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CONTEMPORARY FRANCE



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BY
GABRIEL HANOTAUX

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

With Portraits

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INTRODUCTION

I HAD hoped to be able to give the History of the Presidency of Marshal MacMahon in a single volume, but I am obliged to recognise the fact that two volumes are necessary.

The present volume contains the history of the two first cabinets of the Due de Broglie (May 1873 to May 1874) and an account of the double failure of the attempt to restore the monarchy. The Comte de Chambord was set aside after his letter of October 27th, 1873. The septennate was organised as a provisional system. Soon afterwards, the National Assembly, by turning out the Due de Broglie at the moment when he offered it a constitutional system, ruined, in anticipation, the hopes of the House of Orleans.

The monarchical past of France was bankrupt, leaving a clear field to the Republic.

In spite of the original inclinations of the Assembly, the Republic was voted by a majority of one in February 1875.

At first, obscure aspirations, then, more and more clearly defined wishes weighed on the resolutions of the Assembly. The inclinations of the country after the War, and after the Commune, bore it towards a new system of Government. I have thought it necessary to devote to the analysis of this state of public feeling, as also to an account

of the material recovery, and intellectual activity of France, a portion of this present volume, namely, its second part, chapters x., xi., xii., and xiii. This retrospective study in national psychology actually extends over a period of about ten years, from 1871 to 1880.

This explains the necessity, which I found incumbent upon me, of reserving the whole of another volume, the third, to the voting of the Constitution, and the enterprise of May 16th. I hope to be able to publish it after a very short interval; I shall then have finished a first part, forming a whole in itself : The History of the National Assembly and of the establishment of the Third Republic in France.

It would be impossible for me to express at the present moment all my gratitude for the more and more valuable assistance which I receive, in proportion as my work advances. In every quarter I find the most willing help in my researches. Unpublished documents, both numerous and important, have been entrusted to me. They will be found quoted on very many occasions, sometimes in the narrative, sometimes in the notes.

At the very outset, I must thank Mme. Taine. The fragments of the unpublished correspondence of M. Taine, from which she has been so good as to allow me to make extracts, are jewels, whose value and brilliancy will be appreciated by the public.

Men who were closely concerned in the events described have fully and loyally replied to my questions ; I need only mention my eminent colleagues, the Comte d'Haussonville, the Marquis Costa de Beauregard, and the Marquis de Vogue.

The Due de Magenta and the Marquise de MacMahon have kindly opened their archives to me. The Vicomte Emmanuel d'Harcourt has communicated to me documents of the most interesting nature, and, thanks to him, I have been able to settle definitely a fact of the highest interest for the biography of Marshal MacMahon, and the history of the war of 1870. From this point of view I also owe much to General de Vaulgrenant.

Respecting Gambetta and the party guided by him, I have obtained or collected confidential or traditional information. I have perhaps been the first to attempt an exposition of his theory and system. As the *roles* of Gambetta and M. Jules Ferry become predominant, the documents at my disposal will, I hope, enable me to clear up many questions.

General Cuny has helped me with his great ability and friendly assistance in the accounts of military matters.

M. Adrien Leon, junior, whose father was the confidential assistant of the Comte de Paris in the management of their party in the Gironde, M. Charles Callet, the son of M. Auguste Callet, and M. Toutain have freely entrusted to me the manuscripts in their possession. I here express my sincere gratitude to all.

The Due de Broglie, M and Mme. Psichari-Renan, have kindly authorised me to reproduce the portraits which appear in this volum^e; I beg them to accept my best thanks.

G. H.

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the report of the powerful speech delivered by M. Thiers in the morning. The crisis was apparently averted; the weather was bright, the crowd full of rumours; towards evening, it gathered in the direction of the Saint-Lazare station.

About five o'clock, a report began to spread, soon to be confirmed: M. Thiers had been defeated by fourteen votes. The first sensation was surprise, followed by doubt; finally, in the confused medley of opposing sentiments and opinions, amazement became the prevailing feeling.

At eight o'clock, the *National* gave a detailed account of the two sittings. The crowd on the boulevards swelled, the evening papers were snatched from the kiosks. The rapid progress of events was made known: the resignation of M. Thiers, the election of Marshal MacMahon, all that happening so quickly, so far off, at Versailles, out of the reach and beyond the control of Paris.

The hours passed away: the approaches to the station were filled by a dark mass waiting for the deputies and M. Thiers.

He arrived at midnight, attended by the deputies of the Left. There was a shout of "Vive M. Thiers!" He stepped into a carriage and drove away. If he had crossed Paris, he would have been accorded a triumphal procession; but he, and indeed every one, felt that this was not a time for manifestations. The police gently dispersed the crowd, which gradually disappeared during the night. Paris, defeated but yesterday, offered no resistance: she was not sure of herself; in the depths of her soul she felt the rent which divided the conscience of the country.¹

¹ Antonin Levrier, *La chute de M. Thiers*, 8°, 1873.

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Effect of the
Fall of M.
Thiers in the
Provinces

In the capital and the provinces alike excitement spread along with the news. The 25th was a Sunday. The groups assembling in the streets in front of the placarded telegrams recalled the dark hours of the war, when anxious faces questioned one another. In towns and villages, the speech of M. Thiers was read aloud : those who approved did not conceal their sentiments; the others held their tongues. There was no shout of victory, no cry of wrath, merely anxious reflection, the stupefaction caused by yet another crisis after so many crises, or, rather, by the inevitable approach of fresh struggles. There was, too, the weariness of recent sorrows, the dread of a long convalescence, worse than the disease. Was this sorely tried land never to find peace ?

Abroad

The fall of M. Thiers caused more alarm than surprise in other countries. Distance increased the effect of these sudden events ; people wondered whether order would be preserved: in London, at a Court function, the members of the French Embassy were a centre of attraction. " People in general are quite surprised to learn that Paris is not being sacked," wrote M. Gavard.¹ M. Thiers received countless telegrams expressing universal astonishment and regret.

Election of
Mac-
Mahon

Meanwhile, the immediate election of Marshal MacMahon proved to be reassuring; his name was well known and generally respected throughout France and Europe. But what was to be thought of so violent a change, of the sudden substitution of a man of the sword

¹ Charles Gavard, *Un Diplomate d Londres*, in 18, 1895, (p. 158).

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for an old parliamentary hand such as M. Thiers? Did this mean a conspiracy ? a revolutionary measure ? the overthrow of the Republic ? the speedy restoration of the Monarchy ?

In the Assembly, when the voting was about to begin for the nomination of a successor to M. Thiers, M. Horace de Choiseul asked : " For how long will he be appointed ? Will his nomination be irrevocable ? " Neither constitution nor precedent existed. M. Buffet, who had probably given some thought to the subject, replied without hesitation : " I am bound to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that there is no question of adopting any modification in the existing laws and institutions. The President of the Republic who is elected in place of M. Thiers will be subject to exactly the same conditions, legal and constitutional, as was M. Thiers himself."

According to these words, the powers of Marshal MacMahon were defined by the laws of August 31, 1871, and March 13, 1873 ; the President was responsible to the National Assembly, and his mandate lasted till its dissolution.

Thus nothing decisive had been accomplished. One man was replaced by another man. The various political problems remained unsolved. The Marshal kept the title of " President of the Republic " ; notices bore the heading " Republique franchise."

The deputies of the Left, on their return to Paris, issued a proclamation, an appeal to patience and self-control, which was well in accord with the general feeling. In Paris, and in the Provinces, which had been so cruelly tried by the Commune

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and the war, no other language would have been understood. "Citizens," they said, "it is of supreme importance in the present political crisis that order should not be disturbed. . . . Remain calm: the safety of France and of the Republic depends upon it."

On the whole, the name of Marshal MacMahon was felt by all to be a guarantee. He himself anticipated the universal expectation by "giving his word as a man of honour and a soldier/¹ in his first letter to the representatives of the nation.

Moreover, to be yet more definite, the Official
declara-
tions placard which brought the Marshal's letter to the knowledge of the country contained this formal pledge: "No existing laws and institutions will be tampered with in any way."

These words had a very wide bearing. The selection of Marshal MacMahon gave the country the assurance that, if it still had many painful and perhaps perilous times to go through, it was at least protected against disorder by the force of the National army, and against doubtful enterprises by the perfect probity of the new President. This was the feeling which the Marshal interpreted in the proclamation which he addressed to the army immediately afterwards.

"Soldiers," he said, "the National Assembly, in choosing from among your ranks the President of the Republic, has testified to you the confidence which it holds in your loyalty, patriotism, and energy in maintaining order and respect for law in our country."

Marshal
MacMahon Marshal MacMahon was then sixty-five **years of** age. He was **above middle**

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height, slender, and of soldierly appearance ; his moustache was white, his hair, also white, scanty and short, his complexion ruddy, his deep-set blue eyes were at the same time stern and gentle, his countenance open. His horsemanlike figure, from being continually submitted to the demands of deportment, the training of his profession, and a strong will, betrayed something spontaneous and jerky in its movements ; in this there was at times a certain awkwardness.

His Irish Origin He perhaps derived from his foreign origin the awkwardness of a big fellow who has become a great personage : the MacMahons were Irish. Settled in France from the time of James II, they had demanded naturalisation in 1749,^{no*} without having secured the verification of their claims to nobility by a decree of Council and royal letters patent.¹

The Mac-Mahons in France The ancestor who had obtained these letters in 1750, Jean Baptist e de Mac-Mahon, born at Limerick in 1715, was only a physician at Autun, but a fortunate marriage with the young widow of one of his patients, Charlotte le Belin d'Eguilly, made of a poor man a rich one, and a nobleman of a physician. He had two sons, Charles Laure, Marquis of Mac-Mahon, Major-General in 1814, member of the Chamber of Peers in 1827, knight of the order of St. Louis, a personal friend of Charles X, and Maurice Francis, Comte de Charnay, afterwards Comte de MacMahon, a Lieutenant-General, and Commander of the order of St. Louis. The

¹ *Annales de la Noblesse*, 1857, p. 187, et 1868 p. 76; v. Dr. Cabands, *le Cabinet secret de l'histoire*, ire serie.

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latter married in 1792 Mlle. Pelagie Riquet de Caraman, daughter of a Major-General in the royal armies, and niece to Marshal de Broglie.¹

Maurice de MacMahon had eighteen children ; the sixth, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice de MacMahon, the future Marshal, was born on June 13, 1808. "With my family traditions, and the feelings towards the Royal Family, in which I had been brought up," says the Marshal himself, in his unpublished Memoirs, "I could not be anything but a Legitimist." As he used often to repeat, with the unaffected charm which was a feature in his character, MacMahon was a younger son.

Educated in the Seminary school at Autun, he was admitted to Saint-Cyr at seventeen. He passed out thirteenth in 1827, was gazetted sub-lieutenant, and entered the Staff College. In 1830, his course being finished, he took part in the Algerian expedition as aide-de-camp to General Achard.

Algeria was the training field of all the soldiers of that generation. In Algeria an army small in numbers, but composed of picked men, subjected to the constraint of military duty and daily peril, was bound to create for itself ideals, habits of mind, and customs singularly different from those of the time and of the nation. There the tradition of the First Empire was still a living one; most of the leading officers had made their first campaigns under the Emperor. This new and strange country, com-

¹ Information gathered from the archives of the family rectifying **Pol** de Courcy, *Les MacMahon, extrait de la Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée*. See also, *Les Memoires du comte de Vau-blanc*, Paris, 1897 (p. 43).

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binning the attractions of conquest and danger with the surprises of the unknown, set imaginations aflame; but the difficulties of the daily task sobered them. The conditions were not those of regular hostilities, but of guerilla warfare: the enemy was not an army, but a whole race. Gallantry, quick sight, spirit, endurance, versatility, were indispensable qualities. Surprises, raids rapidly conceived and quickly executed, the storming of redoubts and zereebas, bloody charges or assaults with drawn sabre or fixed bayonets, a perpetual look-out, ample scope for successful initiative, a constant strain of mind and body, without much intellectual effort—such were the conditions of this hand to hand struggle during which victory, so painfully purchased, was to carry off or bring into being so many heroes.

Of these heroes MacMahon was the type. Unequalled in courage, endowed with calm and perfectly balanced daring, he was always in the first rank, and ever ready when it was necessary to act and win at the decisive moment. He received the Cross at the age of twenty-two, for his conduct in the affair at Mouzai'a. At Blidah, he plunged alone through the whole Arab army, in order to carry an order, and only escaped pursuit by jumping his horse over a ravine: the horse fell on the other side with both legs broken.

When the first news of the events of July 1830 reached Algeria, young Captain de MacMahon sent in his resignation; but sense of military duty prevailed, and he withdrew his decision.¹ After

¹ " Having been able in 1830 to remain in the Algerian army,

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being present at the siege of Antwerp in 1832, he returned to Algeria, where he remained twenty years, taking part in every important battle. He was wounded in the chest at the terrible second siege of Constantine in 1837. When the light cavalry were organized, in 1840, he was put in command of the 10th battalion. A Colonel in 1845, he became General in 1848, and commanded the Tlemccn subdivision; in 1852, he was promoted to a division. We hear of him everywhere from South Or an to Biskra.

" All he asks is to be where there is fighting," wrote Marshal Vaillant to General Pelissier. On the other hand, the sagacious Bugeaud had some time previously described him as follows : " I only know MacMahon very slightly. I believe him to be an excellent officer in war, very soldierly, very firm ; but I do not think that he has the intellectual grasp necessary for the government of Europeans and Arabs/'^x

The Cri- When the Crimean war broke out, Saint-
mean War Arnaud asked for him "as a perfect active service officer/" Marshal Vaillant recommended him to the Commander-in-chief with the fine testimonial which has just been quoted, and Pelissier, who had taken his measure at a glance, wrote to Marshal Vaillant : " With General de MacMahon I shall be able to attempt a certain thing which, frankly,

. . . I had been very fortunate. I then consented, at the sacrifice of my personal feelings, to serve my country under the different Governments which succeeded each other.*'
—*Memoires inedites*.

¹ X. de Preville, *Un glorieux Soldat, le Marechal de MacMahon*, p. 165.

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I should consider too dangerous to-day." This *certain thing* was the taking of the Malakoff.¹

It is well known how, on the 8th of September, 1855, he directed the attack upon the Malakoff tower ; how, when the whole of the besieging army was giving way before the desperate resistance of the besieged, he held firm, in the middle of his decimated troops, assailed in their turn by the whole of the Russian forces! Warned that the tower was undermined and about to fall, the General in Chief sent an officer to MacMahon to advise him to yield and to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. We know the famous phrase with which he replied : " Here I am, and here I stay."

Questioned later as to the authenticity of these words, he said that he had simply indicated his determination not to retire.- " I do not think," he added, with perfect modesty, " that I gave my thought that epigrammatic form, *J'y suis, j'y teste*. I am not given to phrases."²

After the Crimean war, he returned to France covered with glory. Appointed a member of the Senate on the 24th of June, 1856, he spoke in February, 1858, against the law of public safety proposed in consequence of the Orsini outrage. He spoke simply, clearly, without hesitation, and with-

¹ C. Rousset, *La guerre de Crimée*, vol. ii., p. 336.

² See an article published by M. Germain Bapst in the *Eigaro* Oct. 18, 1893 (supplement), analysing a circumstantial account of the assault on Malakoff tower drawn up by General de MacMahon on his return to France. See also a letter from Sir Michael Biddulph, an eye-witness, published by the *Eclair* Jan. 21, 1902.

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out notes, affirming that under a strong Government "it is better that individuals should submit to the defined laws of the country, and not be subjected to the action of a tribunal which they look upon as an arbitrary one."

He was sent back to Algeria. As General of a division, under the orders of Marshal Randon, he commanded the second division in the great Kabyl expedition.

Italian War In the Italian campaign, as he possessed the confidence of the soldiers, he was entrusted with the command of the second corps. He crossed the Ticino, near Turbigo, on the 2nd of June, 1859. The Franco-Sardinian army came into collision somewhat unexpectedly with the Austrian army. The Imperial Guard bore the full brunt of the fight, and offered an heroic resistance. At three o'clock MacMahon had not yet arrived. The anxious Emperor believed the battle to be lost, when MacMahon, having recalled the Espinasse division, and deployed his troops, overturned the right wing of the enemy, saved both the Guard and the Emperor, and decided the victory. He was made Marshal of France and Duke of Magenta on the field. He telegraphed to his wife, and, by a confusion of names such as were habitual with him, wrote: "the Emperor has just made me Duke of Magenta/" and signed himself "Malakoff."

After having fulfilled an extraordinary mission on the occasion of the coronation ceremonies of William I, King of Prussia, and having commanded for some time at Lille and Nancy, he returned to Algeria, but this time as Governor-General, on the death of Marshal Pélissier. He worked hard in this

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position, incessantly traversing the country, keeping abreast of military and civil business alike, watching everything, dictating his long correspondence without a mistake, devoting his leisure to the examination of military questions, poring over maps, studying the campaigns of Napoleon. He pronounced against imprudent attempts " to assimilate " the Arab element, and had long disputes with Archbishop Lavigerie on this subject. He appeared in the Senate on the 21st of January, 1870, to defend the colony and predict for it a brilliant future. In all this portion of his career he displayed consistency, common sense, a serious and judicious activity.

The Prussian War The war with Prussia broke out. MacMahon received the command of the first Army Corps. His advance guard was beaten at Wissembourg, and he was himself overwhelmed by numbers at Reichshoffen. He commanded the retreat to Chalons, and saved all that could be saved of his disorganised army. This is the critical point in his fine career.

The Retreat on Chalons On the 12th of August, the Emperor having withdrawn from the command of the army of the Rhine, had transferred his powers to Marshal Bazaine. The latter commanded the forces which were in direct obedience to himself, what remained of MacMahon's army, and a new army in course of formation at the camp of Chalons. Were these forces to fight separately? Marshal MacMahon did not think so. Their common efforts were to be combined and directed by the Generalissimo. Between the 14th and 19th of August, Bazaine informed his lieutenant that his intention was to leave Metz

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and bear towards Chalons either by way of Verdun or of Montmidy.

However, on the 21st of August, MacMahon, anxious and without news, resumed, in conformity with the designs of the council held on the same day at Courcelles-les-Reims, his retreat towards Paris. He received on the 22nd fresh instructions from Marshal Bazaine, dated on the 19th, announcing that he "still intends taking the northern direction"; on the other hand, a telegram from the Generalissimo, dated the 20th of August, and manifesting some doubt, did not reach him. Lastly, a telegram, half imperative in its tone, received from the Government, decided him on the 23rd to break off his retreat and to bear towards Montmedy.¹

On the 27th of August, at Chene-Populeux, Marshal MacMahon learned that Marshal Bazaine was remaining before Metz. Harassed by the enemy on his right flank, paralysed by the bad weather, he felt that, if he went on, he was lost. He issued orders to resume in haste the march towards Paris, and sent word to the Minister of War.

It was then that the latter, depicting to him the situation of the Government in Paris, asked him more imperatively to continue his movement towards Marshal Bazaine; on the following day the orders were yet more formal.

¹ See the evidence collected in the *Compte-rendu des debats du Process Bazaine* (Paris, A. Ghio, 8°), and especially the written evidence of Marshal MacMahon, p. 195. Cf. General Bonnal's article in the *Revue des Idees*, Feb. 15, 1904. On the 23rd Marshal Bazaine again wrote to the Emperor that he would give effect to his plan of escaping by the northern route (Proems, pp. 185-86).

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the Head of the State. I made up my mind to answer : " I believe the Marshal has sent the command to General Ducrot." A fresh silence, then, after having turned his eyes upon us once again, " Ducrot is not the senior," said the Emperor, " but what the Marshal has done is well done."

Had I been right to speak ? Had there been any modification of the intentions which we knew to be those of the Marshal ? If I had made a mistake, how serious might the consequences of my error prove to be !

I mounted again and galloped in the direction of Bazeilles. It was not long before I perceived an ambulance carriage coming in my direction, accompanied by several of my comrades. The Marshal was lying with closed eyes and almost unconscious. I was assured that General Ducrot had taken the command. Still haunted by the dread of a misunderstanding, I went off again to look for the Imperial Staff, in order to confirm the information which I had given. It had left Sedan, and it was some time before I was able to find it on a height which commands the town.

My mission ended, I returned to Sedan to the Marshal, whose condition made me very anxious. The surgeons had extracted a splinter three centimetres long from a deep wound below the hip. Fever had set in.

It was about half past ten when we saw the Emperor come in. He had ascended the staircase with difficulty. His face was very pale. He seemed to be in terrible pain. He half opened the Marshal's door, but was not recognised by him. In going out he came to us, and, opening a note which he held in his hand, " There," said he, " is news ; Wimpffen answers for the day."

General de Wimpffen, who had appealed to the letters of the Minister in order to take over the command of the army from Ducrot, did not suspect at the moment when he was writing these words on the battlefield that the German army had continued since the morning the vast turning movement which was to envelop us some hours later. He thought himself certain of triumphing over the forces which he had in front of him.

The whole of the remainder of this fatal day, the Marshal, a prey to violent delirium, took no notice of the events which were taking place. Providence spared him the pain of seeing the retreat of our soldiers, plunging in disorder like frightened cattle into the streets of the town, the appearance

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of the white flag on the citadel, the disputes of our Generals, or the signature of the most humiliating capitulation which has ever been suffered by our troops.

On the following day, September 2nd, we were assembled in the little room next to the Marshal's bedroom, when an orderly announced the Crown Prince of Saxony. He had come for news of the Marshal, whom he knew to be seriously wounded. Colonel d'Abzac received him, talked with him for some time, and reported the conversation to us afterwards. The opinion of the Royal Staff was that France would make no defence, that the Germans would enter Paris without resistance, and that peace would be signed in a fortnight on condition of the surrender of Alsace and Lorraine on the part of France.

It was agreed that the wounded General should be carried away from the poisoned air of Sedan, and that we should be authorised to remain in attendance on him as prisoners on parole.

On the 5th of September the surgeons decided that the removal could take place. We established ourselves at Pourru-aux-Bois, a little town near the Belgian frontier, in a house which the mayor placed at our disposal, and where we resided until the beginning of November. Thanks to his robust constitution, the Marshal had escaped the danger of hospital gangrene, which had made as many victims among our wounded as the bullets. His strength returned fairly quickly, and at the end of two months he was in a condition to travel to Germany. He informed the Commandant at Sedan, as he had undertaken to do. Wiesbaden was fixed upon as his place of confinement.

As for his officers, they were invited to accompany the Marshal, after having subscribed to the conditions stipulated on what was called "the back."

On our refusal to sign this document, Prussian soldiers came to take us from Pourru-aux-Bois, and conveyed us to Frankfurt, whence we were to be conducted to a fortress in Silesia. However, Queen Augusta intervened and obtained from General Moltke the concession that we might be confined at Wiesbaden and share the lot of our Chief.

The Marshal fixed his residence in a modest villa near the gates of the town. He hardly went out of the house, in order to avoid the sight of the manifestations which marked each of our defeats. He spent his days poring over maps of France, trying to understand the operations by following the campaign with a passionate interest. Up to the last moment he did not despair. Whenever

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an opportunity was offered, in conversation with us, his companions in arms, prisoners like himself, he took up the defence of Gambetta. He admired his indefatigable activity and energy. Once he wrote to him to support a demand for the exchange of an officer. I do not know whether the letter reached its destination. It ended, I remember, with the expression of his warm approval of the efforts made, and with earnest wishes for their success.

Repression
of the
Commune During the siege of Paris, MacMahon displayed his soldierly qualities—energy, method, coolness. This terrible struggle, in which he conquered fellow countrymen, left no bitterness against him. His severity had been attended neither by passion nor cruelty. The tone of his proclamations was always temperate and sorrowful. He felt no triumph in such a victory. To him it was merely the fulfilment of a duty.

Such was the career, such the man. A son of two great European races, a Celt and a Frenchman, MacMahon was free from intrigue and without guile, a man of discipline and clannish fidelity. In him there was no self-seeking, no obscure motives; his character was bright and spotless, like his uniform. An excellent, industrious and judicious soldier, MacMahon was nothing but a soldier, in the sense of that sharp distinction which a uniform made, at the time when he lived, between a military man and a citizen.

Political
Opinions
and
Aptitudes
of the
Marshal This very fine man, so solid, so serious, never interfered in political affairs except on the rare occasions when his conscience spoke. Bugeaud had judged him correctly : politics were not his business. He said one day to the Emperor Napoleon, in the course of their long conversations during the Algerian tour, " I have never had any luck; I have

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always served Governments other than that which I should have preferred." We may compare this sally with a saying imparted in confidence to the Abbe Auvray, priest of the parish of Montcresson, and alluded to by the latter when delivering the Marshal's funeral oration—"that he had regretted the fall of every Government, with one exception—his own."¹

By tradition, by tendency, he was a Legitimist, but he loved order before everything ; he bowed to the accomplished fact, and in this way all his conduct must be explained, even his accession to the Presidency on the 24th of May, 1873.

He considered himself the mandatory of the Assembly as representing the country. By accepting the highest place, he was obeying orders.

Believing in deeds more than in words, he said, in the same spirit : " Confidence is not made to order, but my actions will be of a nature to command confidence."

He took no side in the moral confusion which was to accompany the birth of a new France, but he had an honourable desire to remain above all parties.

If he had been taken in this sense, all that was good and useful in him would have been turned to account, and his election would have seemed natural and wise. But passions are jealous; more was required of him, perhaps some kind of intervention, the abuse of which had,

¹ See a fragment of *Memoires inedits de MacMahon*, published by the *Gaulois*, May 14, 1894. " A soldier, I have remained a soldier, and can say on my conscience, that not only have I served all the successive Governments loyally, but further, that on their fall, I regretted all of them except my own/'

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however, seemed so intolerable in the case of M. Thiers. As soon as politics were in question, the Marshal was no longer himself; his simple mind became entangled, his clear sense clouded, he lost his temper, and put himself in the wrong. Add to this the fact that M. Thiers, by no means willing that his own incontestable superiority should be forgotten, conducted, both in conversation and in the press, a lively campaign of gnat-bites and pin-pricks. He put all his malice into this phrase, which he often repeated : " MacMahon ! He is an excellent fellow ! "

The Marshal's Outbursts With his military inferiors the Marshal was shortspoken and clear, but in society, and especially in the presence of ladies, he was ill-at-ease. In the course of familiar conversation among intimate friends, he spoke with ease and force, and not without a certain spontaneous charm. But, on too many occasions, everything was spoiled by his shyness. At such times, unexpected and disconcerting speeches escaped him. Here are some examples of both.

