indignation in France, where it was broadly hinted that the fanatics had been encouraged to rely on German support. The French government immediately issued a list of demands, including the punishment of Dr. Mauchamp's murderers and the payment of an indemnity, and announced its intention of occupying Ujda until those demands should be complied with. The sultan issued ambiguous proclamations with the intention of gaining time, but the firm attitude of France ensured the granting of practically all her demands.

But France's troubles in Morocco were not yet by any means over; in July the anti-European, or rather anti-French, feeling was again exemplified in an attack on Europeans in Casablanca, ostensibly arising from opposition to the construction of a harbour, but really due to religious fanaticism, in which eight members of various nationalities were killed. A naval expedition was immediately sent out under Admiral Philibert, which proceeded to bombard Casablanca. Later, the French government presented a note to the powers, stating what had been done, and explaining what further measures had been decided upon, showing the necessity of organising the police force in Morocco, and affirming the determination of France to maintain the authority of the sultan and the integrity of his empire.

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But there was a peculiar difficulty about France's task. While the interests of other nations were in her keeping, notably of the British, whose loss of property in Casablanca had been severe, yet there was a danger that the advance from the coast of a body of troops strong enough to procure an adequate defence might be construed by unfriendly critics as exceeding the terms of the Act of Algeciras. The gravity of the situation was made manifest by General Drude's urgent demand for additional troops on August 21st; it having been repeatedly stated throughout the month that no reinforcements would be necessary. The British colony in Tangier petitioned the British government for the protection of a warship; stating that the French and Spanish arrangements were inadequate. It was also evident from reports that there had not been hearty co-operation between the French and Spanish troops, although an official contradiction was given to the statement that they had differed on the question of an expedition into the interior. By the end of August, however, it was stated that everything was quiet at Casablanca.

The difficulty had been increased by the lawless state of the country. Mulei Hafid, the sultan's brother, was set up as a rival sultan in Marakshesh, while the pretender ruled in the north-eastern part of the kingdom. In addition to these opponents of the legitimate authority, the brigand chief Raisuli exercised practically sovereign power in the neighbourhood of Tangier, and several fanatics wandered about the country proclaiming a holy war. Although Mulei Hafid and his brother were both reported to be favourable to Europeans, yet it was plain that either depended for his success on siding with the great mass of the people on the question of a religious war, which meant a general war on Christians and Jews. Even before Mulei Hafid had been proclaimed sultan, and had called upon his brother to abdicate, Abdul Aziz realised that the maintenance of his throne, and even his life, depended on his abandoning his attitude of favour towards Europeans and his acceptance of the leadership of such a war. This fact explains his statement before the principal men of Fez that France had overstepped legal obligations, and that steps must be taken to protect Morocco from French aggression, a statement which had been preceded only two days previously by an appeal to the shereefs for co-operation with France.

A gloomy picture is drawn by the *Times* correspondent in Tangier of the state of Morocco at this time. He pictures a Sultan with some two million pounds of debts, whom no one obeys; a handful of robbers with the high-sounding title of viziers; a fanatical population of six or seven millions; an empty treasury; a conglomeration of tribes misgoverning themselves and at war with each other. He declares that such revenues as exist are fully mortgaged. There is a *dossier* of claims for the destruction of Casablanca; two cities are in the hands of foreigners, and Raisuli holds Sir Harry Maclean as a trump card. The Pretender rules North-east Morocco, and the Sultan's brother is prepared to proclaim himself in the south. There is a plethora of reforms proposed, discussed, and accepted by every one except the people whom they chiefly concern. The people will not have these reforms at any price, but their eventual acceptance of them it is proposed to enforce with the aid of 2,500 police, whose duties will extend from Tetuan to Mogador, a distance of five hundred miles. Obviously the task of France in Morocco is not an easy one. ^a