One day, in the course of a review an officer left the ranks and advanced towards him with a petition in his hands : " Before going into arrest for fifteen days," said the Marshal, "hand your petition to Colonel de Broyc."

Another day, on an official circuit, a Mayor advanced, paper in hand, opening his mouth to read a long speech. The Marshal snatched the paper from the hands of the astounded Mayor and remarked with great cordiality : " Don't be put out, Mr. Mayor, I want to study it at leisure." M. Thiers would have spoken better, but perhaps he would not have said so exactly the right thing.

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Occasionally, however, some hasty words, failures of memory, or oversights, tended to raise a laugh.

A recently appointed Prefect was paying the customary visit to the President. The Marshal asked: "Of what Department?" "The Aube," answered the Prefect. The Marshal heard or understood "the Aude"—for he was in the habit of confusing proper names—and began to speak with vivacity of those populations of the South, "which have no discipline, have become rich too quickly, and are unendurable." "All that is changing," he added, "and the phylloxera which is ruining them will bring them to their senses." The Prefect allowed the wave to roll by and then answered: "I said Aube, President." "Ah," said the Marshal, "so much the better, I prefer it."

A parliamentarian of some consideration was speaking to him of a prospective crisis which was very annoying to the Marshal. He stood twisting his moustache while the man of parliaments went on speaking, and speaking well. Luncheon time had come. Once and twice Mine, de MacMahon looked in through the half open door. At last the Marshal lost his patience: "Ah, if you are in it too!" Remarks like this gathered weight by repetition, and in the lively polemics of the newspapers, legends took root.

In reality Marshal MacMahon was a firm and conscientious President of the Republic, loving his country and devoted to her welfare*. There were some admirable features in his government, and they were those which concerned the main work of his commission, viz., the moral and material restoration of the country. On the morrow Of a disastrous war, the most urgent work was the reconstitution

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of the military forces, and for that purpose what authority, what competence would have equalled those of such a soldier? He was not made for politics; and yet, on a decisive occasion peculiarly trying for the Legitimist that he essentially was, his discernment was put to a sharp test. The Comte de Chambord, who had come to Versailles for that purpose, addressed himself to the Marshal: the President of the Republic, executing to the letter the mandate which he had accepted, refused to abandon the flag under which he had served France. The Due Decazes had said immediately after the Septennate had been voted: "The foundation of the Republic in France will date from the presidency of Marshal MacMahon." And it was so.

Later on, when he had reached what he believed to be the limit of his pledges and his attributes, he halted; he did not insist, he resigned.

His subsequent life, spent in retirement, was that of a perfectly honourable man. It gives us pleasure to quote, to the honour of both, the following phrase of one of his Ministers, whom he did not like, and who returned the compliment—Jules Simon: "In short, Marshal MacMahon was a great captain, a great citizen, and a good man."

II

With the election of Marshal MacMahon, the Government of France was about to re-enter the customary paths of parliamentary rule strangely overlooked by the personal activity and meddlesomeness of M. Thiers. It could be said of Marshal MacMahon, in anticipation, that he would apply

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the formula, too much forgotten by his predecessor, after having been perhaps too much exalted by him, "The king reigns but does not govern."

Cabinet of
the 25th
of May

By the 25th of May the new Cabinet was constituted. The suggestion of suspending the parliamentary session for a time, which had been considered for a moment, was abandoned, speedy action being deemed expedient. The anticipated distribution of the portfolios had been the object of a work of minute elaboration in the lobbies : the ardour of combat had been singularly reinforced thereby ; the scent of portfolios nearly always hangs over the most brilliant parliamentary bouts.

The Due de Broglie, who had directed the battle of the 24th of May, was appointed chief of the new Cabinet. He took, along with the Vice-presidency of the Council, the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. His colleagues were : M. Beule, who became Minister of the Interior ; M. Ernoul, of Justice ; M. Batbie, of Education ; M. Magne, of Finance ; M. de La Bouillerie, of Commerce ; M. Deseilligny, of Public Works ; and Admiral de Dompierre d'Hornoy at the Admiralty. General de Cissey retained provisionally, for some days, the portfolio of War, which there was a question of entrusting to Marshal Canrobert, and which eventually fell to General du Barail. M. E. Pascal was appointed Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

Certain names, though not on this list, others which were in the thoughts of all, revealed the latent difficulty which proved a stumbling block from the very beginning. M. Thiers had pointed it out beforehand. The majority which had thrust him aside, born of the union of the three monarchical

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parties, had become united for the work of destruction, but fell asunder as soon as the business in hand was to construct.

It had been necessary to take into account the claims of the Bonapartists, whose twelve votes had formed an indispensable supplement at the time of the division : the Due d' Audiffret-Pasquier—whose authority and talents would have been such a valuable help—was sacrificed to them.

M. Beule, a distinguished Professor, of cultivated and refined intellect, impatient and nervous, was inadequate as Minister of, the Interior. M. Ernoul, fresh from a provincial Bar, a finished and sometimes warm orator, was wanting neither in perception nor coolness ; he was in the parliament the voice of his bishop, Mgr. Pie. A man of conviction and action, his ardent Catholicism and tenacious Legitimism might be useful or embarrassing according to circumstances.

M. Magne, a former Minister of the Emperor Napoleon, had undisputed technical competence. The Ministry of Finance, disposing as it does of a numerous staff, scattered all over the country for the management of the public funds, practically rules over economic politics. The Bonapartist party was thus given, two years after the war, a force for propaganda, and a renewal of prestige, which the sagacious mind of M. Magne strengthened by its very moderation.

The other Ministers were distinguished men, but devoid of personal authority either in the parliament or through the country.

On Monday, May 26th, the Cabinet appeared before the Assembly. The Due de Broglie read a document in which the crisis was justified, and the

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policy of the Government set forth : it was a Message from the Marshal President.

The President's Message The explanation of the crisis held in a short passage: the will of the Assembly had been manifested with reference to the Head of the Executive, the latter being but its "delegate." A disagreement having arisen, the last word was bound to remain with the majority ; the Message dwelt on this idea, making evident allusion to the last ministerial selections of M. Thiers, and especially to that of M. de Remusat : " I have chosen a Ministry air of whose members have sprung from your ranks." Then followed a short encomium on the work of the Assembly, which had been able to liberate the territory invaded after terrible misfortunes—this passage pointing to M. Thiers, Liberator of the territory—and to re-establish order in a society excited by a spirit of revolution—this passage also pointing to M. Thiers, the Conqueror of the Commune.

Peaceful intentions were indicated in the usual lines devoted to foreign policy. But these were not the dominant pre-occupation of the new Government. Its eyes were fixed upon domestic affairs. Here its declarations were compact, peremptory, and still redolent of powder.

In domestic policy, the sentiment which has guided all your actions is the spirit of Social Conservation. All the great laws which you have passed by immense majorities have had this essentially conservative character. . . . The Government which represents you therefore must and will be, I warrant it, energetically and resolutely Conservative.

With skilful tactics, M. Thiers, before going out of office, had put the constitutional question. On this

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fall of M. Thiers. In the following extract the writer, going beyond the limits of a plea, appeals to the opinions and even to the interests of the Powers :

While thus explaining, in accordance with the reality of the facts, says the Due de Broglie, the significance of this important event, you will not fail to draw attention to the fact that the question fought out in the National Assembly affected, not only the repose of France, but that of all nations. It is not in France alone that the revolutionary spirit is conspiring against public peace, and the very foundations of social order. No nation in Europe is exempt from this evil, and all have an equal interest in seeing it repressed. The position of France and the powerful influence which she exerts around her would render the triumph of the revolutionary party in our country a more serious matter than anywhere else, and the cause of Society in France is that of the whole of Civilization.

These documents explain the transactions of the 24th of May ; they were a struggle between two doctrines. The intellectual conflict was defined in action. Politics took possession of the problem propounded by Literature, Philosophy, and Religion. Authority v. Liberty, this is the eternal dilemma ; or yet again, Reaction v. Revolution ; or again, in milder terms, Aristocracy or Democracy, resistance or movement. The duel was keenly fought. In consequence of the general exhaustion, this struggle was quite peaceful; it did not descend into the street nor into the camps ; it remained enclosed within the precincts of parliament. This serious battle of doctrines, this drama of ideals, was entirely rhetorical. The only weapons were words.

A magnificent tournament was about to open, famous in parliamentary annals. Its result, no less unforeseen than logical, was to be the promulgation of a Republican Constitution ; but how long and how

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laborious was to be the birth of a new and unknown order carried by the country and the parliament within their own bosoms !

The Policy In spite of the trenchant tone and of the 24th of apparent precision of language and programme, the 'policy of the 24th of May has not succeeded in cleansing itself of a reproach applied to it by adverse politicians, the reproach of equivocation. Firm in conduct, it remained timid and nebulous when confronted with the object aimed at. It was contradictory because it did not go to the bottom of things and did not venture to reveal the end towards which it tended.

What was this end ? Certainly not the restoration of the Monarchy, they declared, and, in fact these words do not occur either in the official proclamations or declarations of the new Government. It is probable even that in a number of those distinguished intellects, and notably in the case of the Due de Broglie, there existed a dominant conception which was in no way subordinate to the eventual form of government. The triumph of the doctrine would have appeared preferable even to that of the men or to that of a system of institutions.¹

The Restoration of the Monarchy But, after all, could a distinction be drawn ? Who did not know, who could not see, that the doctrine itself had no dearer hope than those speedy realisations, veiled though they were beneath a silence so solemn

¹ See the interesting discussion raised on this point in the articles which the Comte d'Haussonville has devoted to a review of the first volume of the present work, articles collected in his volume of *Varia*, Calmann Levy, 12mo, pp. 301-37.

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and so perfectly futile ? The majority which **had** just overthrown M. Thiers, while invoking in **the** first place the necessities of the defence of society, was composed in great part of impatient monarchists, who, as masters of the parliamentary arena, were about to rush to a more complete victory and **bind** themselves without delay to the triumph and **return** of the dynasty. Nobody was deceived ; in the excessive affectation of silence there was a reserve which was called timidity or candour according to the point of view.

The Religious Restoration
Monarchical restoration was the first course in the system ; " Religious restoration," if the phrase can be used, was the second. The real subject of dispute was once again the French Revolution, and the principle of sovereignty.

An authorised speaker expounded at the Catholic Congress at Poitiers what was the logical outcome of the positions taken up by the majority of the Right : " The origin of social mischief is in the disturbance of the ideal of right. This disturbance proceeds from the proclamation of the direct, inalienable sovereignty of the nation. According to these principles, power no longer comes from God, its original source, but from the people, and is delegated by the people to its governors." ¹ That is the point, and that is what it was proposed to modify.

¹ Congress of the *Union des Associations catholiques ouvrières* held at Poitiers in August, 1872. This Union had just been created in 1871 to develop and support the work of the *Cercles ouvriers*, founded on the initiative of Count Albert de Mun. (Mgr. Baunard, *Vie du Cardinal Pie*, vol. ii., p. 462.)

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The Two Theories of Sovereignty

One thing or the other must be : either Authority comes from Heaven or it dwells upon Earth; either Divine Right or the Sovereignty of the People.

If this last principle is recognised, efforts may be made to instruct or convince the people; but how can its will be resisted ?

" Resistance/" a " fighting Government/" what is the signification of these two expressions if not that the people is in itself incompetent to exercise part of its sovereignty, and must not only be guided, but " driven " ? Now the theory of the full and complete Sovereignty of the People is different. Nobody can claim to hold against the sovereign the monopoly of insight, wisdom, and truth. When the sovereign has declared himself we must bow : *Voluntas populi suprema lex esto* !

As a matter of fact, if opposition was offered to the triumph of the " revolutionary spirit/" it was in the name of a conscious system, perfectly understood and co-ordinated. This was a unique moment for these great discussions ; everything was again in question : the origin of power, universal suffrage, liberty of opinion, liberty of the press, education, and, to sum up the whole in one phrase, the constitutional system.

Some noble minds, terrified by so many mistakes, so many accumulated errors and misfortunes, scarcely convinced of the capabilities of a democracy to which they did not belong and which they did not understand—a democracy, too, which at a too recent date had made so grave a blunder—frightened by some reminiscences, exalted by others, further excited by the play of parties, interests, and passions, were carried by their convictions towards an issue

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which appeared to them the only logical, only glorious solution. In this there was no cause for astonishment. But why keep silence ? Why dissemble ?

Hesitations
as to the
Constitutional
System

And yet silence was kept; and there were reasons for this silence. On the one hand, the chiefs of the majority were no Talleyrands ; on the other, these doctrinaires were not sure of their doctrine. Thus their action was doubly clogged. Their grey hairs and their honest countenances, devoid of Macchiavelism and fanaticism, had no quality with which to surprise Fortune, for Fortune, as we know, is feminine. There was a kind of anticipatory impotence in their languid action ; they were invertebrate. These wavering royalists had not recovered from the blow of 1830, which dragged them with broken backs across a page of history.

From the day on which an intrigue, long woven, had set aside the elder branch in order to make room for the younger, the seals had been broken. The new royalty, which had been christened and proclaimed " the best of Republics," was only an expedient. The " legal Revolution," in the phrase of Guizot, remained the Revolution. Now, those amongst these new masters who possessed the most authority were children of the expedient, and therefore, whether they wished it or not, children of the Revolution.

In 1830, neither the sacred authority of the King and monarchical right, nor the respect for the hereditary compact concluded from all time between the dynasty and the nation, nor even the thought of sacrilege, had stopped the hands which were laid upon the throne. It had fallen in ruin. Could it now be raised again without disavowing

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everything—acts, words, situations, doubts, pretexts, profits, principles ? For all had served. The second generation was tied to the work of the first. Even its mind was no longer free. Were the partisans of the King of Barricades to be asked what should be thought of the Sovereignty of the People ?

This was not all. This majority, these chiefs, these men who revolved these problems in their honest consciences, who were they ? The chosen of an election. By whom authorised. By the nation. Who appointed this Assembly ? Universal suffrage. To whom did the authority belong ? To the people. To whom must account be rendered ? To the people. Was this mandate, given in a day of confusion and anguish, to be absolute ? Was the question propounded freely, and debated completely on the day of the election ? Had the constituent power been so fully delegated that it could pledge the future ? Would the principle of representation go so far as to usurp the sovereignty ? Doubts and scruples prevailed. The Left denied the constituting authority. The Imperialist party proclaimed the appeal to the people. The vigorous attack of these logical systems, obviously supported by the opinion of the country, confused the most self-assured consciences.

Lastly, from the practical point of view, how could the complicated situation be ignored which the dialectic of M. Thiers pointed out in such a disheartening fashion ? " Three claimants are face to face," he used to repeat, "and there is only one throne. Divided, the Right is condemned to impotence. The beautiful theory of Conservative Union, is a mere thesis, a mantle which will be rent

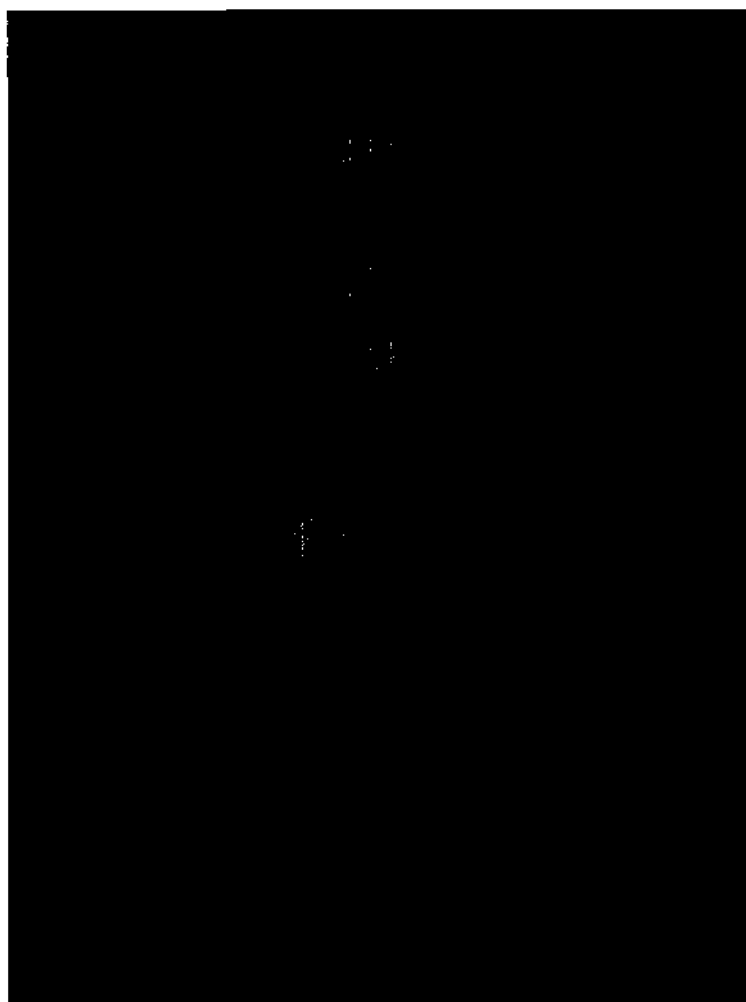
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on the day when it is necessary to use it. All this agitation is vain ; the Right will be unable to constitute anything. The Republic is the Government which divides us least."

This argument repeated over and over again had penetrated even the minds which it exasperated ; it had filled them beyond contradiction, like the light of day. Even with closed eyes these honourable men discovered it, latent in their own depths. They calculated in advance the inevitable stages of their failure. They were more than timid, they were intimidated. They advanced thro' fear of evil, not through a clear view of good. Their apprehensions were stronger than their convictions ; they rested their hope on some favourable circumstance which was to shape events, not on any fierce determination of their own.

The Three Claimants A fact which rendered the crisis more exciting than ever for the monarchical parties was that they had never held better cards. They were masters of the Assembly. The "revolutionary parties," overwhelmed by recent events, were without vigour and disarmed. Each of the three claimants possessed worth or seduction. The first, a man of ripe age, of high personal merit, consecrated by misfortune, representing an intangible principle, heir to the most ancient of European dynasties ; the second, a prince entering upon manhood, gentle and dignified, well-informed, benevolent, industrious, disposed to any honourable concession, surrounded by a company of wise and valiant princes ; lastly the third, a handsome and spirited youth, feeling his way in life by those first motions of the wings which reveal the eaglet.

Any choice between these three heads might be



The Duc de Broglie.

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something of the quality which makes the Whig, the Puritan, and the Political Nonconformist.

Educated by this father, whose lofty and reticent personality measured virtue by austerity, and by a mother, Albertine de Stael, whose hereditary faculties were persistently strained in an effort of moral edification, in which she herself recognised that there was a little "priggishness," Albert de Broglie only knew noble examples, and inflexible rules.¹

Liberal Catholicism His mother was a Protestant, his father a Catholic ; religious preoccupations haunted the young mind, whose natural inclination was developed and ripened betimes by such an education. He attached himself spontaneously to the doctrine which at that time captivated so many young imaginations : Liberal Catholicism. The present generations are ignorant, or very nearly so, of this combination, which was, however, the expression of ardent and noble aspirations, at the time when the eloquent soul of Montalembert lulled youth with that shortlived song. How far off are those times! . . .

Albert de Broglie, brought up in society, heir to a great name, destined for politics, made his *dSbut* with a translation of the *Systema theologicum* of Leibnitz. In 1843, he entered the Foreign

¹ I have been told a story which depicts the relations between the father and the son. When Albert de Broglie thought of marriage, he opened himself to his father on the subject of his plans, not without fear. The latter listened to him without saying a word and staring all the while at the tip of his shoe, as was his habit. When the son had finished, the father said to him gravely, " My son, you may marry; I see no objection." That was all.

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Office, and was attached first to the Spanish Embassy ; he then went to London, in attendance on his father, and finally followed the illustrious and unfortunate Rossi to Rome. The crisis of 1848 restored him to private life, and to his taste for intellectual problems.

Inheriting as he did the blood of the
Albert de Broglie Neckers and Madame de Stael, he was a born publicist, a Christian publicist. The practical direction of minds, the politics of religion, education, the moral tendencies and aspirations of peoples in themselves or between one another, such were the subjects which attracted him ; he was neither a psychologist, nor a philosopher, nor a sower of ideas ; he was an inquirer into the inner forces of collectivities, a calculator of the emotions which shake the masses and determine the movements of souls. There was in him much conscientiousness, correctness and knowledge, along with a sober imagination, limited and cool, which could neither give itself a free rein nor become gracious. An intimate friend of the Due de Broglie said to him one day : " Just stretch out that hand of yours which sticks behind your back not knowing what to do with itself." This dread of geniality rendered the demeanour of this " honest man " icy. Aristocratic pride, men said. No ! Albert de Broglie must rather be held to have been, like some others, shy. His " doctrines " isolated him, as the uniform isolated Marshal MacMahon, and, for the latter, camp life was, in any case, life.

This epoch is notable in France by a scarcity of men of action, although men of high intellect were not rare. Most of those men who then held power **had** investigated the theory **of their con-**

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victions **at** length; not satisfied with this, they **had** written it down. A waste of trouble, a waste of strength. Conviction and action do not need so much argumentation. The man who explains himself, confuses himself; self-analysis is self-destruction. Now the Due de Broglie, like Falloux, like so many others, was one of those refined dialecticians. Along with them he founded the *Correspondent*, that is to say, one of those "nests" in which men write and talk, hives of indiscretions, infidelities, and police investigations. What floods of ink and saliva were shed under the Empire in these liberal talking shops! The clubs, the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, the Faubourg, the salons—and that of the Due de Broglie held the first rank—formed a distinguished society, which carried on a guerilla war against "the tyrant" with pin-pricks and epigrams. This was the "umbrella party," and it fraternised with the most temperate among the Republicans. In order to come to an understanding, there was much talk, on both sides, of decentralisation. In advance of the heavy cavalry of the *Correspondant* and the *Revue*, the lighter papers, the *Figaro*, the *Nain Jaune*, beat up the country and did the skirmishing.

In 1869 the Due de Broglie had been candidate for the Eure, M. Janvier de la Motte being Prefect. He had been defeated; Bonapartism, formidable throughout Normandy, showed the Duke that it had to be reckoned with. The dissensions of the Eure were to have in the sequel a certain echo in the general affairs of the country.¹

¹ See the curious work of M. Louis Passy on the *Marquis de Blosseville*, p. 412.

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M. Thiers thought it a clever stroke to send him to England as Ambassador; but this born debater soon hankered after the parliament.

On his election in 1871 the Due de Broglie immediately took a place of mark in the National Assembly. He absented himself as little as possible, first from Bordeaux and then from Versailles. As soon as he could, he gave up London. The blood of the de Broglie threw him across the path of M. Thiers. The old fighter saw, not without some perturbation, this young athlete enter the lists—heir to the paternal mistrust, and one who, from the elevation of a very well informed past, knew everything, saw everything, and judged everything. The very name of de Broglie irritated him, and not without reason. At the first bout M. Thiers fell heavily. The Duke imposed on the Presidency the ally of his family, Marshal Mac-Mahon. As Vice-president of the Council and chief of the Cabinet, he himself became master of the Government.

It is now necessary to explain his means of action, and the object before him. The Due de Broglie was neither a tribune nor a soldier, nor an administrator, barely a party chief. His personality was a complex one. He influenced Society, the parties, the majority ; he was at home in the parliament and on the tribune, but he seemed to borrow his real strength from some hidden and mysterious source other than that which was revealed to the general eye. A taste for politics, natural authority ; skill in tangling and unravelling the fine threads of passions, in seizing opportunities and in weighing men; a piercing dialectic, a way of driving the argument right into the heart of an adversary and

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leaving it there ; these were faculties and weapons which made him a psychologist and a polemist in politics rather than a statesman. When he came to power, his set and stiff training in the libraries and clubs of the Liberal opposition, hampered him more than it helped him.

The superiority of his person was, however, imposing. That tall, strong, cold-looking man, with a wide brow, tight lips, and short grey moustache, could not pass unnoticed. In spite of the oddness of his jerky gestures, his cracked voice, and a nervous twitch of the shoulder and face, he was not one of those who raise a laugh. Still less did he encourage the easy familiarities of the lobbies. The influence which he exercised over the parliamentary world is so much the more remarkable because he did not invite confidence, and never gave himself away. This orator was a man of silence. " We never knew where he was leading us; we were told nothing ;" thus did those who had accepted his discipline sometimes express themselves.

Still, they did accept it. In fact, the Due de Broglie was a born chief, one of those chiefs who never render accounts, and of whom accounts are not demanded, because they are known to be high-minded, upright, proud, and disinterested.

A strange mixture : virtue, religion, knowledge, eloquence, rectitude, but all this somewhat stifled, cramped, embarrassed by a kind of constraint, which resembled a want of frankness, and was only a want of geniality and ease. Gambetta, who for his part took so much trouble to gain over this parliamentary society an influence which was to be short-lived, said one day of the Due de Broglie, with a suspicion of malice : "A lobby

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Macchiavelli ; a voiceless orator." In this sarcasm there was homage. Gambetta had often gauged the vigour, talent, and authority of this trying and intractable opponent.

The Due de Broglie's Plans Whither was this extraordinarily reserved and enigmatic personality going ? Whither was he leading the Marshal, the Ministry, the Assembly, and France ? On this question the shadows thicken. " Social defence," of that there was no doubt, the fight against the Revolution, " moral order," consecrated by a national return to Catholicism—these were his chosen formulae, and assuredly gave the basis of his way of thinking. But, the next step : if the issue were the restoration of the Monarchy, the Comte de Chambord, the question of the flag ? The shadows darken yet more. Those best informed affirm that from the outset he cherished no illusions on the subject of the fusion ; notably so far as the Comte de Chambord was concerned, he never held the attitude which breathes and inspires confidence.

Must it be said that he held himself in reserve ? Not even this phrase is entirely correct; nobody fought more openly than he did, risking, by reason of his very merits, a more dangerous game and a wider unpopularity.

Last of all, there would be found, above all in the case of the Due de Broglie, a latent fidelity to the Orleanist cause, a very prudent fidelity which was willing to await, in order to pledge the princes without compromising them, the hour when, consecrated legitimate heirs of the dynasty, they would be able to proclaim without danger and without surrender their unshakeable attachment to modern France. His dream would

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have been to see at that time the sons of Louis Philippe, absolved and reconciled, take their seat upon the lilies, while remaining, according to the formula of 1830, "soldiers of the tricolor flag."

This was a very refined policy, all in half-lights, tact, reserve, in which the task was to surprise everybody a little for the good of everybody ; a difficult policy at a period when everything was done in open daylight and with plenty of noise ; still more difficult for a man whose instrument was the tribune, whose witnesses were parties, and who, in proposing to disentangle webs, ravelled by long errors, would need not only silence, but time.

Expectant
Tactics At this point perhaps the bottom of the Due de Broglie's thoughts is revealed, for he worked with obvious perseverance to secure the aid of that auxiliary, time. In order to gain time, he turned out M. Thiers ; in order to gain time, his supple tactics maintained terms with the Bonapartist party, necessary as an ally, embarrassing as a confidant, dangerous as a rival ; in order to gain time, he prepared from afar the combination of the Septennate, which was to watch events by placing Marshal MacMahon like a sentinel at the meeting-point of the three monarchical parties.

Such a state of affairs might in fact come to pass ; there might be an abdication of the Comte de Chambord, or the death of that prince, or, better still, a generous effusion of the elder branch renouncing in favour of the younger, which would have left the ground open to the preferred heir, to the "last hope."¹

It might be said that the Due de Broglie lived all See below the letter of the Due de Broglie of November 3, 1873.

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waiting for that hour, and that he restricted himself among so many crosses and windings to preparing a solution, which did not depend upon him, and which was refused him by the practice of politics, by the situations taken up, by passions, and by nature.

Thus would be explained the calculated and yet watchful inertia of that indisputably sagacious and determined mind. Perhaps, too, religion had found its way to him, with resignation to the Divine will, and some fatalism. Perhaps, after all, he took a pleasure in weaving this web, crouching among these complications, being, in the phrase of Cardinal Richelieu, one of those subtle intellects "who, in trying to sharpen the points of their needles overmuch, break them." *

Installed in office, the Due de Broglie
Forces
of the examined the situation, counted his
Conservative forces and those of his opponents.
Party

At the Elysee his relative, Marshal MacMahon, was surrounded by safe men, aware of the opinions of the group, intelligent, keen, fit to see, foresee, and parry sudden difficulties, to anticipate and cover, when necessary, failures in tact or vigour : the most prominent was the Vicomte Emmanuel d'Har court. Mme. de MacMahon was a remarkable woman, bringing into politics the ardour of faith and conviction, concealing under a somewhat heavy exterior the shrewdness and tenacity of her sex ; she could be counted upon. Thus everything was provided for in this quarter.

Through the Minister of the Interior and the superintendence of the police, placed at that time in the hands of M. Leon Renault, the Vice-President of the Council kept watch over Paris and France at

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a time when secret intrigues displayed an unparalleled activity in all the camps. In his service were men who listened to all that was said in parliamentary trains, in the offices of the newspapers, in the boxes at the theatres, and at political meetings. In society, in the clubs, he was kept informed of all that circulated and often guided opinion in that narrow space which, extending from the Faubourg St. Germain to the boulevards, and from the Faubourg St. Honore to the Palais-Royal, forms the "Tout Paris."

Among his colleagues in the Ministry, he was, in every sense of the word, "premier," Alone of the *five dukes* he formed part of the combination. Neither the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, nor the Due Decazes appeared in it. However, two influential Legitimists, MM. Ernoul and de La Bouillerie, kept in contact with Frohsdorf; through M. Magne and certain colleagues from the Eure, communications were secured with the Bonapartists.¹ The other Ministers were devoted to him personally, or at least to the cause which he served.

The Assembly was his citadel. He kept a careful account of sure votes and doubtful votes, whether on one side or the other; he foresaw the gains or the losses, the possible disappearances; he discounted evolutions and fallings away. The majority existed; but it increased or weakened, according to the question put before it, with a perpetual flux of aggregation and disaggregation. On the 24th of May, it had only amounted to thirteen votes. It had rapidly increased according to the customary law, for "victory always

¹ See Louis Passy, *Le Marquis de Blosseville*, 8vo, Evreux, 1898.

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makes prisoners."¹ It might amount to about sixty votes on the great days, when everybody surrendered to the appeal of the consecrated formulas " Conservative union " or " Social defence."

But when more delicate questions were concerned, if dynastic or electoral rivalries were touched upon, it fell away and crumbled. The little Bonapartist group was for ever threatening to break off its bargain. Further, there were the four Rights—" four too many," said one of their number : the extreme Right or Light Horse, the moderate Right, the Right centre, the independent or Changarnier Right. In each of these groups were men of eminence or distinction, heads, opinions, capacities, susceptibilities.

Such were the troops with whose' aid the battle had to be fought, who had to be incessantly rallied, kept up, satisfied, disciplined and drilled at each fresh engagement. It is true that the vigilant and vigorous support of President Buffet could be reckoned on—not that this personage was always accommodating, but he was an honourable man, and, for a time, considered himself pledged.

The danger lay in the inclination of the country, of the body of electors. Recent bye-elections had been unsatisfactory. In consequence of options, resignations, or deaths since February, 1871, in 154 elections twenty-three republican and four imperial deputies had replaced twenty-seven notoriously -monarchist deputies. The time was coming when, unless a remedy was applied, the majority would become imperceptibly reversed. It is true that this gradual revolution was attributed to the per-

¹ A phrase used by the Due de Broglie,

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sonal influence of M. Thiers, who was said to favour " Jacobinism " and " a legal Commune." "France is Conservative," it was added; "she votes with the Government which reassures her, and against the party, whichever it be, which represents change."

Thus it was necessary to take possession of power, to assume the direction of opinions, to save the future, while there was still time. Otherwise the evil would be past curing. Urgency was indicated from every quarter. " Even in the West, Mgr. Fournier, Bishop of Nantes, says that he does not think that there are more than five or six Departments intact, and that is without mention of the towns of any importance. . . . The peasants detest the townfolk. 'No more frock-coats/ say they, ' nothing but blouses/ At the next elections they will repulse the Conservatives, the Legitimists, and especially the clericals." * We may judge of the other Departments in which the levelling and democratic habit of mind had long been confirmed.

Which were the forces which could be counted on to meet this state of affairs ?

First, the active devotion of the Conservative interests, solidly based on money and property; secondly, local and territorial influences, fragments of the ancient aristocracies and directing classes ; then, in certain provinces, and notably in the West, the residue of traditional veneration abiding in the people, and especially in the peasants ; lastly, the adhesion of the mass of rural landed proprietors through fear of radical propaganda leading to the socialist peril.

¹ *Journal de Fides*, p. 107,

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Support of the Church **But** the crowning co-operation, that which surpassed all the others, and, even alone, would allow the hope of victory to be indulged, was the spontaneous, active, ardent, and universal support of the clergy ! The Catholic Church was the bond and nucleus of the whole campaign. Alone she would be able to seize the evil by the roots, reform opinions, restore morals and prepare a new dawn. Through her and for her the battle must be fought. Catholicism was the supreme hope, the supreme thought. Since the salvation of society was at stake, a social authority was necessary for action. Philosophy and politics were at one on this point.

" This majority (the Right of j:he Assembly) was an admirable instrument for religious, political, and social renovation. . . . It was above all, from the very first day to the end of its mandate, an *essentially Catholic* majority. It loved religion and liberty. . . . "

" The most generous and clear-sighted souls confessed to themselves that the ruin of 1870 had been a chastisement, and might become an expiation, and that the return to Christianity *was the first condition of the recovery of France.*" *

All would have spoken in the same style. They never failed, in the honest exposition of their thoughts and deeds, to put religion in the first rank and to proclaim " the solidarity of the Church and France," above all, to keep in view " the crisis which Catholicism is traversing,"² while preparing the solution of affairs in France.

¹ A. de Margerie, 1873, *Page d'Histoire Contemporaine*, p. 4.

² Chesnelong, *La Campagne Monarchique d'Octobre 1873*, p. 10.

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So principle and practice met. The battle for ideas was proclaimed by those who were most closely engaged in the battle of realities. If the support of the clergy was anticipated, the reason was **that** the triumph of the Church was at bottom the dearest hope to be realised by victory.

Forces of the Opposition But the power of the opposing party, that is to say, the rising tide of democracy, could not be ignored. Ever since the Revolution, every phase in history had given its sanction to a fresh gain to democracy : under the first Emperor, the Civil Code; in, 1830, Liberal institutions; in 1848, Universal suffrage; and even during the Second Empire, the levelling down of the classes crushed under the weight of a centralised autocracy.

Democratic Ideals Democracy, whose levelling principle is so seductive to the masses, was the system which, already announced by de Tocqueville in 1835, gained realisation day by day in conformity with the predictions of that morose observer: " We are moving towards an unlimited democracy. I do not say that that is a good thing. . . . But we are moving in that direction, urged by an irresistible force. Every effort made to arrest this movement would only be a halt. Democracy seems to me from this time forth to be a fact which a government may claim to regulate but certainly not to stop." ⁴

Against this current, the political party in power bestirred itself ; but it could not be mistaken as to the

¹ Letter of M. de Tocqueville to his friend, de Kergorlay. See d'Eichtal, *Alexis de Tocqueville et la Democratie liberale*, p. 90.

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force of the impetus by which the country was carried away. The fact was too apparent, too brutal. Thus this latent impulse was mastering those even who claimed to be controlling it. Those men who felt most assured of their own "right" could no longer ignore the feeling, henceforth deeply rooted in all consciences, in favour of the superior "right" belonging to the community of citizens.

Irreligion The growth of irreligion was another peril, deeply painful to these pious souls, and no less indisputable. Pagan teaching had gradually descended from books to newspapers, from newspapers to the masses. Here, too, ideas had made their own way. Convictions deserving of respect claimed the most popular names, Victor Hugo, Littré, Michelet, Quinet; the funerals of illustrious men were civil funerals. In the presence of death, incredulity was strengthened. Here was a propaganda more powerful than that of books, carrying away the indifferent and the young by the force of example, and favouring the more calculated enterprises of sectarians.

The
Opposition Turning from the country in general
in the to the Assembly, we find the Opposition
Assembly less numerous perhaps, but yet certainly
very formidable by their unity, their vigour, the courage of the rank and file, and, above all, that of the leaders.

There was a fraction of the Right Centre, very near the Left Centre, which, it was said, would serve one day to call over the waverers of the Left; but was it quite certain that the "callers" would not take flight at the decisive moment? M. Target's followers were mobile, disturbed, and disturbing. Their weak souls were ready for any evolutions. One of their

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disciples said, " We betray somebody every day." Those were the cynics. But there were also men with scruples ; standing on the dividing edge of both camps, they could, by their very want of balance, decide the victory.

Among the members of the Right Centre were many who, either from fidelity to the Orleanist cause or from parliamentary tradition, or through fear of Bonapartism or clericalism, preserved their freedom of action and did not always adhere to the words of their leaders. Looking upon M. Thiers, and upon those who had become reconciled to the Republic and to the Democracy, they asked themselves if such examples did not deserve something better than insults or epigrams.

As for M. Thiers, well and good ! It was the correct thing to find fault with his personal ambitions, his senile vanity, his antiquated liberal sentiments, his imprudent pledges in favour of the Republic. But could men like Dufaure, Casimir-Perier, Laboulaye, Leon Say, R6musat, Chanzy, be regarded in the same way ?

The Democracy can never be sufficiently grateful to these brave and honourable men. They protected and defended its first, its most difficult, steps. And in doing so they certainly showed great merit, for they obeyed their convictions at the price of most cruel sacrifices. Their relations, traditions, habits of mind, everything held them to the opposite shore. They resolutely crossed the river, and the others followed because they had built the bridge. Believers or non-believers, rich or poor, they harboured no illusions as to the consequences their decision would bring for themselves and those dear to themj they acted

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according to what they believed **to be right, in quest of** repose and peace for their country.

Circumstances often obliged them to fight in the first rank and to bear the burden of the day. Let us add, further, that they felt themselves supported with remarkable discipline by the whole Left, which, declaring a momentary truce to its divisions and individual rivalries, marched united behind this first group, and behind its own illustrious leaders who had assumed the guidance of the struggle.

These eminent men, all of them eloquent orators, formed a group which influenced opinion by its mere renown.

Grevy, now no longer President, but on his bench, as in the chair, grave and vigorous; Laboulaye, abundant and supple; Jules Simon, insinuating and subtle ; Ferry, tenacious and rough ; Leon Say, sparkling with wit and knowledge; Challemel-Lacour, bitter and vehement, each of them, following the other at the tribune, made the task of the Cabinet difficult, forcing it to remain on the watch, without a moment's respite.

But not one of them, not M. Grevy, nor even M. Thiers, was to exercise, if not upon the Assembly, at least upon the men of the party, an influence comparable with that of a man who, at that time the favourite of the Democracy, was soon to reveal himself in the parliament as the consummate tactician who would compel the victory: Gambetta.

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IV

Leon Gambetta, like the Due de Broglie, had inherited Italian blood. His father was born a Genoese/ himself was only naturalised at the age of conscription. Born at Cahors on the 3rd of April, 1838, he belonged, by his maternal ancestry, education, and his first impressions, to that district of Toulouse which has more than once revenged itself upon Northern France for the Albigenian crusade, by imposing masters in law and politics upon its former enemy.

The characteristics which he derived from both sides of his family were strongly marked in him : a thick-set, full figure, dark and lively glances—in spite of the loss of one eye—abundance of black, curly hair on his face and head, a brown complexion, a fleshy, but prepossessing face ; on the moral side, mettle, shrewdness, tenacity. As a Ligurian and Arvernian he belonged to the South ; in his tastes, his love of the land, his facility

¹ Gambetta frequently visited Genoa. He felt at home there. In February, 1882, the very year of his death, he was there again. Here is an extract from an unpublished letter which he dated " from this great marble city which I always feel to be my cradle " : " I breathe here more freely than elsewhere, and, far from feeling out of my element, the whole of its history comes back to me like a family tradition. I give free rein to this brooding over the past, and lose myself in the admirable spirit of adventure, the audacious voyages of the Dorias " [we know that Gambetta at the beginning of his career showed a keen taste for nautical matters, and that he cherished for a time the idea of being a sailor], " the fine sword-strokes of Spinola, the gilded fancies of the Doges. Thorough Frenchman though I am, I feel a racial regret in again seeing all these great memories of the fortune of the superb Republic of Genoa—a Republic in which dignity and strength marched abreast with popular liberty."

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of expression, his quick emotions and gestures, and a wonderful memory, both of mind and body, he was a Latin.

Moreover, he was himself; that is to say, a powerful, broad, abounding personality, such as overflows spontaneously and fertilises by overflowing. He possessed in the highest degree the social and political aptitudes which come from the heart, the indescribable human sympathy to which nothing human is ever a stranger, the insinuating grace which means to please, convince, and dominate, in the end, by that sense of conscious authority which in itself is imposing and compels obedience. Such is the secret of that dazzling and rapid career : a joyous vitality spending itself without intermission, of which the rapid exhaustion was to cause the mournfully premature end, and the darkness of the last days.

Gambetta was a son of the Democracy : his father a grocer, his grandparents artisans and peasants. However, let us note carefully the following feature : born in 1838 under the full influence of the reign of Louis Philippe, educated at first in a junior seminary, then in the Public School of Cahors, a student in 1856, he belonged to the middle class ; to the lower middle class, it is true ; to that middle class the advent of whose new strata he announced.

In this too he belonged to the South. The change from the blouse to the frock coat means progress in those regions; the iron law which often crushes the working populations of the North, weighs but little upon the South. The Southerner, a small landowner who digs his little plot with scrupulous carefulness, diligently cleanses his vine, and idles about doorways and public places

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chiefly sees in politics the organisation of a party, **and** an opportunity for free discussion. To him the State is a prey to be seized, and to be undermined when it is in the hands of others : such is the game for liberty and power.

Gambetta applied to the modern Fatherland the antique conception of the City ; if he had a robust taste for contest, a genius for organisation, and grouping, a thirst for epic excitements, this was all in conformity with the tradition which Michelet expresses thus : " The Republican in France is a classic being," He was amazed by the mental shocks which loosen the modern world and social order. An absolute bourgeois in this characteristic, he opposed all innovators and ideologists. Less bold even than his masters the Latins, he was not attracted by the chapter on the Gracchi in Cornelius Nepos.¹

To frame this broad expansive personality in the narrow limits of the paternal field would, however, be to belittle it. Gambetta came to Paris early in life, and it was in Paris that he acquired his training. He trained himself by serious studies, by vast reading, and at the same time by prolonged and sonorous peripatetics in that portal of eloquence and power which the Latin Quarter was in those days. The

¹ The following works may be consulted : Anonymous, *Gambetta* (1869-1871), Paris, 1879, 8vo; J. Lafitte, *Gambetta intime*, 1879; A. Barbou, *Gambetta*, 1879; Joseph Reinach, *Leon Gambetta*, 1887; Bertol-Graivil et Plantie, *Gambetta, Souvenirs*, 1883; Desmarest, *Gambetta*, 1882; Depasse, *Gambetta*; Sirven, *Gambetta et Chambord*, 1883; Joseph Reinach, *Discours et plaidoyers politiques*, 11 vol., 8vo, 1881-1886; Henri Thurat, *Gambetta*, 1883. See also the singularly attractive pages which the Comte de Meaux has given to Gambetta in the *Correspondant* of June 10, 1903, pp. 844 and following.

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Latin Quarter, which then hardly extended beyond the narrow pavement of the Rue de la Harpe, still resounded with the last echoes of romanticism and the Vie de Boheme. Vermorel, Valles, Alphonse Daudet, Zola, Flaubert have described it. It was a world apart, a world full of passion and fire, confident in its youth, in its successive and aggressive prejudices, hissing at the lectures of Michelet, Quinet, Sainte-Beuve, Renan, indignant at the "two moralities" of Nisard, following simultaneously the sermons of Pere Gratry at Notre-Dame, and the materialistic lessons of Robin at the College de France.

In the latter years of the second Empire, it might have been believed that the Latin Quarter was every evening big with a revolution. But everything went off in bursts of language. Gambetta, in his time, voiced that thunder. When the *Miserables* appeared, the epic of these grandiloquent passions, Gambetta, having learned the finest passages by heart, recited them in the presence of the *habitués* of the Cafe Procope: this scene is characteristic of the period.

Gambetta also knew the *Chdtiments* by heart, and quoted verses of the *Legende des Sibcles* ; always in love with words, he recited the Olynthiacs in Greek, the Catilinarians in Latin, or passages of Rabelais. His inexhaustible memory, his bottomless fund of spirits, his bewildering eloquence, might fatigue his audience, but never himself; his youth spent itself in the exuberance of the "bouzingot"¹

¹ A term applied to students who advertised their allegiance to the Romantic school by studied disregard of conventionality in dress and behaviour.—TRANSLATOR.

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Meanwhile he went on with his law studies, took his degrees, attended lectures, was interested in everything, learned everything, gorged himself **with** more or less well-digested notions, which he often disgorged on the spot like an over-fed child; he read Littre, Michelet, Proudhon, Diderot, Montesquieu, taking from each a colouring, perhaps superficial, but sufficient to secure a stock of ideas a rich vocabulary.

His pre-dominant tendency was towards politics. As a licentiate in law and a barrister he pleaded but little. He neglected the "bar," but he frequented the Hall of *les Pas-Perdus* to see the faces of the celebrated orators Berryer and Jules Favre. Thus he became secretary to Laurier and indirectly to Cremieux, but on terms of complete independence and equality, a disciple and guest in whom was perceived first the comrade, and then the master.

He frequented the galleries of the Chamber assiduously. When the sessions broke up, he resumed the debates on the pavement, button-holing good-natured auditors and even deputies. He knew the standing orders better than veteran parliamentarians; he made a disturbance in the galleries and constantly fastened his glance on Morny, who was embarrassed by that steady stare. He became a marked man, recognised by his accent, his voice, his spirits, and his neglect of conventionalities, by his soft hat, his open waistcoat, his ill-knotted, streaming tie. In the ardour of his gestures, a gap often showed above his waist-band. Baroche, when Keeper of the Seals, was unwilling to make him a magistrate: "Want of respectability" stands on his record. Later, one of Gambetta's former

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friends, who had become his opponent, threw this detail in his face : " Gambetta, you will never fill up the abyss which separates your waistcoat from your trousers,"

As if that were the point at issue ! The problem was to make one single mind, one single soul, the recipient of the sentiments, ideals, and aspirations which one generation had concentrated in itself during that long, dumb, period of the Second Empire. Except for the voices of the Five there had been universal silence since 1851. The country was being suffocated. This young man gathered up the traditional lessons of oratory to throw them down before his famishing age. ^r

He learned theory and action at the same time. His intellectual training fed him, but a natural light clarified and co-ordinated within him all the vagueness and confusion, that he received from outside. He read Proudhon—the least certain of trenchant writers. Gambetta accepted from the vigorous Comtist his criticism of the systems which came to grief in 1848, but without permitting himself to be dazzled by captious dialectical fencing; He might have written upon Proudhon's books the motto which his prudence put upon a copy of the *Contrat Social*:—

" *Tolle, lege; et imprimis ne jura in verba magistri.*" He said to me one day, speaking of Proudhon: " Read Proudhon, but be on your guard : he is full of traps,"

The philosophical ideas of Gambetta were those of his day. He was an echo. His tendencies were JPositivist, but he did not undergo the discipline of the master, and perhaps knew nothing of it.¹

See the notice by M. D. M. on the *Philosophic de Gambetta*.

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He believed strongly in the philosophical, moral, and perhaps religious future of Science. He worshipped History; in all this a contemporary of Taine and Renan. The doctrines of Lamarck and Darwin floated around him, and he inhaled them with the encircling atmosphere.¹

The teachings of natural history and medicine interested him for a moment. From them perhaps he borrowed his formula of the "series," which he made to square, at the meeting point of science and history, with the creation of order by the efforts of the individual and of the group in the world and in humanity.

With metaphysics, he was not at home. His real religion, his real doctrine, was the cult of the Fatherland, of the City. These were his altars, his household gods, his divinities. Again in this a true Latin, one of those evoked by his illustrious contemporary, Fustel de Coulanges.

He needed precise data, action. Gambetta, like all great imaginative men, like all great minds, was complete at the age of twenty-five. At that age he had a clear conception of the uses to which he was to turn his existence, viz. to organise the government of the Democracy methodically, in alliance with the middle class. His weapon was to be speech, his implement Universal Suffrage. Everything was clearly defined in him already in 1861, when he pleaded his first cause, defending the artisan Buette in the affair of the conspiracy of the "Fifty-four," and two years later, when he under-

¹ I have in my possession a copy of the book upon the *Societes Animates*, by M. Espinas, minutely annotated by Gambetta's hand.

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took the campaign for the liberal candidature of Prrvost-Paradol, in Paris.

These convictions he succeeded in introducing into the minds of those who surrounded him. His very turbulence, which occasioned scandal, attracted disciples; he was already hailed as a leader. In the provinces, about 1867, his friends used to say: " In ten years we shall be in power, and Gambetta will be the man to take us there,"

His friends counted on him. He knew, perhaps better than any political man, how to capture souls. But it is only those who give themselves that attract others. Even in his manhood, his heart retained the candour and grace of adolescence. Some day the tale will be told how he could love. The facility and stability of his affections, that simple-hearted cordiality, the sunshine of which survived him/ his natural and fresh emotion in the presence of beautiful things, such were the gifts which thrilled in his sonorous voice, which expanded his ample gestures, and which in truth made of this young man, careless and joyous, a very prince among young men.

Everything was ready, in him and around him, when his renown blazed out at the time of his speech in defence of Delescluze in the Baudin subscription trial. The orator showed himself a master at the first stroke, and at the same time the statesman revealed himself. The striking features were not this or that passage, nor the strength of a voice which in the opinion of all resounded like a roar, nor even the daring reversal of parts which

¹ Note this impression from the Vicomte de Meaux : " The fascination which he exercised survived him to a truly wonderful degree" (p. 845).

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made a plaintiff of the defendant, and summoned the tribunal to the bar ; they were the note of certainty, the lofty assurance which rose above the present trial, seized the whole system in a wrestler's grasp, and shook the golden bees from the Imperial mantle. The Advocate-general stammered out his feeble interruption : " But this is not pleading ! "

Gambetta, having been elected a deputy at Belleville and at Marseilles, made his speech on the plebiscite at the Corps Legislatif. This was a doctrinal speech; it proclaimed the thoughts of the new Republicans, those who had been enlightened by the follies and imprudences of 1848. Universal suffrage had been alarmed, and was itself mistrusted. Gambetta wished confidence to be shown in it, wished it to be reassured ; it was to be captured by enlightenment. He attacked, not the conception of government, like orthodox revolutionaries, but the Government of the Emperor. He had already said, in the Ragachehall, " We want a Government," only he had added, " We want our Government." As for the Empire, he undermined it by shaking the theory of a plebiscite, which " cannot create a right against Right," and by setting up against it the representative system, which was henceforth to be the first and last word of his policy.

Gambetta in 1870 The war found Gambetta already popular. He was thirty-two years old. On the day of the declaration, he protested, like M. Thiers, and joined him in urging the communication of the documents. If Governments preserve silence under such circumstances, the reason is that they are in the wrong. The true

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responsibility rests upon those who have thrown a country into supreme danger, while withholding from it some part of the truth.

After Sedan, Gambetta, speaking in the Corps Legislatif, hesitated to allow the Republic to be proclaimed by revolutionary procedure. A member of the Government of National Defence, and Minister of the Interior, he understood that duty and resources were alike in the Provinces. His departure in a balloon and arrival in the midst of the disintegrated country and nerveless Delegation was a sublime moment, a revelation of patriotic faith.

Whatever may have been said to the contrary, Gambetta was the Carnot of this second part of the war. The admissions of his enemies bear witness in favour of the improvised "Dictator."¹ His labours were immense, and effective; his armies alone knew for at least one day a gleam of victory. It has been said that he saved our honour; but that is not all—he saved our energy, he saved the country from the cowardly resignation of the party of peace at any price. If the enemy did not cross France from one side to the other, marching from Strasburg to Marseilles, as the armies of Napoleon after Jena had crossed Prussia to the Niemen, the obstacle was this inch by inch struggle. If everybody had shared his courage, it would have been necessary to reckon with France at the time of the negotiations, more so perhaps than after Sedan. Gambetta in those terrible days was a doubly great Frenchman, and a doubly great patriot: first when he held up his head desperately against the

¹ See Baron Colmar von de Goltz, *Gambetta et ses Armies*. 1877.

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Thus did these young men discuss immediate duties. They were treated at that time as "raging lunatics." They were already formidable, even in retirement and silence ; soon the voice of Gambetta, thus awaited, was to resound in the country.

Gambetta returned to the Assembly on the 2nd of July, 1871, and immediately acted upon it and upon the masses by one of the most astounding oratorical campaigns which has ever occurred in a free country. Speaking in the Chamber, at public meetings, after dinners, or from balconies, he pursued an uninterrupted conquest of persuasion and instruction, exercising a fascination and magnetism which addressed itself to intellects, paralysed resistance, and carried away an immense and incessantly increasing party towards a work, a faith which, but the day before, were unrevealed.

A tribune, a mere politician, facile, incorrect, over-emphatic . . . certainly, but also persuasive and a compeller of souls ; Gambetta was, if there ever was one, a master of emotions and impression. How can oratorical fascination be analysed which is composed of a beautiful voice, of sympathy created between the audience and the speaker from the first moment, of the influence which pervades the atmosphere as soon as the first somewhat halting, but already harmonious, phrases are heard.

Gambetta's thought rose in a kind of easy familiarity, seeking for general ideas, but hovering within range of sight ; no effort was required to follow it to the elevation which it

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reached. As he developed it further, brilliant expressions, rich with meaning, flashed from an otherwise trivial phrase, like golden pebbles in a muddy river ; sudden sallies interpreted his hearers' own thoughts. A relish of good humour, gestures of an attractive cordiality, rich and varied argumentation, sometimes ornamented by the flower of a pretty phrase or a classical allusion ; lastly, physical powers which sustained the effort, and drove it on to a point at which it would seem to be exhausted, but only to recover itself, and to end in one supreme appeal—all this does not suffice to constitute the greatness and range of each of his numerous speeches; they were above all characterised by human common-sense, an unprecedented power of expressing each difficulty by a formula, which, in declaring it, solved it ; thus all his speeches were acts, solutions.

In truth, at this period of his life Gambetta was not only an orator, he was Eloquence itself. He found many obstacles in front of him ; distrust and prejudices from a majority which was violently opposed to him ;* constant contradiction, fiery and often honest, in which reflection apprehension, and also other less noble sentiments, had their share ; a furious campaign which found fault with his fire, his exaggerations (sometimes calculated), his impatience, his origin, and what party-spirit coarsely called " his tail."

¹ The Comte de Meaux relates that the first appearances of Gambetta at the Assembly were painful. " I felt a genuine disappointment," he says, " and when I imparted my discomfiture to Laurier : ' What do you expect ? ' answered that brilliant man. ' There is a degree of hostility which an orator, be he as great as you please, cannot overcome. And then, when one has been doing God's work for six months, it is not pleasant to have to change ' " (p. 844).

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In spite of all, he won and conquered; his authority was strengthened by the contest itself ; around him the necessities of discipline temporarily pacified his most dangerous enemies, who were not always his political opponents ; while applying himself to the complicated game which brought him momentarily near to M. Thiers and set him face to face with the Due de Broglie, he never gave up the source of his initial strength : contact with the masses and community of feeling with the Democracy from which he sprang.

Thus, at the same time supple and ardent, he impersonated in the campaign which was opening Enthusiasm, Confidence, the Future.

CHAPTER II

" MORAL ORDER "

- I.—The session of the National Assembly resumed—Incident raised by Bismarck—The Pascal circular—First acts of the Cabinet—Moral Order.
- II.—The Le Royer interpellation—The religious question—Pilgrimages—The cult of the Sacred Heart—The votive Church of Montmartre.
- III.—The Shah of Persia in Paris—Celebrations in his honour—Opening of the monarchical campaign—Adjournment of the examination of the constitutional laws.
- IV.—Measures taken against Republican propaganda—Special powers given to the Permanent Committee—Gambetta at Grenoble—The Left Centre declares for dissolution.
- V.—Reorganisation laws passed during the summer session. General law of Army reorganisation July 24th, 1873—The Assembly prorogued from July 29th to November 5th—Message of Marshal MacMahon and manifesto of the groups of the Left.
- VI.—Liberation of the territory—Last incidents of the German occupation—Payment of the balance of the war indemnity—The evacuation completed on the 16th of September.

I

The
Session
Resumed

IT might have been supposed that the events of the 24th of May would suspend the parliamentary session. Nothing of the kind happened : both sides were eager to join in the fray. A few days were allowed for the new Ministers to settle down, and the sittings were resumed, without a break, until the 29th of July.

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In this short session, rapid but very significant skirmishes indicated the points on which the weight of the contest was soon to bear ; namely, political and social " resistance," religious matters, and schemes of constitutional law. The respective positions were sharply defined in the very first engagements.

The Lefts grouped themselves around M. Thiers. He had made up his mind with his usual promptitude. Not thinking that his greatness compelled him to remain a mere spectator, he had decided to take his seat in the Assembly by right of his position as representative of the Department of the Seine. On May 27th, as M. Clapier, a member of the Right, was speaking, he came in and sat down, says the official report, " on the fourth bench on the Left side, between M. Gouin and M. Wallon."

As soon as he appeared, the whole Left rose and saluted him with prolonged applause. The Left Centre joined in this manifestation, and on the following day M. Christophle, in the name of the group, asked for a correction in the official report to this effect. " Yes," cried Admiral Jaures, " we all stood up, all of us." Thus the union was accomplished, and M. Thiers became the leader of the united Lefts.

From the very first Gambetta assumed the part of peacemaker. Moving among the members of the extreme Left, who had so much to forget with respect to the vanquisher of the Commune, he advised patience, union, discipline. At that time he already felt that the coalition of the Rights was in fact too much divided to succeed in founding a final system, and that their impotence would serve the cause of the Republic.

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Changes in Administrative Staff The first actions of the Government were eagerly watched and proved to be the easiest portion of its task—that portion, at any rate, which was most agreeable to its friends, that is, changes in the administrative staff. J. T. Weiss has said : " The 24th of May had to choose between being nothing but a change of Prefects or being a monarchical revolution/¹¹ The change of Prefects was the first step.

M. Beul6, the day after the formation of the Cabinet, unfolded his views on this subject in a circular addressed to his agents. " The National Assembly expects before everything, from the Government which it has appointed, an administrative staff inspired by similar thoughts, directed with precision, and openly taking the lead of the Conservative party," By proclaiming aloud the side on which their sympathies and favour lay, the Prefects " would form a true Government majority in France,"

Action followed; Admiral Gueydon, the Governor-General of Algeria, was replaced on the 10th of June, 1873, by General Chanzy, whom the Government were not sorry to remove from Versailles.²

M. Ferdinand Duval, Prefect of the Gironde, was appointed, May 28th, 1873, Prefect of the Seine. In the Departments, a few Prefects, Attorneys-General, Sub-Prefects, and Mayors, sent in their resignations. Others, in a still greater number,

¹ J. T. Weiss, *Combat constitutionnel*, p. 85.

² Chanzy was appointed Commander of the land and sea forces at the same time as Governor-General. Under his predecessor these functions were separate. A return was made to the system of military Governors. See J. M. Villefranche, *Histoire du General Chanzy*, p. 291.

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were relieved of their functions. Every official who directly or indirectly had shown sympathy with the Republic was sacrificed or threatened.

The new officials belonged for the most part to the Orleanist party ; even some former officials of the Empire were re-appointed. The pass-word was the same everywhere : " Down with the Republic ! "

Administrative severity was employed against the Republican press. Suppression, in the Departments in a state of siege, interdiction of sale in public streets in Departments under the common law, were pronounced against some twenty newspapers. The distribution of a paper by its ordinary agents was placed on the same footing as hawking.

There were some modifications in the diplomatic service. While the Marquis de Banneville and Comte Bernard d'Harcourt, ambassadors at Vienna and London, demanded, the former to retire, the second to be placed on the unattached list, the Marquis de Noailles, MM. Lanfrey, Ernest Picard and Jules Ferry, Ministers at Washington, Berne, Brussels, and Athens, left their posts voluntarily. They were replaced by the Marquis d'Har court at Vienna, the Due Decazes in London, M. Bartholdi at Washington, the Comte de Chaudordy at Berne,¹ Baron Baude at Brussels, and the Marquis de Gabriac at Athens. The last-named vacated the post at the Hague, which was assigned to M. Target in recompense for his decisive part in the transactions of the 24th of May.

These changes, which took place in the course of

¹ On this occasion the French Legation in Switzerland became an Embassy,

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1873, whether their motive was official routine or party considerations, were to have no influence upon the direction of foreign policy. The Due de Broglie, in his first circular to the representatives of France, had laid great stress upon this. "The difference which arose between the majority in the National Assembly and M. Thiers," said he, "had nothing to do with any point affecting foreign policy. . . . You will therefore have no change to make in the instructions which you received from the late Government."

Nevertheless, a disagreeable incident occurred.

**III Humour
of Bis-
marck**

In conformity with custom, the Due de Broglie had notified the election of Marshal MacMahon to the Powers. He left his card at the houses of the foreign Ambassadors in Paris. Great Britain and Turkey alone acknowledged the reception of the notification. No reply was received from Germany, Austria, Russia, and Italy. After some days the Due de Broglie learned what was taking place. Prince Bismarck, very much annoyed by the fall of M. Thiers, hesitated to recognise the new Government. At any rate, he wished to make his ill humour felt. Not satisfied with the notification, he required that the French Ambassador should receive new credentials. Under his influence, Austria, Russia, and Italy took up the same attitude.

In France, said Bismarck, the Republic is not definitely founded, as in the United States and Switzerland. The Powers have recognised "the Government of M. Thiers." This is the Government which sent its Representatives to them. Other letters are necessary to accredit the same Representatives in the name of Marshal MacMahon.

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Bismarck added that " he was unwilling to pledge himself to recognise without distinction all the men whom France might be pleased to place at her head in succession," *

The Due de Broglie, deeply moved, sent a protest to Berlin. Prince Bismarck replied to M. de Gontaut-Biron that " Count von Arnim having asked him for leave of absence on grounds of health, he authorised him to leave his post, since he would have no credentials to present." And the Chancellor let it be understood that this example would be followed by the Ambassadors of Russia,, Austria, and Italy.

The Due de Broglie feared to complicate the incident further. The French Ambassadors at Berlin, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Rome, received fresh credentials, and the Ambassadors of the four Powers in Paris, formerly accredited to M. Thiers, were henceforth accredited to Marshal MacMahon.

On June 10th M. Lepere, deputy for the Yonne and a member of the Left, opened the first political debate by putting a question to the Government on the subject of the

First
Political
Debate

¹ These words were aimed at Gambetta. See the despatches of M. de Saint-Vallier and the letters of M. de Gontaut-Biron in *Liberation du territoire* (vol. ii. pp. 36, 60, 73, 78, 82, 89, 99, 121, 130, 134, 206, 215, 271, 295, 303). Cf. Due de Broglie, *La mission de M. de Gontaut-Biron a Berlin*, p. no. As to the views of Prince Bismarck, see his despatch of December 20th, 1872, to Count von Arnim (Document in the Arnim case). On June 23rd, 1873, the German Chancellor telegraphed to the German Ambassador in Paris : " Your Excellency has succeeded in gaining an influence here—with the Emperor—which has made it impossible for me to lay a positive injunction upon you to throw the whole weight of our policy in the balance in favour of M. Thiers, and it is in a great degree owing to this circumstance, as your Excellency cannot fail to admit, that the change of Government has been able to take place quietly and without having been resisted,"

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attitude adopted towards the press. The case in point was the suppression of the *Corsaire*, which, on the subject of the Barodet election, had opened its pages to a subscription which savoured of a Republican manifestation. This measure had been ordered by the military Governor of Paris in virtue of the state of siege, and for an attack upon "the established order." What is this "established order"? asked the speaker. "Is it Republican order? Then why prosecute a paper which supports it? Is it monarchical order? Then what is meant by the words of Marshal MacMahon affirming that nothing will be changed in the existing institutions?"

The Government, anxious to establish its position and to count its majority, had accepted the debate eagerly. M. Beule, Minister of the Interior, of whom M. de Falloux said "that he was better known at the Academy of Fine Arts than in the parliament/¹ seemed sure of himself. He took M. Lepere's place at the tribune and made a famous speech, which at the first start nearly overthrew the Cabinet, and in any case ruined his own reputation as a Minister and speaker. After having defended the order which dealt with the *Corsaire*, he undertook to reply to M. Lepere's last question. "The honourable deputy asks," he said, "what is the established order? Is it the same as under the previous Government? or has it been changed since the eminent M. Thiers went out of office? Is it a Republican order or a Monarchical order? You are aware, gentlemen, that we have made no modification in our institutions. *The National Assembly which the nation chose on an unhappy day to save it from*——. . . " At these words,

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laughter and ironical cheers broke out on **the** Left. " Yes ! yes ! Hear ! hear ! " they cried. " On an unhappy day ! You are right ! That **is** the truth ! "

M. Gambetta overwhelmed the unfortunate M. Beule by reading aloud a " very confidential " circular addressed to the Prefects by the Minister, in which they were directed to act upon the press of the provinces " by studying their financial situation and informing the Minister of the price which they might ask for a benevolent support of the administration."

" This is a plagiarism from the Empire," cried M. Gambetta.

M. Beule at first defended the circular, then declared that " he had neither read nor dictated it." It was found to emanate from M. Pascal, Under-Secretary of State. The Right was embarrassed.

Barely a fortnight after its formation, the Cabinet of the 24th of May was in danger.

M. Baragnon, coming to the rescue, demanded the order of the day pure and simple, declaring that it would not imply approval of all the terms of the circular. This order of the day was voted by 368 to 308.

The next day the debate received a sanction : M. Pascal, Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office, sent in his resignation.¹

This first engagement was of evil omen. The Ministry took its revenge, and collected **its** momentarily dispersed majority by demanding

¹ Shortly afterwards, by a decree of **August 9th, 1873**, M. Ernest Pascal was appointed Prefect of **the Gironde**.

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authority to prosecute M. Ranc, recently elected deputy for the Rhone, on account of his participation in the Commune. The manifestation was a platonic one, inasmuch as M. Ranc, without waiting for the vote of the Assembly, had crossed the frontier and taken refuge in Belgium. But to attack him was to aim at Gambetta, whose collaborator M. Ranc had been during the war. It was also thought profitable to give a warning note to universal suffrage, and M. Ernoul, Keeper of the Seals, replying to M. Cazot, did not conceal the fact that the election of M. Ranc " had drawn the eye of justice afresh to his position before the law." The authority to prosecute was granted by 467 to 140, the Left Centre voting with the Government.

The election of Dr. Turigny, deputy of the Nièvre, was invalidated on June 27th, under the pretext that, in a poster, signed in the course of the election campaign by eleven General Councillors,¹ the National Assembly had been insulted."²

On the whole, in spite of the humiliation of M. Beulé, the Cabinet was executing the first part of its programme, and affirming its policy of resistance and social conservation in the face of the country.

II

Hostilities were opening in the country itself; on both sides, interests and convictions were shaken. Men perceived the approach of a crisis in which

¹ The Conseil-Général is somewhat similar to an English County Council—TRANSLATOR.

² M. Turigny was re-elected on the 12th of October in the Nièvre by 39,872 votes against 28,253 given to his opponent, a Conservative.

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the past and the future were about to collide. The incidents in parliament were only the outcome of the double impulse in opposite directions, which was taking place in the depths. In hearts and minds apprehension and cheerful anticipation reigned together. The inmost part of our being, or, to speak more correctly, that which constitutes actual being, Faith, urged men to actions.

The Civil
Funerals
at Lyons Lyons is a town of passions and mysticism; where convictions are full of energy and strength; its population was divided, and the first incidents were to take place there.

For some time civil funerals in that city had increased in number under the auspices of a free-thinking association, and had given rise to manifestations. M. Ducros, the Prefect, sent to Lyons by the Cabinet of the 25th of May, exercised the functions of Mayor in virtue of the exceptional arrangements applied to this town. He issued a decree on June 18th requesting relatives to notify at the same time as the death, "whether the burial of the deceased would take place with or without the participation of the officiating ministers of one of the forms of worship recognised by the State, and fixing the hour of burials made without the participation of any religion recognised by the law at six o'clock in the morning in the summer, and at seven o'clock in the winter," and imposing upon funerals of the latter kind the shortest transit to the cemetery from the house of death.

At the same time that the decree of the Prefect-Mayor of Lyons was officially known, an incident occurred at Versailles in connexion with the civil funeral of M. Brousses, deputy for the Aude.

When M. de Goulard, Vice-President of the

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Assembly, a quaestor and two secretaries, representing the officials of the Assembly, and the members of the Right drawn by lot to be present at the funeral, saw that the procession was going from the house to the cemetery without passing by the church, they withdrew and dismissed the ushers of the Assembly. The detachment of cuirassiers which, in conformity with the law of the 24th Messidor year xii, was taking part in the procession, immediately returned to its quarters.

M. Le Royer, deputy for the Rhone, questioned the Government on June 24th, as to these two incidents. He pointed out that the Prefect of the Rhone had exceeded his powers, and that the decree of the 18th of June was a violation of liberty of conscience. In a country where there is no State religion it is not permissible to arrange the citizens in categories according to their beliefs. It was possible that certain abuses had occurred at Lyons, but it was not impossible to avoid a repetition of them without attacking liberty of conscience. At the funeral of M. Brousses there had been a manifest violation of the law. In fact, the honours are not paid to the person, but to the office. Thus spoke the deputy for the Rhone.

General du Barail replied so far as the military honours were concerned. He appealed to an old circular, which ordered the troops to go to the house, thence to the church, then directly to the cemetery. " As the body was not taken to the church——. . . " he added. At this there was a violent interruption, and he was unable to finish his phrase ; but on the restoration of silence, he defined his opinion, which was also the opinion of

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the Government: "We **will** never allow," he said, "our troops to be involved in such manifestations, such scenes of impiety," And he ended amid the frantic applause of the Right: "If you deprive soldiers of their faith in another life, you have no longer the right to demand of them the sacrifice of their existence,"

M. Beul6, Minister of the Interior, was impatient to makeup for his fiasco of the 10th of June in the eyes of his friends. Replying to M. Le Royer, he laid stress upon the vexatious character of the manifestations organised under pretext of civil funerals, on the insults to the authorities and the clergy, on the disorders in the streets and on the intolerable scandal caused to believers, so numerous among the population of Lyons. Besides, it was not merely a question of particular cases, but of a policy which the Government openly proclaimed. M. Ducros acted under the inspiration of the opinions of the Cabinet in issuing a decree which, for that matter, had received the approbation of the latter. The Mayor's substitute at Lyons having been buried without a religious ceremony, the General Secretary of the Prefect's office had received orders not to be present at the obsequies. Such was the new doctrine of the Government, and the Minister of the Interior asked the majority whether or not it was disposed to approve of it.

By 413 votes to 251 the Assembly adopted the following order of the day, proposed by MM. Cornells de Witt (Protestant), Henri Fournier, de Belcastel (Ultramontane), and de Cumont (Liberal Catholic): "The National Assembly, considering that the principles of liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, always respected by it, are not

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involved, and, agreeing with the sentiments expressed by the Government, passes to the order of the day."

It appeared by this vote that the Government and the majority were stronger than had been believed, and in any case closely allied. The religious feeling of the Right was the focus of its political ardour.

Pious souls had looked upon the war as a chastening. God had withdrawn from those who had abandoned Him. The defeat of France coincided with the defeat of Catholicism. There had been a punishment from Heaven, but at the same time an expiation. Misfortunes had reached their climax ; new times were at hand.

The great cause of dismay was at Rome : the Pope a prisoner. The great source of hope was in France: the land purified and re-constituted. The failure of M. Thiers marked the fall of the last of the sons of Voltaire. Now, before this people, lay a free field for the restoration of the faith and of the dynasty : " The whole country was beginning to understand what befalls a nation affecting to do without God . . . The Bishops, gagged under the Empire, spoke in liberty, and made themselves heard with a quite new respect. The voice of the Sovereign-Pontiff was welcomed with unanimous obedience and love, the first-fruits of the Vatican Council; Already at Paray-le-Monial those wonderful pilgrimages were in preparation, at which the whole of France met, where the banners of Jeanne d'Arc and Loigny, the mourning banners of Metz and Strasburg waved like signs of hope, and visible prayers to God, who has given relief to all nations ;

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scenes unforgettable for those who witnessed them, incomparable spectacles whence souls returned full of warmth and light! " ¹

Pilgrimages Not to Paray-le-Monial alone, but to all sacred sanctuaries, there was a stream of worshippers: to Chartres, to Notre-Dame de Liesse, to the Chapelle-des-Buis and Notre-Dame de Sion in the east; to Lourdes, La Salette, etc.

Throughout France committees were forming under the patronage of the Bishops to raise and organise these extraordinary popular movements. A central committee was established in ¹Paris in the Rue de Sevres, at the seat of the Jesuits, under the presidency of Father Bazin, a hostage of the Commune. MM. de La Bouillerie, Chesnelong, de Diesbach, Keller and Baron de Vinols, had been designated by the *Reservoirs* meeting to represent the Assembly in this committee. ²

On May 27th and 28th, 1873, there took place at the ancient sanctuary of national tradition, on the spot which had in former times witnessed the union of the peoples of Gaul when they decided on the struggle against Caesar, at the metropolis of the Carnutes afterwards Notre-Dame de Chartres, a national pilgrimage, " comprising more than 20,000 pilgrims, at the head of whom marched 140 deputies of the Chamber," ³

The president was that most ardent and strict among Bishops, Mgr. Pie, Bishop of Poitiers, the defender of the faith in its entirety, and of Ultramontanism without compromise. His speech was as the voice of those kneeling and deeply

¹ A. de Margerie, 1873, *Page d'Histoire Contemporaine*, 4.

² Vinols, *Memoir es*, p. 130.

³ Mgr. Baunard, *Histoire du Cardinal Pie*, vol. ii., p. 498.

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moved crowds: " O noble country of France/¹ said he, " from the day on which thou didst lay thy hand on the sacred Ark of the Rights of God, and oppose to it thy idolatrous declaration of the Rights of Man, thine own constitution has been shattered, thy constitution of fourteen centuries ; and now for eighty years thou hast been able to affirm thy constituting authority only to display to the eyes of the universe thy want of power to constitute anything." In the end the Bishop, paraphrasing Esther's prayer, said: " O God Almighty, hear the voice of those whose only hope is in Thee alone ! . . . This is the cry of France in her distress. She awaits a Head, she awaits a Master."

Men, inflamed by these words, involuntarily shouted the name of the Claimant of the lilies, the Son of France, God's gift, the Comte de Chambord. The historian of the Bishop of Poitiers, recalling these moments, says, " Catholic France indeed came to ask God for His deliverance in the most ancient sanctuary of the monarchy."

A month later, June 20th, 1873, the pilgrimage of the Sacred Heart to the monastery of the Visitation took place at Paray-le-Monial.

The cult of the Sacred Heart, especially venerated in the sanctuary where Marie Alacoque, of the Order of the Visitation, had had her visions in 1675, had become, through the influence of the Jesuits, the formula, the social and political symbol of the Ultramontanes."¹

The Comte de Chambord was known to have displayed a special predilection for the worship of the Sacred Heart.

¹ Saint-Valry, *Souvenirs et reflexions politiques*, vol. i., p. 154.

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The manifestation of the 20th of June, 1873, attracted more than 20,000 pilgrims, among whom were fifty Legitimist deputies. M. de Charette, late colonel of the Pontifical Zouaves, laid on the tomb of the Saint the flag carried by his regiment at the bloody battle of Patay.

In his speech the Bishop of Autun, who presided, solemnly dedicated France to the Sacred Heart.¹ M. de Belcastel, Legitimist deputy for the Haute-Garonne, who led the parliamentary deputation, pronounced the following words in the name of his colleagues who were present and of a hundred deputies " detained at Versailles " .—

" In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen. Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, we come to dedicate to Thee ourselves and our colleagues, who are united in faith. We implore Thee to pardon us for all the evil that we have committed, and to pardon also all those who live apart from Thee. For the share that we can therein take, and in the measure that appertains to us, we also dedicate to Thee with all the strength of our desire, France, our dearly loved country, with all its provinces, with its works of faith and charity. We entreat Thee to reign over her by the omnipotence of Thy grace and holy love. And ourselves too, pilgrims of Thy Sacred Heart, adorers and sharers of Thy great Sacrament, most faithful disciples of the infallible See of Saint Peter, whose festival we are blessed in celebrating to-day, ourselves we dedicate to Thy service, O Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, humbly begging of Thee to grant us the

¹ Abbe Rouquette, *Paray-le-Monial, Compte rendu da fielerinage du 20 juin, 1873*, Paris 1873, p. 75.

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grace of being entirely Thine, both in **this** world and in Eternity. Amen." ¹

After the events of the 24th of May, as the majority now felt itself able to control the destinies of France, such sentiments developed with singular intensity. It was thought that an appeal to God on the part of France, an act of faith, a glorification, which was to be at the same time an expiation, should be the prelude to those divine mercies which would re-establish the descendant of Saint Louis and Louis XIII on the throne, and prove to be the starting point of the " political, religious, and social revival," ²

As decisive events were at hand, there was urgency ; it was necessary " to reply to the appeal of God " by offering " to the Divine Heart" the altar demanded of the King of France in 1823 by Jesus Christ, in one of His appearances to Mother Marie de Jesus. ³

Mgr. Guibert, Archbishop of Paris, had taken the initiative, shortly after his appointment as successor to Mgr. Darboy, by opening, in all the dioceses of France, a subscription destined to erect on the heights of Montmartre—" watered by the blood of the first martyrs " and starting point of the horrors of the Commune—a basilica consecrated to the worship of the Sacred Heart. ⁴

¹ A. de Saint-Albin, p. 393.

² Chesnelong, *La Campagne Monarchique d'octobre 1873*, introduction.

³ See on this point A. de Saint Albin, *Histoire d' Henri V.* p. 392.

⁴ The idea had been put forward in a sermon by Father de Boylesve, of the Company of Jesus, preached October 17th, 1870, in the Convent of the Visitation at Mans. Two hundred thousand copies of this sermon were distributed. One of them

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Six hundred thousand francs had been collected. It was now necessary to associate the National Assembly with this work, in order to give it the character of a "national votive; offering."¹

The Archbishop of Paris had written to the Minister of Cults on March 5th, 1873. The Government received favourably Mgr. Guibert's demands, and M. Batbie, Minister of Cults, brought forward a bill granting a declaration of public utility to the construction of the votive church.

The bill, on being referred to a special committee, nearly provoked a rupture between the different fractions of the majority. While the ultramontane Legitimists declared themselves enthusiastic supporters of the bill, most members of the Right Centre hesitated. The lobbies of the Assembly resounded with impassioned discussions. Altercations took place between M. de Belcastel, who had dedicated France to the Sacred Heart at Paray-le-Monial, and MM. Baze and Baragnon, who were more reserved.

At last, on July nth, M. Keller laid on the table fell into the hands of M. Legentil, a member of the General Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, who had taken refuge at Poitiers during the war. He obtained the support of Mgr. Pie, and in the month of January 1871, the project of erecting by public subscription in Paris a monument dedicated to the Sacred Heart was promoted by a widely circulated religious publication, *le Messager du Sacre-cœur* (P. Victor Alet, *La France et le Sacre Cœur*, p. 319). This proposal obtained the pontifical blessing on February nth, 1871 (see, too, Paguelle de Follenay, *Vie du Cardinal Guibert*, vol. ii., p. 589 seq.).

A committee was formed, of which the first members were : MM. Beluze, founder of the Catholic club of the Luxembourg ; Baudon, General President of the meetings of St. Vincent de Paul ; Rohault de Fleury, Leon Cornudet, etc.

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of the Assembly a report in favour of the adoption of the bill, with the following first clause : " The construction of the church which, as the result of a national subscription, the Archbishop of Paris proposes to erect on the hill of Montmartre, in honour of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ, to bring upon France, and, above all, upon the capital, divine mercy and protection, is declared to be of public utility." In consequence, says the third clause, the Archbishop of Paris, " alike in his own name, and in the name of his successors, is authorised to acquire the ground necessary for this construction either by free purchase or, if occasion arise, by expropriation."

The publication of M. Keller's report did not bring peace ; on the contrary, the members of the Right Centre still refused to follow their colleagues. After long negotiations, in which the Archbishop of Paris intervened, it was decided to suppress, what a periphrase, somewhat fashionable at the time, called " the *sacred vocable*"

At the opening of the debate, July 22nd, M. de Belcastel announced that the Committee had decided to draw up the first clause in the following terms : " The construction of a church "Upon the hill of Montmartre, to bring upon France, and specially upon the capital, divine mercy and protection, is declared to be of public utility." M. Baze, chairman of the Committee, observed that " this decision " was not that of the Committee, but the wish of a minority. The negotiations continued. Lastly, in the sitting of July 24th, M. Baze, in the name of " the unanimity of the members present," proposed the following form for the first clause : " The construction of a church upon the **hill of**

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Montmartre, in conformity with the request made by the Archbishop of Paris, in his letter of March 5th, 1873, addressed to the Minister of Justice, is declared to be of public utility. This church, to be built exclusively with funds arising from subscriptions, will be devoted to the public practice of the Catholic worship."

M. de Pressense opposed the bill, which, he said, instituted a State religion. A discussion arose between two legal Professors, M. Bertauld and M. Batbie, on the question of expropriation raised by the bill. M. Bertauld confronted M. Batbie the Minister with M. Batbie the Professor, and quoted the doctrine maintained by the latter in his *Traite de droit administratis* to wit, that the State alone can demand expropriation in a matter of public utility.

M. Batbie said that as a Professor he was still of the same opinion, but that as Minister he had a right to hold a contrary view and to ask the law to modify jurisprudence.

M. Tolain, of the extreme Left, reminded the Chamber that the adoration of the Sacred Heart had formerly been condemned by Bishops, by Popes, and by the Congregation of Rites. M. Buffet interrupted the speaker with these words: "It is out of order to discuss theology here."

M. Chesnelong attacked M. Tolain's speech. He explained the views of the subscribers, and concluded thus: "We are all unanimous in respecting what is attacked by M. Tolain, and in protesting against the words which we have just been pained to hear. Our vote will, I hope, prove this."

It **did** so ; by 394 to 164 the first clause of the

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bill was adopted. The other clauses were successively passed without a division.

The incident seemed closed when one of the most respected members of the extreme Right, an intimate of the Comte de Chambord, M. de Cazenove de Pradine, advanced to the tribune in spite of the entreaties of several of his colleagues.

He deplored the weakness of the members of the Right Centre and Moderate Right, in refusing to inscribe in the bill the "sacred vocable." He asked for a division, and proposed an additional clause: "The National Assembly, associating with the national impulse of patriotism and faith, of which the church on Montmartre is the expression, will be represented at the ceremony of laying the foundation stone by an official delegation."

Dismay spread along the benches of the Right; the young Deputy was implored to withdraw his amendment. "You owe it to yourselves," he replied, "to associate yourselves in a public and official manner with the great deed of expiation and atonement which is about to take place." He persisted, the division was taken; the results gave 262 votes against, 103 for. The Right Centre and Moderate Right abstained from voting. The vote was not valid, as the quorum was not reached.

In order not to accentuate the schism which had occurred in the Right, it was decided, after at length prevailing on M. de Cazenove de Pradine to withdraw his motion, that the voting should not appear in the Official Journal.

The suppression of the "sacred vocable" had been carried out with the sanction of the Archbishop of Paris. But the "King" showed himself to be more Catholic than the Archbishop. On July 28th

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he wrote to M. de Cazenove de Pradine on the subject of his intervention : " You know me too well to expect a commonplace phrase from me on your energetic insistence in the memorable contest from which you have come out, as at Patay, glorious though conquered. I congratulate you, I thank you, and I embrace you, happy to add to the witness of your conscience that of my admiration and old friendship."

III

The
Count de
Chambord
Sole
Bourbon
Claimant

The Comte de Chambord thus recalled himself to the memory of France by demonstrations which were not always to the taste of all the monarchical party.

He had periods of persistent silence, disappearing, escaping even from his most faithful followers ; and when he spoke, his words were at times more embarrassing than his silence.

People had remained under the impression of his manifesto concerning the white flag, dated from Chambord, which had once already ruined so many hopes. What were his thoughts now ? He was the lawful heir. The dynasty was himself. Nobody thought of an immediate restoration of the House of Orleans. The reign of Louis Philippe was ignored. It was recognized that there was no solution other than the return of the elder branch. But under what conditions ? The constitutional question was still more delicate than the dynastic question.

Mgr. Pie had solved it at Chartres in singularly bold terms : Divine Right, with all its consequences.

The question was before the Assembly, but under very different conditions. It will be remembered

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that, in conformity with clause 5 of the Bill of March 13th, 1873, M. Dufaure, Keeper of the Seals, had proposed, in the name of the Government of M. Thiers, three Bills with reference (1) to the election laws; (2) to the organisation and manner of transmission of the legislative and executive powers; (3) to the creation and attributes of a second Chamber, which was not, however, to enter upon its functions till after the dissolution of the National Assembly.

Thus we have on one side the rights of the King, and on the other side the rights of the Assembly.

What were the views of the Government? In its first communication to the Assembly, it had indicated its position: for the moment they consisted in waiting and gaining time.

The Due de Broglie was too wise not to understand that the work of restoration, over which he would doubtless have been happy to preside, was not ready, and that it was necessary to create in the country, in the Royal family, and in the Pretender himself, a state of mind which would allow him to enter on it with a reasonable chance of success. The part of the Cabinet, as it was conceived by the most prudent among its friends, was fairly accurately defined by M. de Meaux: "According to the terms of the order of the day which formed the Cabinet, it was bound on the one side to oppose a resolutely Conservative policy to Radicalism, and on the other, not to oppose the monarchical undertaking, without, however, taking any initiative in it." *

The impatience of the more ardent and optimistic

¹ Vicomte de Meaux, *Souvenirs politiques, Correspondant of October 10, 1902*, p. 12.

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spirits submitted unwillingly to these precautions and delays. Signs of a new spirit, and of an evolution in the direction of monarchical ideas were looked for everywhere.

Opening of the Monarchical Campaign In the Assembly the notable increase of the majority, which had risen from fourteen votes on the 24th of May to sixty vates in the last divisions in June, might encourage these hopes. Further, defections were counted on in proportion as the victory should appear more certain. M. de Falloux, who prided himself on his mental balance, affirmed that "it is not rare to hear Republicans say : We would not vote for the Monarchy, but we should see it revive with pleasure, if it can give France a repose which we are not yet in a position to promise her."¹ It is difficult to discover to-day who these Republicans were; but the remarks which were attributed to them circulated and maintained ardour, if not confidence. The Monarchists believed themselves to be certain of a majority in the event of the Assembly having to exercise the constituent mandate, which it had always claimed.

The Shah of Persia in France In the country, favourable dispositions were also discovered. At this very time Paris was indulging in magnificent festivities on the occasion of the visit of the Shah of Persia. From the manner in which the capital received the Oriental potentate, a proof of her "infatuation for monarchy" was discerned. "The excitement with which the population welcomed this sovereign was, indeed, a symptom which could not be mistaken." Thus did the wise M. de Falloux express himself.

¹ Cte. de Falloux, *Memoires d'un royaliste*, vol. ii., p. 352.

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The reception given to the Asiatic monarch certainly was in fact a splendid one. It gave the town a moment of respite after so long a period of distress. Paris adores festivities, powerful attractions which set the population on the move, give it a change from its ordinary locality, mix and confuse classes, renew in the minds of the inhabitants the feeling of pride in the greatness of their city and its prestige, and offers them, as it were, an excursion into a fairyland where there is also much history.

Paris had not witnessed such sights since 1867. Four years of suffering, anxiety, and hatred had proved more than enough. The arrival of the exotic monarch, somewhat unexpected, was a signal: Nasr-ed-din paraded all his brilliants, and Paris did the same.

The Shah arrived on the 6th of July, on his way from a visit to England, after Russia and Germany. It was on a Sunday. After being received at the Bois-de-Boulogne station, he passed down the Avenue du Bois and of the Champs Elysees beside the Marshal-President, who conducted him to the Petit-Bourbon palace, where he lodged. The journey was one long ovation. The solemnities lasted a fortnight. At Longchamp a review of 60,000 men was held by the Marshal, accompanied by the Due de Nemours. The populace cheered the soldiers, the officers, the Prince, the Marshal. However, the absence of M. Thiers was noticed, for whom no special place had been reserved; politics intrude into even the happiest hours.

At Versailles the Marshal gave a banquet of 160 guests to the Shah, followed by fireworks upon the lake of Neptune. There was a gala performance at the Opera, and this was the last official cere-

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mony in the pretty house in the Rue Le Peletier, which was burned down a few days afterwards. A reception took place at the Vice-presidency, given by the Due de Broglie at the Quai d'Orsay, and the best society in France crowded into the rooms, which were now re-opened to it for the first time after a long interval. There was a night festival on the Seine and at the Trocadero, with a military tattoo by torchlight, illumination of the Champs Elysees with Bengal lights, and fireworks on the Champ de Mars. The days and nights of the Commune were forgotten.

Finally, Marshal MacMahon gave a great ball at the Elysee, at which the President of the Republic and the Duchess of Magenta received three thousand guests with the ease and simplicity of perfect hosts. Money was spent lavishly on these rejoicings. Ornaments and jewels were brought out of safes; the whiteness of fair shoulders was revealed; laughter was heard again. Was this a truce?

Politics were kept in the background. It is related that at the gala banquet at Versailles, in the "Galerie des Glaces" full of reminiscences of the most glorious days of the ancient monarchy, the Keeper of the Seals, M. Ernoul, one of the most devoted servants of the Comte de Chambord, was seated near one of the chief personages in the Shah's suite. The Persian spoke French well. He hardly allowed the French Minister time to swallow his soup, and to relax in the middle of these splendours; he opened the question of the monarchy. M. Ernoul, by no means at his ease, maintained his reserve, but the Persian, not being in his own country, had no reason for discretion.

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Suddenly raising his eyes to a large escutcheon which stood out from the cornice, he read, or seemed to read, this inscription : " The King reigns and governs by himself." " Is not that the question under discussion in France/' said the Persian, " and will the Comte de Chambord consent to be a king who reigns without governing ? " The French Minister turned the conversation.

Thus the constitutional question underlay everything.

On the 2nd of July this question had reappeared in its proper place, the Assembly. On that day M. Buffet, president of the Assembly, helping the Government tactics, had not yet called the Assembly in committee to name the special committee charged with examining the three bills brought forward by M. Dufaure on the 19th of May.

The latter asked the Chamber to place the nomination of this committee on its order of the day. He reminded the Chamber that M. de Broglie had been the *rapporteur* of the Committee of Thirty, and he begged the Minister to join him in securing the completion of the law which he had originated. Would not the majority be more favourable to a proposal which sanctioned its constituent authority ? As M. Dufaure was in excellent spirits he quoted the declaration read from the tribune by M. Target, by which the latter in his own name and that of his friends, gave formal adherence to the Republican solution upheld by M. Thiers. Neither the Government, nor the majority, nor M. Target, were particularly anxious to fulfil their engagement. The Ministers remained motionless.

A deputy from the north, M. Leurent, said that

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M. Dufaure's proposal made " the whole industrial world " shudder. " The Assembly being on the eve of dispersing for the holidays," added he, " it would be better to postpone, till a month after its return, the nomination of the committee demanded by M. Dufaure. During the vacation the deputies will be able to consult their constituencies."

M. Gambetta, wishing to extract some statement from the Cabinet, solemnly renewed in his own name and in that of the Left his customary protest against the constituent power claimed by the Assembly ; he reminded it of " the infirm nature of its origin," and again demanded a dissolution and general election.

The reply of the Due de Broglie was contemptuously evasive : " The present debate," said he, " has nothing to do with the old controversy which exists between the Assembly and the honourable gentleman who has just spoken, a controversy which began before it was elected, and at a time when he wished to prevent it from coming into being. The Assembly did not wait for his permission to come into existence; it does not need his permission to remain in existence and to govern France." The Vice-President of the Council ended by declaring that he was not " crushed by the burden of power, and answered for public order." He joined with M. Leurent's proposal of adjournment.

The majority had taken up its position. No deed, no manifestation was to compromise in advance the difficult process of gestation which was about to take place during the vacation of the Assembly.

The constituent authority of the Assembly was now disputed no longer by the Left alone, but by

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that important fraction of the Right which was attached to the doctrine of Divine Right. The least imprudence might have raised the most delicate of questions, one of those of which Cardinal de Retz has said, that they are never settled so well as in silence. The Right, the Target group, the Due de Broglie, were insensible to the slashing onslaught of M. Dufaure, and the objurgations of M. Gambetta. The proposal of M. Leurent was accepted, and, with a final touch of prudence, without a division, without a list of votes.

The constitutional question, with all the grave consequences which it carried, remained in suspense.

IV

Measures taken against the Republican Propaganda

There remained on the part of the Right and the Government a last effort to be made, and a last precaution to be taken ; this was to hinder, so far as was possible, the propagandist campaign that the Republican party, and M. Gambetta at its head, were preparing to conduct in the country, as soon as the Assembly should disperse for the vacation.

Already at Versailles a manifestation had been organised for the anniversary of General Hoche (June 24th) : it had been forbidden by the Government; but the banquet had been changed into a private meeting, and Gambetta had spoken rallying " the crisis, more farcical than formidable," caused by the fall of M. Thiers. He had defended the right of speech and the right of propaganda, and had given the signal for an anti-clerical agitation. • . . Aiming at the originators of the contest of the 24th of May he said : " It will be sufficient to

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allow a glimpse of the hidden thoughts of clericalism to be seen to cause France, impassive and in cold blood, to await them at the moment when, in order to realise their detestable designs, they strive to abandon the path of legality."

This defiance and these threats seemed intolerable to the majority, which had not forgiven the Grenoble speech. An incident was sought for. On the 12th of July, in the course of a debate upon the establishment of criminal juries in the colonies, M. Audren de Kerdrel spoke in a very unexpected fashion "of those men who have excited certain social strata against the directing classes," and he challenged M. Gambetta to give an explanation at the tribune. The latter replied, but in very measured terms. He came, he said, to "define" the view expressed at Grenoble, and "to deal justice to critics who had made a flag of disorder out of the phrase *new social strata*" (*nouvelles couches sociales*.) His explanation, drawn entirely from realities, was so much the stronger that it set forth an undeniable fact without any violence: "Every day," said he, "something is taking place in the country which is of more importance than a sudden revolution. In every place where for sixty years it had been impossible to allow an appreciable minority of men sprung from the ranks of the people to find their way into the General Councils, men with the aspirations, the ideals, and the hopes of the people,—nearly everywhere, universal suffrage has kept away men who would have been able to render real services, if they had understood the part which was offered to them of guardians, educators, and guides of the people. The people themselves have undertaken

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the management of affairs, and this is the event which, I hailed at Grenoble under the name of new social strata, the fruit of universal suffrage."

Tocqueville would not have been more exact nor more precise.

Gambetta defended himself from the charge of being "a partisan of nebulous theories and a man of disorder."

M. Ernoul's reply voiced the feelings of the Right, who applauded ; but the incident was soon to be repeated.

On the 14th of July M. Ernoul, Keeper of the Seals, brought forward a bill of which the object was to confer on the Permanent Committee instituted in virtue of the constitution of 1848, the right to authorise prosecutions for offences committed against the Assembly during its prorogation.

M. Emmanuel Arago opposed this demand.

Comte Jaubert supported the motion for urgency. "I beg the honourable M. Arago's pardon," said he. "The liberty of the tribune is not what he has defended just now, but the liberty of the platform supported by clubs and exciting sedition."

The words "liberty of the platform," which provoked the cheers of the Right, were aimed at M. Gambetta. He defended himself, appealing to "the most essential of all liberties in a democracy, the right of meeting, the liberty of propaganda," He referred to the English custom and demanded *fair play*.

The Left made a last effort before the vacation. A question on the general policy of the Government was put in by M. Le Royer, and supported, somewhat unexpectedly, by M. Jules Favre, on July 21st. The great orator, who was now speaking

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for the first time since he had left the Ministry, was eloquent in vain. He had lost his influence, even over the Left.

The Due de Broglie only uttered a few phrases to emphasise the failure and futility of a question somewhat noisily put forward.

An order of the day expressing confidence moved by General Changarnier, Baron de Larcy, and the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, was voted by 388 to 263. The Government had a majority of 125.

Two days later, on July 23rd, M. ErnouFs Bill on the powers of the Permanent Committee came before the Assembly again. This was the last great debate of the session. Whilst M. Brisson opposed the Bill, alluding to a law of 1819, M. Dahirel shouted : " Give us back the King, and we will give you the laws of the restoration." " Which king ? " was the cry from the Left. M. Dahirel replied, " We will have the King without you and in spite of you." In the course of the incident M. de Carayon-Latour had said, " We shall have the courage, I warrant it, to propose the Restoration to the vote of the Assembly."

Such imprudence might become dangerous. The wisest heads were anxious to close the debate. The Bill no longer aimed directly at political meetings and speeches, but at the reproduction of these speeches. One of the most skilful members of the Right, M. Lucien Brun, in defending the Bill, explained it: " If you tell this Assembly that it is dead and is waiting for the sexton, that will be an insult, and the newspapers which repeat it should be liable to prosecution."

M. Gambetta, aimed at afresh in M. Lucien Brun's speech, wished to protest against this law *ad*

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hominem, as he called it ; but the Assembly prevented him by voting the closure of the general discussion.

On the single clause, M. Ernoul spoke in the name of the Government. His speech excited the most lively enthusiasm on the benches of the Right. He certainly was the orator of the Cabinet. "Magnificent language," cried M. de Grammont, "it is Berryer in his best moments." The Keeper of the Seals re-edited his thesis on "the league of respectable men/' denounced the demagogue peril as being imminent, and concluded with these words : "It is tyrannical and corrupt republics which have brought Caesars to birth."

The Left Centre thought it should grant the Lefts a pledge of union and solidarity by giving, through the voice of M. Bethmont, its adhesion to the campaign for dissolution.

The Divine Right, Constituent Authority, Dissolution—these three questions were face to face at the time when the Assembly dispersed.

V

It would be unfair to the Assembly
The Re-organisation
Laws
to confine its history to that of debates devoted to the political and social crisis through which France was passing at that time. In the midst of these ardent controversies it did not lose sight of the work of reconstruction and reorganisation which was incumbent upon it. Special Committees worked assiduously.

At the sittings, Bills on technical subjects were discussed usefully: several became laws, such as

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the law of June 17th, 1873, which re-established under normal conditions the railway traffic in the Eastern districts ; the law which regulated the distribution of national awards ; and the law which ordered the rebuilding of the Vendome Column. It is true that the debate and vote on the budget suffered some delay. But the session was not closed until the Assembly had voted, on a third reading, the law of July 24th, 1873, on the general re-organisation of the Army, which was, the necessary complement of the law of July 27th 1872, upon recruiting.

Law
on the
General Re-
organisation
of the
Army This last law placed three millions and a half of men at the disposal of the national defence. This formidable effective had to be turned to account, the Army to be organised and prepared for its part. The system of the second Empire, fixed by the decree of January 27th, 1858, was inadequate, the lessons of the last war had shown the great importance of what is called " mobilisation," that is to say the lengthy preparation which permits an army to be rapidly brought from a peace standing to a war standing, and to be concentrated on the frontiers with the least delay, thanks to rational utilisation of the railway system.

Just as, for recruiting, the Prussian system of compulsory and personal service had been adopted, so, for the organisation of the army, the system of " permanent formations" was borrowed from Germany. According to this system the Army would assume its war footing, so to say automatically, by the addition of the reserves to the active army, the general and regimental registers remaining the same.

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Under the Empire, France was divided into five districts, and twenty-one military sub-districts, having no connexion with the formations in time of war, but determined by political reasons, and according to the municipal facilities for barracks.

The law of July 24th, 1873, divided the territory of France for the organisation of the active army, of the Reserve of the active army, and of the territorial army and its Reserve, into eighteen districts, and each district into eight sub-districts. Each district is occupied by one Army Corps, garrisoned, there. A special Army Corps is set apart for Algeria.

Each of the eighteen Army Corps comprises two divisions of infantry, one brigade of cavalry, one brigade of artillery, one battalion of engineers, and a service squadron of military transport, besides the Staffs and auxiliary services.

Each Army Corps is organised permanently in divisions and brigades.

The Army Corps, as well as all the troops of which it is composed, is provided at all times with officers, Staff, and all the administrative and auxiliary services which are necessary to it in order to enter on a campaign.

Each district possesses general stores of supplies including arms, ammunition, and effects of every kind destined for the different arms which enter into the composition of the Army Corps.

The war material of the troops and services is constantly ready and *in* magazines within reach.

The active army is recruited from the whole territory of France. On mobilisation, the effectives

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and services of each Army Corps are filled up with the unattached soldiers and Reservists located in the district; in case of deficiency, with those of the neighbouring districts.

The appropriated services created with a view to mobilisation have at all times their appointed Staff. The auxiliary officers coming from the Polytechnic and Forestry schools, the non-commissioned officers conditionally engaged for a year, and those of the active army who have passed into the Reserve, are told off in advance for the Corps of the district.

In each district, the General in command of the Army Corps has authority over the territory, over all the active and territorial forces, and over all the military services and establishments set apart for these forces. The General Staff, directed by its chief, is divided into an active section and a territorial section. The recruiting service of the district is centralised by the latter.

The commander of the Army Corps also has attached to him and under his orders the director of the administrative services, and of the sanitary service. He sees that all the measures for mobilisation are constantly in working order. In case of mobilisation he marches with his troops; he is then replaced in the command of the district by a general officer appointed by the Minister of War. In time of peace he cannot hold his command for more than three years at the most, unless he is retained in it by a special decree issued at a council of Ministers.

Requisitions of horses, mules, and carts, always prepared in advance, are ordered, if occasion arises, by a decree of the President of the Republic, and

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carried out in consideration of the payment of a suitable indemnity.¹

The railway companies and the telegraph administration are also held at the disposal of the Minister of War.

The training of the troops of all arms ends each year in manoeuvres by brigades, divisions, and, when circumstances permit it, by Army Corps.

Just like the active army, the territorial army has its lists of officers completely formed at all times, but its permanent effective on full pay only comprises the Staff necessary for administration, for keeping the muster-rolls, for accounts, and the preparation of measures of which that object is the calling up of the men from this army to active service. This staff is attached, for the infantry, to the recruiting officers of the district sub-divisions, for other arms to the office of the superior officer who centralises the recruiting service of the district.

The territorial army is composed of men domiciled in the district. Its Reserve is only called into active service in the event of a deficiency of resources. The services are recruited as follows: officers and other functionaries, from among the retired or superannuated officers and functionaries of the land and sea forces, from among breveted auxiliary officers or non-commissioned officers engaged conditionally for one year, who have passed an examination determined by the Minister of War; non-commissioned officers and clerks, from the non-commissioned officers and clerks of the Reserve, and breveted non-commissioned officers condition-

¹ A law, dated August 1st, 1874, completing clauses 5 and 25 of the law of July 24th, 1873, organised the conscription of horses.

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ally engaged, or again from former corporals of recognised efficiency.

The formation of the territorial Army Corps is effected by subdivisions of the district for the infantry, by the whole district for other arms.

On mobilisation, the territorial army would be told off to garrison fortresses, posts, lines of communication, defence of the coast, strategical points, and even formed into brigades, divisions, and Army Corps destined to hold the country; lastly its troops can be detached to form part of the active army. Formed in divisions and Army Corps it is provided with Staffs, administrative, sanitary and special auxiliary services.

One difficulty had to be faced. The new organisation involved an increase in the number of regiments (18 regiments of infantry, 14 of cavalry, and 8 of artillery); the National Assembly not having voted the credits necessary for the increase of the effective in round numbers, the elements necessary for the creation of the eight regiments, with which the four brigades of each army corps were to be made up, were detached in units of companies from each of the existing seven regiments of infantry. An analogous system was employed for the cavalry and artillery. Thus, pending the vote on the credits of the budget of 1874, the framework was prepared for the full and rapid execution of the law.

Six divisions of independent cavalry were also formed, to which batteries of horse artillery were joined. Of the battalions of light infantry, eighteen were assigned, one to each Army Corps : the remaining twelve were told off to serve on the frontiers.

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Finally the decrees of September 28th and 29th, 1873, declared the disbanding of the army of Versailles, created eighteen Army Corps, and appointed their commanders. These were, in the order of the Army Corps numbers: Generals Clinchant, Montaudon, Lebrun, Deligny, Bataille, Felix Douay, d'Aumale, Ducrot, de Cissey, Forgeot, Lallemand, de Lartigue, Picard, Bourbaki, Espivent de la Villeboisnet, Aymard, de Salignac-Fenelon, and d'Aurelle de Paladines. General Chanzy, Civil Governor of Algeria, was also commander of the 19th Army Corps. General Ladmirault was appointed Governor of Paris. General Bourbaki joined to the title of Commander of the 14th Army Corps that of military governor of Lyons.

In order to complete the new military organisation there remained to ordain the constitution of the Staffs and effectives of the different units of the active and territorial armies. This was the object of the laws of March 13th and December 15th, 1875.

On Tuesday, July 29th, the Assembly
The
Assembly
Prorogued dispersed for the vacation. It was pro-
rogued to November 5th.

At the moment of departure two documents of equal importance pleaded the cause of the Government and the Opposition before the country. On the one side the Vice-President of the Council read a Message from the President of the Republic to the Assembly.

The Marshal first gave the Assembly the assurance that nothing in its absence should compromise public order, and that its lawful authority would be respected everywhere.

He congratulated himself on seeing the Ministry supported by a strong majority and alluded to the

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important effects of this agreement, notably the law upon the re-organisation of the army. He announced the approaching end of the foreign occupation. " My predecessor," added the message, " contributed powerfully by happy negotiations to prepare this. You helped him in his task by affording him an assistance which never failed him, and by maintaining a firm and prudent policy, which allowed the development of the public wealth rapidly to efface the traces of our disasters. Lastly, and above all, our industrious populations have themselves hastened the hour of their liberation by their eagerness to resign themselves to the heaviest burdens.

" France will in that solemn day give evidence of her gratitude to all those who have served her ; but in the expression of her patriotic joy she will preserve the moderation which is becoming to her dignity, and she would reprehend, I feel sure, noisy manifestations little in harmony with the recollections which she preserves of the painful sacrifices which peace has cost us "

The end of the message was given to praise of peace, and to the statement that sincere friendship existed " with all the Powers "

Not a word of the "existing institutions" of the constitutional laws, nor of the burning subjects which were at that very moment the object of universal solicitude. It was, however, thought that the vacation which was opening would not come to an end before a decision had been arrived at as to the future of the country. But it was not expedient to take the country into confidence.

The other document was a manifesto of the groups of the Left.

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Manifesto
of the
Left

In this, as was natural, all delicate questions were treated without reserve. The opinion of the country was needed ; a vigorous effort was made to keep it in full activity. Deputies of the Left affirmed that in consequence of the events of the 24th of May the republican spirit, put on its trial, " had been strengthened throughout France." They declared themselves ready to use all the means allowed to them by law in order to struggle against " all the supporters of the Restoration," They solemnly took note of the pledges of the President of the Republic. " It is with perfect security, with real confidence in the loyalty of the statements of the first magistrate of the Republic, that the representatives of the Republican Union go to meet their constituencies."

The political necessity for the dissolution of the Assembly was insisted on afresh. The failure of the attempts at monarchical fusion was announced somewhat prematurely. Conclusions were drawn from the bye - elections which had already taken place ; the success of those which " would soon allow more than two millions of Frenchmen to pass their judgment upon the policy of the 24th of May, its results and tendencies," was calculated.

Lastly, the manifesto contemplated, like the Message, the end of the foreign occupation. The Deputies of the East were charged by the Republican Union " to convey to their fellow countrymen the expression of the admiration, sympathy and solidarity, felt for them by all its members, while regretting **that this** great event of the liberation of the **territory could not** coincide, in consequence of **the**

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state of siege, with measures of appeasement and clemency."

VI

The convention of March 15th, 1873, fixed the beginning of the evacuation of the four departments still occupied (Ardennes, Vosges, Meurthe-et-Moselle, and Meuse, with the exception of Verdun) immediately after the payments of half the last milliard of the indemnity. This, as we know, was payable by monthly instalments : on the 5th of June, July, August, and September.

About the middle of June, the French Cabinet, resuming, somewhat tardily, negotiations opened by M. Thiers, offered Germany 268 million francs in gold, which she needed for an issue of the new currency of the empire, in return for the simultaneous liberation of the departments of the East—that is to say, the abandonment of the pledge of Verdun. M. de Gontaut-Biron made this proposal to Prince Bismarck, who refused to entertain it.¹

So action was restricted to executing the clauses of the agreement of March 15th, 1873.

The two instalments of June 5th and July 5th having been regularly paid, the liberation began at this latter date by the despatch of the baggage, material, and ambulances.

Wearying discussions, painful details, had rendered the situation increasingly difficult. The populations, the troops in occupation, the official agents,

¹ J. Valfrey, *Histoire du Traite de Francfort*, vol. ii., pp. 197-98. See also Henri Doniol, *La Liberation du Territoire* (pp. 396, et seq.) on the causes which prevented the conclusion of the anticipated evacuation of Verdun (August 5th instead of September 15th) after the 24th of May.

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all looked forward with an occasionally dangerous impatience to the end of this difficult period. General von Manteuffel and the Comte de Saint-Vallier busied themselves in avoiding complications ; but even they were at their wits' end. On July 15th, a little before the liberation, an incident occurred at Nancy which revealed the condition of tempers and might have produced serious results : In the course of a ride, Manteuffel was crossed by a public conveyance, whose driver touched the General's horse with his whip. The author of the attack was immediately prosecuted, and General von Manteuffel consented, though somewhat testily,¹ to accept this reparation.

¹ The incident of the stage coach had happened at five o'clock in the evening. At seven o'clock Manteuffel wrote one of his usual pencil notes in slanting lines, to thank the Prefect, M. Doniol, for the orders of repression immediately given, adding : " Believe me that everything which happens to me personally disarms me as far as is possible. . . . I should have liked to write on the subject of this incident to the Comte de Saint-Vallier this evening, but as it is a detail, I should not like to spoil his night, knowing his sensitiveness. This affair will have no consequences." See Henri Doniol, *La Liberation du Territoire*, p. 410.

Some days before, the General had offered the municipality of Nancy 20,000 francs for the maintenance of the German tombs set up in the town cemetery. The Mayor replied that " the dead had no nationality, and that he would undertake the care of the German tombs as of the others in the public cemetery." Touched by this action, the General offered 20,000 francs to the hospitals, adding to it furniture for the regimental schools, and for the chaplaincy of the army of occupation. The Society for the Protection of the *Alsaciens-Lorrains* published a letter saying that, if this offer were accepted, it would hand to the Mayor of Nancy an equal sum destined for the poor of Metz. Manteuffel showed his vexation and some officers manifested their irritation somewhat sharply. The Mayor of Nancy having publicly refused the gift of the Society, the excitement soon subsided.

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Fortunately, on August 5th, the town of Nancy, which had been for two years the capital of the German occupation, was to be freed.¹

On that day, before the assembling of the German troops, workmen climbed on to the frieze of the Stanislas Gate and prepared supports for flags. The same preparations were made at the Town Hall.

The hammer of the Town Hall clock struck the first stroke of six : General von Manteuffel, on horse-back and in travelling uniform, raised his sword at the corner of the Rue Sainte-Catherine, thus giving the signal for departure. A silent crowd was waiting. Three cheers sounded ; the German troops started, filed past the Commander-in-chief, and took the eastern road.

Now came the return of the French troops and authorities.

" At half-past six," says an eye-witness, " the *gendarmérie mobile* occupied the posts of the Town Hall and the Sainte-Catherine barracks. M. Bernard, the Mayor, hoisted the tricolor flag on the balcony of the Town Hall. At the same moment on all the houses, at all the windows, appeared the flag of France, hidden for three years. The excitement was great: all shook hands, and seemed to meet again after a long separation. The three colours were displayed everywhere ; tricolor cockades and ties were worn; carriages, horses, even dogs, wore them ; it was a regular delirium." ²

The whole day long the inhabitants moved along

¹ On August 5th the Treasury handed over to the chests of the German Government 250 million francs, representing the third quarter of the fifth milliard of the war indemnity.

² Oswald Leroy, *Nancy au jour le jour*.

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the streets, reading the inscriptions on the flags : " Alsace-Lorraine ! Metz ! Strasburg ! Honour to M. Thiers, liberator of the territory ! To the little *bourgeois* ! To the great citizen ! Vive la France ! To Thiers the liberator ! Vive la R^epublique ! Honour and grattiude to M. Thiers ! Hope ! " etc., etc. !

The flag of Lorraine mixed here and there with the national flags, several of which—above all, those bearing the words Metz, Strasburg, and Alsace—were draped with black.

It was thus in all the towns evacuated in succession. Verdun remained last of the French towns in the hands of the army of occupation.

On September 5th, 1873, France had paid the last farthing of the heavy burden imposed on her by the conqueror. She was thus free nearly a year before the date fixed by the treaties.¹

It was feared that Prince Bismarck might even yet at this last moment delay the evacuation of Verdun. He complained sharply of the " fussiness " of the mixed Commission at Strasburg, whose task was, however, very arduous indeed, and declared that he would subordinate the departure of the German troops to the settlement of all the difficulties pending between the two Governments. " There must be an end to this," he wrote to Manteuffel, " if the terms of the peace are to be fulfilled." Without other aggressive intentions, the chancellor was not sorry to irritate the French Government, and to keep it in a state of anxiety.²

I See the note published on the subject of this payment by the *Journal Officiel* of September 9, 1873.

² Letters of M. de Saint-Vallier to the Due de Broglie of September 5th and 10th. See H. Doniol, pp. 416 and 417.

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The Due de Broglie gave orders to the French Commissioners to bring themselves promptly into agreement with their German colleagues for the break-up of the Commission. An understanding was arrived at on the 6th of September for the settlement of the second account of the liquidation. France would have to pay Germany a balance of two million nine hundred thousand francs. This was to be paid on September 15th, in bank notes. The Commissioners at last signed the protocol, closing their business. There was nothing more to settle except the reimbursements to be paid to the communes for requisitions made by the German Staffs during the war. There again, thanks to the good will of General von Manteuffel, a settlement was made. It was agreed that the treasury of the army of occupation should immediately pay claims regularly produced, and that those which should be produced afterwards should be charged to France. General von Manteuffel paid under this head from the special finance department at Verdun, a sum of about two million francs.

Finally, on September 8th, the final movement of withdrawal of the German troops began.¹

Verdun was evacuated on the 13th. " It was half-past eight ; all the shops were shut ; the town seemed to be still asleep ; but inside each house every one was up, awaiting a signal. Soon a dull sound, like that of an army on the march, rolled from la Roche through our streets towards the Porte-Chaussee. The Prussians were departing. The last files of their column were still pressing the draw-bridge with their heavily cadenced steps, when the

¹ Valfrey, pp. 211-13.

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national flag was hoisted on the towers of the Cathedral, the big bells of which sounded a full peal at the same moment, declaring the hour of deliverance ; the peal was taken up by all the bells in the town,

" This was the awaited signal. Every house flew flags, as if one single hand was hoisting at the same moment those thousands of flags which spread their tricolor folds to the wind.

" Windows, shops, doors, opened. The crowd rushed into the streets; people shook hands, congratulating each other. The enemy had gone at last! The *gendarmerie mobile* took their places at the gates. . . .

" A few days later the Staff and two battalions of the 94th line regiment arrived.

" At n.45 a special train entered the station: French soldiers appeared at the windows of the carnages: an indescribable tremor ran through the whole of the crowd. The soldiers, on alighting, quickly drew up in order in front of the station. The regimental colours were unfolded. A formidable shout of ' Vive la France! ' escaped from all breasts. The excitement was at its height : tears flowed from many eyes. A bouquet offered by the ladies of the town to the gallant Colonel Isnard was fastened by him to the staff of the colours.

" At the gate of France, the gendarme on duty marched to meet the regiment as far as the advanced guard. ' Halt ! who goes there ? ' ' France.' ' What regiment ? ' ' 94th.' ' Enter when you please."

" For three years we had not heard this short dialogue ! "¹

¹ Oswald Leroy, *Nancy an jour le jour*.

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On the 16th of September, early in the morning, six days before the expiration of the fortnight fixed by the treaty, General von Manteuffel went out of France with the remainder of the army of occupation. A little beyond the villages of J amy and Conflans, the French flag floated on the frontier-post. The General saluted it with his sword and re-entered Germany.

On the following day the *Journal Officiel* published at the head of its " non-official portion " the following communication : " Versailles, September 16th. Conflans and Jarny, the last localities occupied, were evacuated this morning at seven o'clock. At nine o'clock the German troops crossed the frontier. The territory is entirely freed."

The enemy had occupied the soil of France for three years.

CHAPTER III

THE MONARCHICAL CAMPAIGN

- 1.—Hopes of the Monarchists after May 24th—The Comte de Paris at Frohsdorf—Reconciliation of the two branches of the House of Bourbon—Differences between Orleanists and Legitimists.
- II.—The country and the monarchical campaign—Meeting of the Permanent Committee, August 25th—Question by the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier on the possibility of the Restoration—Mission of MM. Merveilleux du Vignaux and de Sugny to Frohsdorf—Note from the Comte de Chambord to M. J. Ernoul and letter from the same to M. de Rodez-Benavent—Meeting of the Permanent Committee, September 25th—A meeting of the executive of the four groups of the Right is fixed for October 4th—Combiér mission to Frohsdorf.

I

liberated
France looks
for her New
Political
System

THE territory was now free ; the war of 1870 and its fatal consequences belonged henceforth to history. France, though mutilated, was coming back to life ; but she had not yet recovered her domestic balance ; she did not yet know the system under which she was to be organised in order to lead the new and narrower life to which her defeat had reduced her.

Events followed one another : the same weeks which saw the liberation of the territory witnessed the crisis which ruined the last hopes of the

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monarchists after raising them to the highest pitch. The Bourbon dynasty, the most ancient in Europe, whose past had been for centuries bound up with the development and glory of France, a dynasty thrice overthrown and thrice restored, which had preserved the confidence and love of a large number of good citizens, and the respect of all, was about to lose its last chance ; and that, not in one of those heroic or bloodstained catastrophes by which such great falls are ordinarily accompanied, but in the most trivial of verbal discussions, foundering in a bog of negotiations and controversies none the less painful because the figure of the Pretender remains noble and imposing in spite of them.

Few historical events have been at once more considerable and yet so slight, more moving and yet so commonplace, more complicated and yet so simple. A tragi-comedy with a hundred different parts, a stage on which the characters, features, qualities and defects of the nation and generation appeared in their natural form; a debate in which the bad discipline of all would have been sufficient to demonstrate the impossibility of restoring the authority of one alone ; countless turns of fortune ; a sudden and obscure result; comic incidents bringing unexpected figures to the front of the stage ; the chorus singing a dirge on the destiny of the last descendant of kings to a soft accompaniment of ordinary human passions, great and small; such was the aspect of this singular drama.

Rarely has a cause so high suffered such sudden, such absolute ruin ; rarely have such proud titles been abolished with more perfect loyalty ; rarely

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have men lost themselves so completely with better intentions.

France had to be dealt with, and her people, vigorous, nervous, hot-headed, quick-handed, accustomed for a whole century to take a part in its own business, or at least to be consulted. An attempt was made to dispose of this people without consulting it. Its will was neglected, on the assumption that it would accept, if taken by surprise, what it openly rejected. It was believed that the minutes of a Committee would have the value of solemn charters. Thus well-intentioned men flung themselves with perfect confidence in the way of a most cruel disappointment. Men of serious mind, fine intelligence, noble hearts, puffed up with their importance as representatives of a Cause, applied themselves to a task predestined to failure. The shrewdest played the game of diamond cut diamond and were caught in their own snare. Much skill, talent, and candour was spent in sharing the skin of the bear before he had been killed.

This story begins with the last days of July, 1873 ; it lasted till the return of the National Assembly, including in this the debate of the day and night of November 19th, when the prolongation of the powers of the Marshal was voted. All its incidents were knotted together in a tangled web which ended in the result foreseen by few, prepared by some. This must be thoroughly understood in order to put things in their proper places and to recognise the bearing and proportions of each event.

It must further be admitted from the outset in order to gain the necessary clearness, that the

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game was played chiefly between the two branches of the dynasty before an impassioned but ill-informed gallery. Skilful passes were executed according to the forms of perfect courtesy, in which nobody was willing to take a step forward or retreat by a single inch. These passages of arms had for umpires the Marshal-President on one side, and the nation on the other, of whom first the one, and then the other, had the last word, and carried off the prize.

Monarchist
Character of
May 24th Under cover of a purely Conservative enterprise, the 24th of May had been the prologue to a bid for the Restoration of the monarchy. This has been disputed since, but the facts and evidence agree; the idea was general at the time among those chiefly interested.

Everything impelled the partisans of royalty to hurry on events: the alarming results of the bye-elections which were more and more favourable to the Republican ideal: the resumption of the normal life of the nation by the liberation of the territory: the universal weariness caused by expectancy and provisional arrangements¹: the kind of interregnum occasioned by the fall of M. Thiers: the composition of the new Cabinet, made up of safe men: and lastly the presence in the Presidential residence "of a Marshal who wished for nothing better than to come out of it."²

On theoretical and tactical grounds, equally

¹ " * It is clear that the provisional arrangement is no longer possible under any form,' wrote Mgr. Dupanloup. 'Everybody has had enough of it' " (Abbe Lagrange, *Vie de Mgr. Dupanloup*, vol. in, p. 264).

² Comte d'Haussonville, *Le Comte de Paris, Souvenirs personnels*, p. 29.

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strong, the great majority of the monarchists thought that an attempt at restoration would have no chance of success, unless it were preceded by a reconciliation between the two branches of the Bourbon family, and * fusion ' between the two parties; 1830 had to be effaced.¹

Here, too, circumstances were favourable. The

¹ The plan for restoring the monarchy is explained with the greatest precision in a conversation between Guillaume Guizot and Taine, related by the latter in an unpublished letter dated from Orsay, Friday, April 7th, 1871. I owe the communication of this letter to the obliging kindness of Madame Taine :—

"Here is a summary of the conversation which I had yesterday with Guillaume Guizot: Some Legitimist deputies went recently to visit the Prince de Joinville and sounded him as to his attitude. He replied in these very words : ' If I had the crown of France in my hands, and in front of me the Comte de Paris with the Due de Bordeaux, I should put the crown on the head of the Due de Bordeaux.' The Due d'Aumale approved. They added : ' This is our personal opinion ; but we are not the masters of our party; it does not obey us on principle like the Legitimist party. We can only indicate our preferences to it.

" At present M. Thiers's programme remains : to remain agreed, to re-organise, pay the Germans, set France on her feet again, and not to fight for or pledge oneself to any form of Government. Moderate Republicans themselves admit this delay. . . . The impression is that the present Chamber is less reactionary than the provinces. . . . The fusionists try to win strength for the following compromise : to pass all the great and essential laws, election laws, municipal laws, etc. ; then, the edifice once constructed, to put the keystone in the arch: Henri V, supported by all the Orleans family, his heirs, ministers, and chief officers ; if necessary and to give more authority to this choice, to dissolve, summon a new Chamber *ad hoc*, so that it may be thoroughly understood that the nation is informed. For a Constitution, two Chambers, the Upper elected, not hereditary, chosen by or from the great interests, the great corporations, university, clergy, army, magistracy, Institute, Chambers of Commerce, and General Councils. As the first Chamber is only to have five hundred

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Comte de Chambord had no children, and as he could no longer hope to have any, the Comte de Paris was his direct heir. In fact, the younger branch had been in too great a hurry : nature had been more successful in bringing it to the throne than a revolution ; policy had now but to second nature by abolishing the last obstacles which stood in the way of a complete union of interests, sentiments, and theories.

It will be remembered that, immediately
The
" Fusion " after the election of the National As-
Plans
sembly, certain persons whose relations with the Orleans Princes were notorious, and, in particular, Mgr. Dupanloup, had intervened. After the Dreux meeting, in the end of March 1871, the plan of an interview between the Comte de Chambord and the Comte de Paris had been formed. On the 10th of June the Comte de Paris proposed a visit to the Comte de Chambord. The latter, by a note written on July 2nd, had begged his cousin to postpone it. On July 5th, he published his first manifesto on the subject of the white flag. Having taken this precaution he let it be known that he would gladly receive the Comte de Paris at Bruges between the 8th and 16th of July ; but, by that

members, the two hundred and fifty reserved to the second would offer the hope of a scat to deputies who failed to be re-elected.

" My objection," adds M. Taine, " still remains the clerical, absolutist, Austrian education of the Due de Bordeaux. I am told in answer that he would be fettered by the great preliminary laws, and the collaboration of the Orleans family. It is asserted that he would accept when faced with such a proposal. This is what lies at the bottom of the argument: there are four parties in France, the union of at least two is necessary to avoid a demagogue or a Bonaparte, that is to say, dictatorship from below or from above/'

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time, the Comte de Paris had abandoned his plan, not without forwarding to the Head of his House the following note : " The Comte de Paris is Very grateful to the Comte de Chambord for having informed him of his resolutions. He acknowledges the perfect loyalty of the proceeding. He thinks that the visit, which he would still be disposed to pay him, would run the risk, under present circumstances, of bringing about explanations which it seems to him preferable to avoid. This is the motive which has caused him to postpone it." ¹

We now understand the bearing of the declarations which the Comte de Chambord rained upon the heads of the group of over-zealous peace-makers : " France will call me and I will come to her just as I am, with my *principles* and my *flag*. On the subject of that flag *conditions have been mentioned to which I cannot submit*. . . . The only sacrifice that I cannot make is *that of my honour*. . . ." ²

On January 25th, 1872, the Pretender had again written : " " By my unshakeable fidelity to my *faith* and my *flag*, I defend the very *honour* of France, and her glorious past; I prepare her *future*. Nothing will shake my resolution, nothing will weary my patience, and *nobody, under any pretext*, will obtain my consent to becoming *the legitimate King of the Revolution*."

Surely this was clear enough ! The Comte de Chambord had taken up his pen again (February 16th, 1873) to address that famous letter to Mgr.

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Br  ze, *Notes et Souvenirs*, 4⁰ edit., P. 391.

² *Manifesto of July 5th, 1871.*

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Dupanloup, so harsh towards the Bishop, and the Princes of Orleans, in which he directly stigmatised " those who, while recognising the necessity for the return of the traditional monarchy, wish at least to preserve the symbol of the Revolution." ⁱ The position was then exactly as it was defined by M. de Falloux in the conference held on January 3rd, 1872, at the house of M. de Meaux :—

" The Comte de Chambord has recently declared for the white flag ; the Princes of Orleans persist in thinking that France cannot be brought to repudiate the tricolor . . . and the representative of the hereditary principle remains separated from his heirs."²

The public was in possession of the attitude of the Comte de Chambord. As for that of the Comte de Paris it is no less clearly defined by a zealous partisan of the " fusion," M. Audren de Kerdrel, in a letter which he addressed to the Comte de Paris himself in May 1872 : " I know that one of the chief reasons which prevented your Highness from

¹ In his first public document as head of the House of Bourbon, the Comte de Chambord had drawn the line of conduct to which he was to remain faithful. Here is the text of his notification to the Powers on the death of the Comte de Marnes, June 3, 1844 :

ⁱⁱ Having become, by the death of the Comte de Marnes, head of the House of Bourbon, I consider it my duty to protest against the change in the legitimate order of succession to the Crown which has been introduced into France, and to declare that I will never renounce the rights which I hold by my birth according to the ancient laws of France.

"These rights are bound up with great duties which, with the grace of God, I shall know how to fulfil. However, I do not wish to exert them until, in my own conviction, Providence shall call me to be truly useful to France."

² Comte de Falloux, *Discours et Melanges*, vol. ii. p. 319.

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going to visit the Comte de Chambord was the fear of seeming, by that act, to give your adhesion to the proclamation of the white flag made by the King, a proclamation which, if accepted by you, would have brought about the loss of all your influence over the Orleanist party, from which you neither would nor could separate yourself without prejudicing the cause of the monarchy in a high degree."*

On the 28th of May, 1872, the Due d'Aumale in the course of the debate on the Army Bill, confirmed these sentiments held by the Orleans Princes on the subject of the tricolor flag, which he styled "that beloved flag."

It would seem that, after this startling manifestation, there was nothing more to do but take note of the difference and wait for events.

But the need of combination was such that two prominent deputies, MM. Audren de Kerdrel and de Dampierre, held on the contrary that the visit of the Comte de Paris to Frohsdorf could now take place, since, after the declaration of the Due d'Aumale, it could no longer be considered as an act of adhesion to the white flag. The era of misunderstandings had begun.

The two deputies won over to their views MM. de Maille, de Meaux, and de Cumont, who had been delegates of the Legitimists at Drcux in 1871, and in whose presence the undertaking to effect a reconciliation with the head of their family had been made by the Orleans Princes. All five resolved to "impel the Comte de Paris towards Frohsdorf and implored him thus to give the 'royalists' the pledge which they had been given the right to expect,"

¹ Marquis de Dampierre, *Cinq unnees de vie politique*, p. 168.

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They saw successively the Comte de Paris **and** the Due d'Aumale. Under urgent pressure the Comte de Paris remained "calm and cool." He feared by following the advice of the delegates "to widen the breach which separated him from the Head of his House instead of filling it up." He begged his interviewers to see the Due d'Aumale, and himself introduced them to his uncle : "I have here," said he, "five fine fellows who have just put the screw upon me in good earnest; you would oblige me by receiving them."

The Due d'Aumale, as one of the party relates, showed himself perhaps yet more conciliatory than his nephew.

"^c It is the fashion,' said he,' to make me out the democrat of the family, even to call me a Republican. That is unjust and untrue. I have no longer any children ; the Comte de Paris, the legitimate heir to the throne, is my adopted son ; under these circumstances I should be a raving lunatic if I did not wish for the monarchy. Well! let him say, here, in your presence, whether I am the person who prevents him from taking the step which you advise.

"The Comte de Paris was sitting on the back of the sofa, on which the Due d'Aumale, a sufferer from gout, was half reclining; he replied smiling, '^c No, no, uncle, it is certainly not you.' On the actual question, the Prince said to the deputies, 'What you ask of me is desirable, but it is difficult/ And he shook hands with all of them 'with singular vigour' and allowing his emotion to be perceived."¹

¹ Marquis de Dampierre (p. 168-70), and Vicomte de Meaux, *Correspondant*, Octobre 10, 1902, pp. 10-11.

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Matters had reached this point when the crisis of the 24th of May broke out. The success of that day could not but stimulate the desire for fusion among all those who were pursuing this enterprise with so much courage.

Moved by a singular faith, these supporters of the "united monarchy," in the phrase of M. Thiers, thought that it would still be possible to induce the Comte de Chambord to modify sentiments so clearly expressed—which moreover, according to his own language, involved, not only his "principles," but his "honour." They thought so, or perhaps were of opinion that after all it was necessary to know where they were, to drive the Prince into his entrenchments, and, as was also said, "to put him at the foot of the throne."

The initiative came from the Due de Broglie. In the course of the month of July he said to one of the most intimate confidential friends of the Comte de Paris, Vicomte d'Haussonville: "Holding the place which we hold to-day in the Assembly and country, we should be unpardonable if we did not try to reconstitute the monarchy. The time has come to approach the Comte de Paris. It remains with him to do what he thinks to be his duty." Thus authorised, the Vicomte d'Haussonville wrote a "pressing letter" to the Comte de Paris. He received no answer.

Meanwhile, in the circle of the Orleans Princes, a project had long been mooted of a surprise visit on the part of the Comte de Paris to the Comte de Chambord. Towards the end of 1872, M. de Villemessant, chief editor of the *Figaro*, had introduced himself to the Comte de Paris, whom he did not know, and had said to him: "Your Highness,

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it is alleged that you are the hindrance to **the** restoration, and that if the Comte de Chambord does not give way to the entreaties of his friends . . . the reason is that he fears a snare. In your place I should go to the Comte de Chambord and say to him, 'Cousin, here I am ! ' " M. de Villemessant was abrupt in business matters, but he was well informed.

As a matter of fact there was some mistrust on the part of the Comte de Chambord. For a long time M. Thiers, whose occult influence is very perceptible in all these events, had been giving vent to somewhat unamiable remarks about the Comte de Paris : "I know him," said he, in actual words; " he is cunning and ambitious, and the member of his family who is least to be trusted." * Such an estimate might have grown of itself in the circle of the Comte de Chambord. However that may be, reserve was the rule in that quarter, lips tight pressed, ears pricked.²

The truth is that the Comte de Paris, a man of sound judgment and great prudence, guided his party and friends with a firm hand. Nothing was done without him. The aim of his efforts certainly

¹ Comte d'Haussonville, *Le Comte de Paris*, p. 23.

² As to the sentiments of the Comte de Chambord with reference to the Princes of Orleans before the interview of August 5th, see the memoirs of the Countess de la Ferronnays : "I asked the Comte de Chambord what line of conduct I should observe in the presence of the Orleans Princes whom I met in society. ' Until they have returned to their duty you will not know them/ " (p. 254). One evening in January 1873, the Countess de la Ferronnays had to flee without cloak or carriage from the house of the Duchess de Galliera, in order to avoid meeting the Comtesse de Paris, who was arriving, and whom she was forbidden to salute (p. 267).

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was the Restoration of the dynasty through the union of the royal family, but he also intended to remain faithful to the liberal ideas which had been the programme of the July monarchy, and to the directions which he had received from his father the Duke of Orleans.¹

On the 17th of June, 1871, the Comte de Paris wrote to M. Adrien Leon, deputy for the Gironde :

" . . . As for the questions of the future, I understand all the uncertainty into which they throw certain minds, attached, like yourself, not only to liberal principles, but to all the associations of the Government which had applied them. For myself, I have arrived at the conviction that an understanding between the monarchical parties is necessary *to found the constitutional and liberal monarchy* ; but it is for the country to say if it is willing to choose this form as that of its future government, and it alone can adopt a decision which no party has a right to impose on it." ²

Another sentiment was no less strong in him,—an ever vigorous hatred of the Empire. Thus the succession of the three dynasties during the first half of the nineteenth century had produced a cascade of discords between predecessor and successor, which survived beneath the apparent harmony of the Conservative parties.

¹ See the will of the Duke of Orleans in his *Letters* published by the Comte de Paris, and the Due de Chartres 1889, i6mo, p. 311. "Whether the Comte de Paris be King, or remains the obscure and misunderstood defender of a cause to which we all belong, he must be before all things a man of his time and nation : let him be a Catholic, and a passionate, exclusive servant of France and the Revolution."

² Private paper, unpublished.

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On the very day of the prorogation of the Assembly, July 29th, the Marquis de Dampierre assembled some of his Legitimist and Orleanist friends at his house, in order to discuss with them " eventualities very near at hand, the line to follow, and the aim to be attained,"

As the result of the discussion it was thought that the most efficacious procedure to restore the monarchy would be to propose to the Assembly to organise the Republic ; the proposal would be rejected on a division, and then the Monarchy would be restored by acclamation. Thus the grave debate pending between popular sovereignty and hereditary right would be avoided." *

Further, the meeting was of opinion that the monarchy could only be restored on the three following conditions : a close union in the royal house, a constitutional system wisely weighed, and — this was thought very difficult—agreement on the question of the flag.

The opportunity for a visit of the Comte de Paris to Frohsdorf was spoken of. The friends of the Princes avoided pledging them or declaring themselves. This reserve as to the transaction which was preliminary to any monarchical enterprise was disquieting, and M. de Meaux affirms that " several members left the meeting profoundly discouraged."

It is remarkable that, already at this preliminary meeting, the " expedient " of the eventual extension of the powers of Marshal MacMahon was put forward.

On August 5th Vicomte d'Haussonville received the answer to his letter of July ; its terms were as follows : " *Vienna* (underlined), Aug. 3rd, 1873 :

¹ General du Barail, *Mes Souvenirs*, vol. iii., p. 420.

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My dear friend, the above address is, I think, the best answer that I could make to your letter just received. I arrived here yesterday evening. I have asked to be received at Frohsdorf; I have not yet had an answer. My conscience is clear. I will act for the best, and wish in any case to avoid anything like a scandal. It is better not to speak of me and my journey until I am out of the passage which I have entered. , . ." * It may be seen how difficult the situation was, even in the eyes of the man who had just created it with so much determination.

Had the journey of the Comte de Paris been prepared, as has been said, by an exchange of friendly negotiations between the Courts of Belgium and Austria ?²

It seems rather to have been quite spontaneous, although the result of mature reflection. The Comte de Paris had doubts of the success of his enterprise, since he laid so much stress on not letting it be known to the public before it had succeeded.

A rumour had been spread of a journey by the Prince to Vienna to visit the Universal Exhibition in which France, in spite of her recent misfortunes, held a very brilliant place. On July 31st the Comte de Paris had left Eu, ostensibly to travel with his wife and children to Villers-sur-Mer, a little seaside place near Trouville ; but he had come the same day to Paris, and had started immediately for Vienna, in the company of his uncle the Prince de Joinville, and furnished with a passport in the name of the Comte de Villiers. Arriving in the evening of Satur-

¹ Vicomte d'Haussonville, *Le Comte de Paris*, p. 30.

² See *Memoires de Mine, de la Ferronnays*, p. 264.

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day, August 2nd, he had taken up his quarters at the Coburg palace.

As early as the 2nd of August, the Paris newspapers, scenting the secret and the incognito, announced the presence of the Prince at Vienna and the plan of a visit to the Comte de Chambord. He had been recognised while crossing Switzerland by a friend of the Bonaparte family, who immediately informed the Empress Eugenie, then at Arenenberg. It is also affirmed that information came from M. Thiers. M. Barthelemy-Saint-Hilaire is said to have communicated the news to the *National* and the *Correspondance republicaine*.¹

On Sunday morning, August 3rd, the
The Comte de Paris
at
Vienna
Comte de Paris sent a telegram to Frohsdorf : " The Comte de Paris, having arrived yesterday evening at Vienna, desires the Gentleman-in-Waiting to ask the Comte de Chambord when and where he would be so good as to receive him." Signed : " L. P. d'Orleans."

When the telegram arrived, the Comte de Chambord was taking a walk in the park after mass² with M. de Vanssay. It was in the middle of the dog-days: nobody was expected. The Prince thought it was some tiresome business, and he handed on to M. de Vanssay the telegram addressed to the Gentleman-in-Waiting. M. de Vanssay opened the telegram and uttered a cry of astonishment. The Comte de Chambord, on seeing the contents of the message, gave a start of surprise

¹ E. Daudet, *La verite sur Vessai de restauration*, p. 25.

² After the fall of M. Thiers the *Domine salvum fac regent* used to be chanted at High Mass at Frohsdorf (*Memoires de Mme. de la Ferronnays*, p. 247).

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and joy.¹ He reflected. After a somewhat long silence he pulled out his watch. It was half-past twelve. The express started at three o'clock. He ordered M. de Vanssay to take it, and to go and arrange matters with the person in attendance upon the Prince.

M. de Vanssay declined at first so delicate a mission, but the Prince's wish being imperative he asked to be given written instructions at least. The Comte de Chambord, greatly moved, went into his study and drew up a note in haste:

The dearest interests of France imperatively requiring that the visit paid under the present circumstances by H.R.H. the Comte de Paris to the Comte de Chambord should not be liable to any erroneous interpretation, the Comte de Chambord demands that the Comte de Paris, in approaching him, should declare that he does not come only to salute the Head of the House of Bourbon, but clearly to recognise the principle of which the Comte de Chambord is the representative, with the intention of resuming his place in the family.

On these conditions, the Comte de Chambord will be very happy to receive the Comte de Paris. Frohsdorf, August 3, 1873.

The Comte Henry de Vanssay, acting under orders, immediately addressed the following telegram to the Comte de Paris : " I shall have the honour to present myself at the Coburg palace in the evening to bring to His Royal Highness the reply to his telegram."

The formal account was drawn up at the time **and** the *Unpublished Reminiscences* of the Comte de Vanssay allow us to give definite details of this important transaction :—

¹ *Souvenirs inedits* du Comte de Vanssay, collected **and communicated** by the Marquis Costa de Beauregard. See also Marquis de Flers, *Le Comte de Paris*, p. 166.

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"I took the train at 345," says M.de Vanssay, "having orders to see the gentleman who, it was presumed, would be in attendance on the Prince, to limit myself strictly, in my delicate mission, to the spirit and letter of the following note, and, with the consent of the Comte de Paris, to take notes of the interview,"

M. de Vanssay met the Prince just as he was entering the palace.

The Prince's welcome "was cordial, good-natured, and very simple." M. de Vanssay expressed his thanks and asked to be put into communication with the Prince's attendants. "But I am alone," replied the latter.

"My embarrassment was great," says M. de Vanssay, "on learning that I should be obliged to fulfil my mission directly. The first words immediately afforded an opportunity for entering into the heart of the question. 'Let me see,' said he, ^s what you have to communicate to me on behalf of my cousin. I wish to offer him my respectful homage as soon as possible/

"^c The Comte de Chambord will be very happy,' I replied, 'to receive your Royal Highness, but he intends to give to this proceeding, by which he has been deeply touched, a more emphatic significance, as the family relations cannot be profitably restored until after the recognition of the principle of which he is the representative.'

"The Comte de Paris was visibly embarrassed : 'I understand,' said he, 'the demand made by the Comte de Chambord, and I am ready to submit to it.' . . . (and the Comte de Paris said to himself aside : "This is of capital importance ! But my friends ! oh ! my friends !")

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M. de Vanssay alluded to the current rumours as to the possible appointment of the Due d'Aumale as statholder. The Comte de Paris immediately stopped him, and said that he spoke in the name of **all** his family, and that this step had been taken with the consent of his uncles.

A struggle was taking place within the soul of the Prince under the eyes of M. de Vanssay. At that point, he thought it his duty to draw out of his pocket the note which the Comte de Chambord had given to him, and he presented it to the Comte de Paris. " His disappointment was very marked. I endeavoured to mitigate this," says M. de Vanssay, " by saying that this note contained nothing new, that His Highness never had held any other language, and that he would be unmovable on this point,"

The Comte de Paris immediately lost all cordiality, assumed a frigid air, put the note which was held out to him into his pocket without reading it, and said to M. de Vanssay that he needed time to consider, that if M. de Chambord believed that it would be better once again to defer the visit, he was ready to return to Paris without going to Frohsdorf.

M. de Vanssay endeavoured to restore calmness to the Prince's mind. But it was getting late. The Comte de Paris told him, coldly, that he was expected at dinner by his aunt, Princess Clementine.

M. de Vanssay withdrew, half satisfied. He returned to Frohsdorf, where he found the Comte de Chambord impatient and nervous.

"On Monday the 4th," continues M. de Vanssay, **"I was at the Coburg palace at the time appointed."**

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The Prince seemed less eager to go to Frohsdorf. His plan was still the same : but he had asked for an audience of the Emperor . . . He was still colder than the day before . . . Lastly the Prince said to me with a certain emotion that he had reflected very deeply, that the condition imposed by His Highness was of the first importance, that he understood all its gravity, but that he was none the less determined to pronounce the words demanded: he made a slight observation to me on the form of the phrase relative to his place in the family, not that he made the least objection to the spirit of the pledge, which he took in all sincerity; but he thought that the same idea could be expressed in the terms of a note, which he took out of his pocket, and begged me to submit to the acceptance of His Highness. I asked him for permission to inform myself of the contents of this document, and on his reply in the affirmative, I read the following note¹ aloud :

"The Comte de Paris thinks with the Comte de Chambord that the proposed visit should not give occasion to any erroneous interpretation. He is prepared in approaching the Comte de Chambord, to declare to him that his intention is not only to salute the Head of the House of Bourbon, but clearly to recognise the principle of which the Comte de Chambord is the representative. He wishes that France may seek her safety in a return to this principle, and comes to the Comte de Chambord to assure him that he will not encounter any competitor among the members of his family. Vienna, August 4th, 1873."

To his great delight, M. de Vanssay perceived that all that the Comte de Chambord demanded was granted. Indeed, his demands had been more than

¹ This note was burning M. de Vanssay's ringers (*Souvenirs inedits*).

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met in the expression of recognition of his rights, and principles. . . . In the conversation which he had had with the Comte de Chambord on the previous evening the latter, after reflection, had said to him, that from the moment when he treated directly with the Comte de Paris no minutes, no note, no paper, were to be asked for, and that the word of the Prince was enough.¹ "I did not hesitate to say to the Comte de Paris," relates M. de Vanssay, "that as for myself I accepted the form of this note, and that I did not think I should be acting with too much precipitation in affirming that His Highness would accept it without modification.

"I had hardly finished my phrase, when he got up with a very pronounced movement of satisfaction, saying : 'I shall go to Frohsdorf to-morrow.'

"And, in fact, this morning, August 5th, I went to meet him at Neustadt at the eight o'clock train with a little open carriage for two, and a light cart for the valet. The Comte de Paris was much excited, and found the drive long. . . .

"We arrived at the house at a quarter to nine, His Highness was awaiting us in the red drawing-room ; the meeting was most cordial, and, addressing His Highness, the Comte de Paris uttered word for word, without omitting a single one, the phrases agreed upon, in a very clear voice and in presence of MM. de Chevigne, Rene de Monti, and myself.

"His Highness then conducted him to his apartments, where they remained alone a long half-hour. We heard the Comte de Chambord saying on the staircase, in his loud genial voice : 'You have done

¹ *Souvenirs inedits.*

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a good action. God will place it to your account. You did well to come like this, alone and directly/ And we heard the Comte de Paris say that, at first, there had been a question of appointing a committee composed of five of his friends empowered to arrange the details of the visit with five friends of the Comte de Chambord. But that he had preferred to come and treat matters in person and directly." *

" Then came the presentation to Her Highness, and to the Comte de Bardi ; followed by breakfast, which was very animated, without any awkwardness or constraint. At half past eleven we again took the road to Neustadt, and His Highness goes to Vienna to-morrow to return the visit of the Comte de Paris, who will await him at two o'clock at the Coburg palace." ²

In the half-hour's private interview between the two Princes the subject of conversation was general politics ; the Comte de Chambord made cordial inquiries after members of his cousin's family.

On August 3rd, the Comte de Paris had made the following declaration to the Comte de Vanssay, clearly showing his acquiescence in the wish of the Comte de Chambord that no controversial question should be touched : " I have ideas which are personal to me," said he : " my cousin has his own. It is only by his agreement with the nation that he can make them prevail or modify them. I have no more business to examine them, than he can ask me to give up mine." ³

¹ *Souvenirs inedits.*

² Marquis de Dreux Breze, p. 90.

³ See, de Saint-Albin, *Histoire d'Henri V*, p. 398, the declaration of the Comte de Paris reproduced very nearly in the same terms, except as regards the last clauses.

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Alluding to this declaration, the Comte de Chambord said to his cousin at the end of their conversation : " . . . Believe me, I think it quite natural that you should preserve the political opinions in which you have been brought up ; the heir to the throne may have his own ideas, as the King has his. . . . " *

On August 6th, the Comte de Chambord returned at the Coburg palace the visit which he had received from his cousin. The conversation was no less cordial than the day before, but preserved its domestic character. After the Comte de Paris, all the Orleans Princes went to Frohsdorf ; the Due d'Aumale, who was then President of the Court-martial which was about to try Bazaine, alone abstained. *

Impressions
produced by
the Visit The Frohsdorf interview created an immense sensation in France and Europe. It was interpreted as the first act in a Restoration of the monarchy. Such was the first and general impression. But we must try to define the feelings which transpired after the opposing parties had had time to think.

" At Frohsdorf," relates M. Aubry, " visitors were told, with a kind of recklessness, all the details of the interview, and of the negotiations which had preceded it. They were even allowed to take copies of the paper on which the Comte de Paris had written with his own hand the historic words which he pronounced on entering his royal cousin's study." ²

Mgr. Pie, Bishop of Poitiers, was the customary

¹ Marquis de Flers, p. 168.

² Maurice Aubry, Deputy, *Fragment d'histoire contemporaine (Memoires inedits, p. 2).*

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counsellor of the little court at Frohsdorf: nothing was done without him. The Comte de Vanssay sent him without delay the minutes of August 5th, accompanying them with the following commentary: "What an event is this, my Lord, which occupies the attention of the whole of Europe at the present moment! We have evidently entered upon that providential phase, in which God proceeds by unforeseen, unexpected, improbable acts, which plunge poor little human combinations into nothingness, in order to prove that the work is entirely from His hand. You will have understood on reading the telegram addressed to the *Union* that everything took place, in form and matter, under conditions of dignity, gravity, and cordiality, which give to this reconciliation a character truly reassuring for the future. I have no need to add that the Comte de Chambord not only demanded a visit to the head of the family, but an express recognition of the principle which he represents, excluding any competition in the monarchical area. The condition was accepted after ripe reflection, and at both the interviews the Comte de Paris showed perfect tact in the smallest details." ¹

The Comte de Chambord expressed himself as being personally well satisfied. The son of the Marquis de Dampierre spent the 12th and 13th of August at Frohsdorf; the Prince spoke to him of the event of the preceding week. "His Highness dilated upon the happiness which he experienced from a step which seemed to remove all obstacles," relates the Marquis de Dampierre. "He talked of

¹ Mgr. Baunard, *Histoire du Cardinal Pie*, vol. ii. p. 564.

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his imminent arrival in Fiance: he had found the Comte de Paris delightful,"

However, there was a shadow upon this picture which the Marquis de Dampierre indicated, not without hesitation : " But, must it be said ? When in the evening the Prince had retired, and my son-and daughter-in-law went to finish their evening with Mme. de Vanssay, they heard in her apartments a kind of talk which did not agree with the part just played by her husband. Discontent, almost irritation, was expressed, at the transaction which made His Highness so happy ; and these reminiscences incline us to believe that the ladies in the royal household did not think quite like the men." ^x

The Comtesse de Chambord evidently had no taste for family effusions. The Comte de Chambord, appreciating more fully the step taken by the Comte de Paris, preserved absolute silence as to its political consequences, a silence which often proved at this crisis a severe trial to his most devoted adherents. In a letter dated August 20th M. Vital de Rochetaillée relates a conversation which he had at the time with the Comte de Chambord on the capital question, that of the flag. " There are," said the Prince, "two classes of persons who are opposed to the white flag. For some of them, the flag is only a bit of bunting—the colour of it is indifferent; others see a principle behind the tricolor ; for this reason it is necessary to refuse it." After admitting that his flag was not popular, the Comte de Chambord added: " But the other is revolutionary," " Is it still so ?"

¹ Marquis de Dampierre, p. 179.

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replied M. de Rochetaillee, "It might have been so a fortnight ago, but since the representative of the ideas of 1830 has come so frankly to bow before legitimacy, can it not be said that the tricolor flag is no longer the emblem of the Revolution, that it has come to bow before you ? "

M. Vital de Rochetaillee writes : " The Prince made no answer," Encouraged by his silence, M. de Rochetaillee thought himself authorised to push further: "We are," said he, "on the eve of the struggle. If your Highness wishes it, and will be pleased to say so, we will open an energetic campaign on the lines of the white flag.^M " No, wait," answered the Prince. " I recommend this to all our friends. I count upon time and events to arrange things satisfactorily."¹

The Comte de Chambord was unwilling to compromise his success. He had seen the heir of the younger branch come to him and bow before him. He had embraced his cousin : that was a reconciliation, but it was not the ' fusion.'²

At any rate it was not the fusion which had been wished for in the Orleanist camp, and such as M. Guizot, at the request of King Louis Philippe, had outlined already in 1850 in a note

¹ Marquis de Dampierre, p. 213.

² Dubosc de Pesquidoux, *Le Comte de Chambord*, p. 452. M. Henry de Vanssay wrote to M. Dubosc de Pesquidoux : " The *fusion* ! a word which his Highness blamed as indicating a fusion of political doctrines, unsuited to characterise the situation, and which should always be replaced by the word *reconciliation* . " . . . This is, moreover, the term which the Prince consistently uses : in his letters of February 5, 1857, to the Duc de Nemours ; of February 8, 1873, to the Bishop of Orleans ; of September 19, 1873, to M. de Kozdez-Benavent ; of October 27, 1873, to M. Chesnelong ; and in his manifesto of July 2, 1874.

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destined to pass under the eyes of the Comte de Chambord : " France," wrote M. Guizot, " must recognise that respect for the rights of monarchy and union between the monarchical parties, are indispensable to the monarchy. The Comte de Chambord must recognise that the monarchy of 1830 was national and legal, and that it saved France from anarchy. By taking this attitude simultaneously, neither the Comte de Chambord nor France abandon either their dignity or their rights. They come together without belying themselves. Together they pay homage* to Truth and to Necessity."¹

The Comte de Chambord, in drawing up the note submitted by M. de Vanssay to the Comte de Paris, had not departed a hair's breadth from his inflexible strictness : he had obtained the recognition of the *principle* of which he was the representative. Now his different declarations on this point leave no room for doubt. The⁴ *principle*, the *flag*, the *honour* of the dynasty and France are words which express the different aspects of one same* idea, that of *legitimacy* as opposed to *popular sovereignty*. The grandson of Louis Philippe, if he gave* his adhesion to this *principle*, reproved the other with all its consequences. Such was the demand of the Comte de Chambord.

Had he obtained the full and complete adhesion of the Comte de Paris ?

We are on that point informed by an unpublished letter written immediately to the Vicomte d'Haussonville by the Comte Bernard d'Harcourt, a

¹ *Lettres de M. Guizot à sa famille et à ses amis*, 12mo, 1834.

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deputy, who accompanied the Comte de Paris: " My dear friend, the Comte de Paris has just arrived from Frohsdorf, where he spent four hours this morning. He is satisfied with his visit; his reception was cordial; no allusion was made either to recriminations against the past, nor to burning questions. In politics they kept to generalities. I have written a long letter to Decazes, and the Comte de Paris has himself sent a report to his brother, (let those letters shown to you on your next journey to Paris, and try also to see the two written notes: *the one taken by M. de Vanssay in the name of the Comte de Chambord and containing the words, ' resume his rank in the family/ the other sent in return by the Comte de Paris and written in his own hand, no longer containing these words but an affirmation of the rights of France to choose her Government.*^{9 1} It is a good thing which has been done; I am very much pleased with it, as you yourself will be."

It may be seen even in this letter, written in the joy and perhaps relief caused by the transaction, that, at bottom, a certain anxiety remained. Discord was apparent in the terms of the somewhat ambiguous phrase which alluded to the wish to see France seek her safety in a return to dynastic principles. The Comte de Chambord held this phrase for an adhesion to the principle itself; the Comte de Paris saw in it only an affirmation of the sovereign right of the country.

The misunderstanding persisted.

The Comte de Paris clearly felt it, when he wrote some days afterwards, on August 17th, after his

¹ These words are underlined in the original.

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return to Villers : " We shall now see more clearly **than** when I came back from Vienna. Nothing remains to be discussed but shades of opinion: but, at a time when the conduct of the Liberal Conservatives may have so great an importance, shades have much value. As to myself, persuaded as I am that the consecration of the principles of tin* constitutional and traditional monarchy together has become necessary to the safety of my country to-day, I would like to see the Conservatives place this consecration before everything, *whatever expedient might have to be resorted to on the following day to turn the obstacles which it would be better to avoid than to collide with beforehand, . . .* "

So there were obstacles.

On the same day, August 18th, the Comte de Paris expressed himself more precisely in a letter addressed to the Marquis de Dainpierre. The latter, who continued to pursue with ardour the solution which he believed to be the only possible one, had written to the Comte de Paris on August 13th : " This great act of patriotism renders possible the union, which was the indispensable condition to any serious enterprise of the Conservative party, and leaves the national representatives to say under what conditions they wish for the re-establishment of royalty." The Prince replied to him on the 18th: " You have thoroughly appreciated the motives by which I was influenced, and you define with felicitous precision the task which since my visit to Frohsdorf is incumbent upon the Conservative party in the National Assembly." The Prince adds: " It was my duty to silence once for all those arguments, according to which, division among of the Princes made the monarchy

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impossible. Today the monarchy, at once traditional and constitutional, defined in so firm and clear a manner in the Right's manifesto of February 1872, can be the common programme of all Conservatives, to whatever shade they may belong" '.

But the manifesto of February 1872 was the Falloux system, to which the Comte de Chambord had never given his personal adhesion. It is true that these lines were intended to remain confidential. The Comte de Paris showed himself yet more reserved in another letter of the same period :

" By my recent action in connection with the Comte de Chambord," he wrote, " I wished to get rid of everything which could raise an obstacle to that union of Conservatives founded on common interests, *and on a respect for individual opinions in every quarter in which there may be differences!*"²

Throughout these shades and precautions we feel a kind of resigned disappointment. Certain friends of the Princes were frankly discontented : " One makes more ceremony about buying or selling a horse! " cried M. Jules de Lasteyrie.³

II

The leaders of the party were deliberating. The Due de Broglie, who was the *deus ex machina*, entertained no great

State of mind
of the Due
de Broglie

¹ Marquis de Dampierre, p. 178.

² Marquis de Flers, p. 177.

³ Comte de Falloux, vol. ii. p. 549,

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illusions. He wrote, on August 24th, to the Comte de Falloux : " Well! We have smoothed the road, and there remains hardly any obstacle to what you have wished for all your life. But to have an open road is not everything; it is necessary to march. A nation cannot go to meet a man, however august may be his origin. He must come at least half way. Will he do so ? Will he even take one step ? *Nothing authorises me to think so. . . .*"

The Due de Broglie begged the Comte de Falloux to tear himself from the delights of summer in Anjou, and come and talk with him. Now the Comte de Falloux had been the recipient of some opinions on the subject of the Due de Broglie's attitude, which were not altogether favourable. The minister was accused of playing a double game, and of "working subterraneously." It was said that he was not an honest partisan of a Legitimist Restoration, and that, not feeling himself in a position of confidence with the Comte de Chambord, he felt no confidence himself. M. de Falloux wished to clear up the matter. He went to Versailles, where the whole Ministry was established : " Nothing could be more quiet than this magnificent residence, with which solitude and sadness seem to be more in harmony than the tumult of parliament." '

There the two distinguished men turned over the problem in the peripatetic conversations which have been preserved for us by one of the parties.

The Due de Broglie spoke first : " The Princes of Orleans," said he, " after having long deliberated among themselves, went to ask for a reconciliation without restriction and without reserve. They had

¹ Comte de Falloux, *Memoires d'un royaliste*, vol. ii. p. 534.

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been assured again and again that this was the only way to touch the heart of the Comte de Chambord, but that, this satisfaction once granted, the confidence of the Prince would, in its turn, be unlimited. The facts have not been quite in accord with this. The Comte de Chambord displayed his family sentiments with effusion; he spoke very affectionately, very warmly, to his two cousins of their wives, their children, their travels, their battles; but he still professed that political decisions must lie with him, and could not be made with profit, until France on her side had recognised and recalled the rights of the monarchy.

"The Comte de Paris, who was desirous not to spoil an interview which he honestly enjoyed, and, further, was anxious not to bring back any but good tidings to his uncles and friends, insisted no further. At the same time, from some words spoken by the Comte de Chambord himself, and from more explicit declarations from his circle, the Comte de Paris came back with an impression in harmony with our common hopes, that is to say, that the Comte de Chambord is obstinate concerning an exaggerated point of honour, but in his heart regrets his Chambord manifesto, and that, if he is unwilling to yield in advance, in order not to buy the throne at the price of a withdrawal, which he would thereby inflict on himself, he will oppose no resistance to the wishes of France if expressed in proper form,"¹

¹ As to the causes which brought about the publication of the manifesto of July 5th, 1871, relating to the white flag, see a curious letter from M. K. de Monti, one of the Comte de Chambord's secretaries to the Yieomte de Maquille, dated from Nantes, Febuiai 7th, 1872, published by the Marquis de Drcux-Brfoe in his *Notes et Souvenirs* (4th edition, p. 387). M. de Dreux-

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The Comte de Falloux replied : " But this is a vicious circle; the Prince thinks he cannot give way with dignity until he has been called back to France ; now he will not be recalled without having yielded, or, at least, without having given, in one form or another, a pledge that he would not return only to stir, the day after his return, a conflict with the whole nation. How did you get out of that ? " " We did not get out of it," replied the Due de Broglie: " we are working to get out. . . ."

The Comte de Falloux left Versailles reassured as to the uprightness and wisdom of the Due de Broglie, but not free from pro-occupation on the subject of the fresh efforts which seemed already to be necessary even after the visit paid by the Comte de Paris.

From all sides the growth of opposition was felt. The country, which knew little of all this labour,

Krcze" accompanies this letter with a note in which he alleges that the " propagator in Anjoii " of the " imprudent words " which might compromise the Prince, and cause the Comte de Paris to believe that the question of the flag was settled in favour of the tricolor, was no other than the Comte de Falloux (p. 392). It was then that the Comte de Chambord declared himself and settled the question of the flag which he " had reserved for forty-one years of exile, and reckoned on reserving still."

An anecdote borrowed from the *Memoires* of Mmo.de la Feronnays confirms the fact that the Comte de Chambord had come to no decision before the manifesto of July 5th, 1871. At the time of the February revolution, the Comte de la Feronnays took to Fyohsdorf a lieutenant-general's uniform, which he packed up himself with the greatest secrecy. He said to his wife : " You see, my dear, that H.H. will accept the flag which France brings him, for, in order to preserve his liberty, he has never worn a cockade on his hats nor on his clothes " (p. 88).

See also on this point: Comte de Falloux, vol. ii. p. 57 ; Henri de Pene, *Henry de France*, p. 346.

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and had no understanding of this strife of words in connection with doctrines and emblems which appeared to it to be obsolete, continued to give crushing majorities to Republican candidates. Monarchist candidates were reduced to preserving silence about their opinions and hiding their flag.

At the ordinary sessions of the General Councils the presidency was given to Republicans in forty-three Departments. The most optimistic declared, like M. Chesnelong, in a letter to M. de Meaux, dated September nth, that public opinion "is reserving itself without opposing," and that "the greater number will be resigned to the monarchy." It was hoped, as was further said, that by reason of the recent events of the Commune, a "day" was not to be feared.

In the Assembly nothing was less certain than a favourable vote. The Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, after the sitting of the Permanent Committee on August 25th, in an improvised conference with his colleagues of the Right and Right Centre, said "that it was necessary that the Comte de Chambord should make his intentions known, in order that men might learn before the opening of the next session, whether the monarchy was possible or not."¹

This was taking a high line with respect to the "King." But were all agreed fundamentally?

Means were sought to get out of the difficulty. Somebody had an idea : to beg Mgr. Pie to constitute himself the "advocate of the tricolor" with the Comte de Chambord. Mgr. Pie gave in answer the opposite advice, and accompanied it with a bundle of good reasons : "I neither can nor ought to make

¹ E. Daudet, p. 84.

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myself the intermediary in what you communicate to me. . . . The tricolor flag is irremediably revolutionary. *It signifies popular sovereignty or it signifies nothing.* In so far as it is both a political and military flag it is essentially and logically Napoleonic, and it was only with the dictatorial government that it became relatively, and very precariously, Conservative. For the Bourbon Princes, whether of the elder or younger branch, it will again produce, what it produced in 1830, and what it could not conjure away in 1848 ; and as the opposition is now very much more developed than at that time, the system of compromise and false parliamentary equilibrium which it symbolises will bring their power to an overthrow much more rapidly than in the past.

"For my part I think that none of us has any right to demand of the King, resigned though he may be to any sacrifice in order to get us out of the abyss, that he should fling himself into a stream in which he is certain to drown himself and ourselves with him. It is too much to ask our rescuer to be so good as to tie to his neck the stone which has dragged the best swimmers to the bottom of the water. If God wills to save France, He will inspire her with better resolutions. If not, she will perish, a victim to her foolish antipathies," *

This thesis was directly opposed to that maintained at the same period by the Liberal Bishop, Mgr. Dupanloup. The latter prudently stood aloof from the negotiations; but he worked beneath the surface, with indefatigable ardour, stirring the drowsy, heating the lukewarm, and not losing

¹ Mgr. Baunard, vol. ii. p. 506.

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the habit of treating loftily the mediocre intellect of the Prince whom his indulgent zeal wished to raise to the throne.

" We must restore the monarchy without delay," wrote Mgr. Dupanloup, on September 15th, to M. A. Costade Beauregard, a deputy, " otherwise the fusion so happily accomplished will have the appearance of having missed its mark. . . . They will be able to say to us : ' You are at last united, and you cannot do anything !'" And the Bishop added:¹¹ There is only one difficulty left. The Comte de Chambord alone can solve it. Placed at the foot of the throne, a Christian as he is, his responsibility cannot fail to appear to him and to enlighten him. If he can persuade the army, everything is said, there will be no more difficulty. If he cannot do so, nothing will be done, and France will perish. And the most monarchical Assembly in the world will have worked only for the profit of demagogues. The best friends of the Prince should think seriously of this before God." *

Thus from both sides were the worst catastrophes prognosticated for France.

This striking antagonism between the two schools did not result only from a divergence upon principles and the point of honour ; there was an equal difference of opinion as to political opportunity. The Comte de Chambord himself by no means overlooked considerations of this order. He said : " If all that is wanted is a makeshift monarchy, destined to legalise the revolutionary currents and to form a temporary dyke against them which the next generation will pull down, then it is useless to call

¹ Abbe Lagrange, vol. iii. p. 286.

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me. I am fully aware that I hold unpopular principles, but these principles are my strength, the reason for my being, and I cannot, by the nature of the case, make terms with what I believe to be the error, the cause of disorder in France." *

He at any rate cherished no illusions. Returning with his system, without ambiguity, without constraint, without a riot, hailed by the parliaments, by the nation, he would be a force, Salvation, as was said in his circle. If not, what was he ? Nothing ! nothing "but a stout man with a limp" ! And this phrase came from this same Prince, who passed judgment on himself with that rough, distrustful insight which he applied to others.

Hence an obstinacy which came in fact from an accurate view of realities and responsibilities.

How was this bundle of thorns to be grasped ? How was this inflexible will to be bent, armed as it was with good reasons, and supported by a disillusioned judgment ? On the other hand, how could the parliamentarians and fusionists be denied, whose excitement, fed by meetings, correspondence, and eager confidences, increased as they neared the goal ?

The initiative was again taken by the Government. M. Ernoul, Keeper of the Seals, belonged to that class of partisans of royalty who were originally brought to the monarchical faith by their religious convictions. As a confidential friend of Mgr. Pie, he had special access to the Comte de Chambord. Along with M. de la Bouillerie, he represented the Legitimist Right in the Cabinet. There was much talk of his talents; he was proclaimed the equal of a Berryer, he was believed to be

¹ E. Daudet, p. 8.

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intended for a great part. The Due de Broglie had no reason to mistrust him. Without openly taking part in the proceeding, the Head of the Cabinet left to his colleague the responsibility of making a fresh reconnaissance in the Frohsdorf quarter, and, if possible, of risking a first assault.

This line of action was a little different from the method upheld by the Comte de Paris, of "not colliding with the obstacle." But, as the result of his conversations with M. de Falloux, the Due de Broglie thought it necessary to act and to clear his conscience.

M. Ernoul then begged two of his friends, MM. Merveilleux du Vignaux and the Comte de Sugny, to visit the Comte de Chambord, authorising them to make known to the Prince in friendly fashion "positive realities" and the views of the Government.

The two secret ambassadors arrived, furnished with a very complete programme, in which all the questions of constitutional law, parliamentary and others, were written down, and positive guarantees were taken in anticipation against the supposed over-retrograde tendencies of the Prince and his circle. M. Ernoul especially asked for a solid foundation and for means *to resist the idea, now ready to crop up, of prolonging the provisional government.* Here, then, was a summons in full proportions, with a shade of intimidation.

The Comte de Chambord received the two envoys together on September 15th, then each of them separately on the 16th. Before this last audience M. de Blacas had communicated to them the following note forwarded to M. Ernoul on the 13th :—

The Comte de Chambord is surprised to have to return to what

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he has so often said on the question of absolute power. All his declarations for the last thirty years have been one and the same protest against that form of government. He cannot forget that the traditional monarchy is an essentially moderate monarchy. Under this system, the Sovereign exercises authority by appealing to the help of two Chambers, one of which is appointed by him according to fixed categories, and the other is appointed by the nation according to the form of suffrage prescribed by laws. Under such a system, there can be no room for arbitrary or despotic power.

A very large number of plans for a constitution are daily submitted to the Comte de Chambord. It will be understood that he cannot enter into the examination of these different plans, none of their authors possessing a mandate or qualifications to treat singly with him on these grave matters. If, as he firmly hopes, the Conservative majority is willing to give satisfaction to the wishes of the country by the restoration of the traditional monarchy, the Comte de Chambord thinks that the Assembly should confine itself to proclaiming him purely and simply, following this proclamation by the appointment of a Committee of thirty or fifty members requested to pursue, in concert with the King, the study of Constitutional questions and organic laws.

As to the question of the flag which passions of diverse origin have sought to revive in recent days, the Comte de Chambord on his entry to France reserves to himself the power to deal with it himself directly with the army. He is confident of obtaining a solution compatible with his honour, and does not think he should have recourse in this connection to any other intermediary. . . .*

This note having been sent with a letter of enclosure from M. de Blacas to M. Ernoul, saying that it was the " innermost and ultimate opinion " of the Prince, there was no impropriety in listening to the mandates of the Keeper of the Seals.

During the conversation, in which the Comte de Chambord did no more than paraphrase his note, the question of the flag was opened. M. Mer-

¹ Ch. Merveilleux du Vignaux, *Un peu d'histoire d propos d'un nom, Ernoul*, p. 87.

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veilleux du Vignaux drew the attention of the Prince to the material difficulty and the grave risk that there would be in calling the Army to deliberate at the moment of the Restoration, when the tricolor flag would perhaps be in the hands of an insurrection.

The Comte de Chambord interrupted him. "If the white flag were rejected, I SHOULD COME BACK HERE," he said, almost beneath his breath. M. Merveilleux du Vignaux relates "that he protested with sorrowful respect," and that the Comte de Chambord *preserved silence* before this protest, but immediately resumed: "If the question were submitted to the Assembly, would M. Ernoul defend the white flag at the tribune?" "I believe so, supposing the King on his return to France should impose this task on M. Ernoul," replied M. Merveilleux du Vignaux, happy to see the emergence of the possibility of a respite. "But," added he, "before the Assembly a failure would be certain; and if M. Ernoul could believe in success, he would not think without fear of the consequences of this act, which would put the tricolor in the hands of insurrection."

In the end, the envoy of the Keeper of the Seals reminded the Prince of the letter which he had addressed to the Due de Nemours in 1857 in relation to the flag: "Far from France and without France we cannot arrange for her," and told him that his "striking and happy" formula might be placed in the hands of M. Ernoul.

"The Prince replied gently, but in a firm voice," says M. Merveilleux du Vignaux: "I had not at that time written my manifesto."¹

¹ Merveilleux du Vignaux, p. 92.

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In the course of the conversation the " King " had thought it incumbent on him to make an allusion to the question of personal appointments and to calm the anxieties spread abroad on the subject of his circle. " No one of my friends is ignorant of this, and you will repeat it if necessary, that, if I am to return to France, they will be the last of whom I shall think, "

It might have been thought that the Comte de Chambord was weakening. He consented to no longer demanding that the white flag should be adopted before his return to France; but at the same time he allowed a glimpse of a new eventuality; if, later on, the white flag were not accepted by the Assembly and the nation, the King would again take the road to exile.

Men readily believe what they desire; optimism again predominated in the circles in which this occult labour was being pursued. These feelings were strengthened on reading a fresh letter from the Comte de Chambord, a letter written under the impressions of the visit which he had just received, in which the Prince protested vigorously against the opinion which there was an effort to spread, on the subject of his absolutist and reactionary sentiments.

He addressed it to Vicomte de Rodez-Benavent, deputy for Herault, who had pointed out to him the advantage that was taken in the provinces of these rumours against the monarchical cause:—

The sentiment which one feels, my dear Vicomte, on reading the details which you give me on the revolutionary propaganda in your province, is a sentiment of sadness ; one could not descend lower to find arms against us and nothing is less worthy of the French spirit.

To be reduced in 1873 to call up the phantom of tithes,

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feudal rights, religious intolerance, persecution against our dispersed brothers ; what more shall I say ? Of war madly undertaken under impossible conditions, of the government of priests, of the predominance of the privileged classes ! You will admit that one cannot reply seriously to such trivialities. Are there any lies to which bad faith fails to have recourse, where there is a chance of exploiting public credulity ? I know very well that it is not always easy to preserve one's coolness in the presence of such manoeuvres ; but count on the common sense of our intelligent populations to do justice to such follies. Above all, apply yourself to appealing to the devotion of all honest folk on the ground of social conciliation. You know that I am not a party, and that I do not want to come back to reign through a party ; I need the help of all, and all need me. . . .

The letter ended with a somewhat vague allusion to " the reconciliation " accomplished in the House of France and to those who sought to disfigure the nature of that great act.

On weighing everything well, it was thought that a further step could be taken.

Meeting of
the Per-
manent
Committee,
September
25th On September 25th, at three o'clock, about sixty deputies of the Right, among whom were the members of the Permanent Committee, met in the Budget room at Versailles under the presidency of the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier. The latter spoke: he said that the hour had come for a declaration of opinions : he rapidly set forth the position in which things were, so far as the chances of an immediate restoration of the monarchy were concerned. He asked the members of the Right to make their intentions known. As for himself, speaking in the name of the Right Centre, his view was that **the** only monarchy to which he **could** give his **support** was " the tricolor monarchy/" **Addressing the friends of the Comte de Chambord, he concluded :**

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" You must make the Prince accept this, because France would accept no other."

The Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier was known as being closely connected with the Orleans Princes, and especially with the Due d'Aumale. He is a man of ardent, open mind, warm heart, vehement speech. By family tradition, by personal tendencies, by a spontaneous inclination of his nature, he leans towards liberal solutions. He loved light, wordy battles, the sharp clash of ideas and phrases. He flings himself forward, and sometimes allows himself to be carried away by his imagination, which is lively, and his eloquence, which is great. His energetic attitude with reference to Bonapartism had kept him out of the Ministry, where a place had been marked for him. But his position was so much the higher because it was independent. In parliament his influence was great. Alone, perhaps, he would have carried hearts and minds at a decisive moment. The confidence which he enjoyed with the Princes of Orleans assured a special authority and emphasis to his interventions, in themselves so delightful.

His words had their usual effect upon his colleagues of the Right. The most faithful friends of the Comte de Chambord, the Comte de Maille, the Baron de Jouvenel, warmly approved.

M. de Carayon-Latour rose with tears in his eyes, and he, too, asserted the necessity of union. " His life," said he, " had hitherto been devoted to the service of the Comte de Chambord ; he was now ready to give it also for the Comte de Paris and his son, the young Duke of Orleans, the hope of the monarchy "

When emotion had subsided, the Due. de la

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Rochefoucauld-Bisaccia asked the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier to substitute for the expression " tricolor monarchy " that of " monarchy of the tricolor flag."

Resuming the debate, another Duke, no less Orleanist than Pasquier, and perhaps more politic, the Due Decazes, expressed the view that the meeting was not qualified to pass a final resolution ; it was necessary to convoke, at no long interval, a conference of the executive of the four groups of the majority, who would pass the resolutions demanded by circumstances. This proposal was unanimously adopted. It was decided to summon this new meeting for the 4th of October.

The optimistic impression grew stronger. The Comte de Paris, while preserving a trace of uneasiness, allowed himself to be carried along with the movement of confidence which was in process of formation. He wrote some days later, October 3rd: " Every day develops the excellent results of your meeting of the 25th, and the language of the Legitimists strengthens them. They are anxious because they fear that some unhappy inspiration may come and spoil everything ; but they are emboldened every day to speak louder, as reason and policy counsel them. They seek for a procedure to remove the great obstacle. Doubtless the game is a big one and full of risk ; but the dangers would be no less in playing it less frankly than does the Right Centre, and I am convinced that it will gather the fruits of this frankness, even in the case of a failure, in which I prefer no longer to believe.

" The Comte de Chambord's letter is excellent, not only in substance but in tone, and we can only applaud the manner in which he characterises the reconciliation of August 5th. That word, of such

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grave import in his mouth, is the very one which it was proper to address, not only to us, but to the constitutional monarchists who have ideas in common with us." *

Meanwhile, the most prudent had their doubts. They would have wished that the Comte de Chambord should be brought to declare himself on the question of the flag. In deference to the advice of M. de Falloux, there was a desire to "break the vicious circle." The Due de Broglie had felt inclined to occasion the intervention, either of the President of the Republic or of the National Assembly: "I communicated my idea," he says, "to M. Buffet, who seemed to me not disinclined to share it, *of course after a discussion of the means of execution!*"

This reservation was simply a refusal. We know the real sentiments of M. Buffet as to the Comte de Chambord and the political campaign then in progress. In August, 1873, at a dinner with M. Aubry, deputy for the Vosges, the latter was telling the President of the National Assembly the story of his recent visit to Frohsdorf and incidentally protested against "those venomous epigrams, by which disappointed ambitions in academic drawing-rooms sought to blacken the Frohsdorf Prince, his mother, his wife, and his private life," then concluded by saying that the National Assembly was about to restore the monarchy, as it had received the mandate to do so. "President Buffet replied, substantially, that it was not sufficient for the representatives of the people to decide on the restoration of a government, but that it was necessary that the government should be accept-

¹ Private paper, unpublished.

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able and lasting; this was not the case," he said, " with a political system represented by a prince who had been an exile for forty years, and had become a stranger to modern needs, and unknown to the masses,"*

The Marshal also held aloof. His opinion on the flag, in harmony with that of the heads of the Army chiefs, was well known ; he made no difficulties about expressing it loudly enough, in terms of familiar energy. He agreed that the Prince should be informed of the situation ; but these were affairs for the parliament to settle: he was not called upon to interfere.²

However, in order to leave no doubt as to his intentions, the Marshal thought it his duty towards the end of September to send his aide-de-camp, the Marquis d'Abzac, to the Comte de Blacas, with orders " to tell the latter that if the tricolor flag, to which the army clung, were maintained, he would raise no difficulty as to the re-establishment of the monarchy; but that if there were a question of the white flag, he should consider it his duty to act otherwise, all the information received from the officers giving him the conviction that the suppression of the tricolor flag would constitute a great danger, and might bring about the disunion of the Army, which alone maintained order and the peace of society."^{1, 3}

At heart the President and the Due de Broglie were of the same opinion—these are the words of the Due de Broglie himself—that the Marshal, the Head of the army, being responsible for the

¹ *Souvenirs inedits*, de Maurice d' Aubray, p. 10.

² Vicomte de Meaux, *Correspondant* of June 10, 1899, p. 839.

³ Marquis de Dampierre, p. 234.

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public peace, could not indefinitely accept evasive answers and an equivocal situation.¹

So it was decided to entrust a fresh mission to a member of the majority. This time M. Combier, deputy for the Ardeche, a former pupil of the Polytechnic School, was chosen, "very firm on his formulas," says M. de Falloux. He was to go to Frohsdorf, take an answer from M. Ernoul, Keeper of the Seals, to the note of September 12th, and insist on demanding a modification in the phrase on the flag.

M. Combier made speed. He arrived at Frohsdorf on the 29th, and found himself there at the same time as the Due de Chartres. This was awkward. In the middle of the satisfaction caused by the visit of the young and brilliant officer, whose conduct during the war had made so great an impression, the Comte de Chambord, whose birthday was being celebrated also on the same date, only granted a somewhat absent attention to the mandatory of M. Ernoul.² In a very short audience, M. Combier handed to the Prince the note from the Keeper of the Seals, but he was obliged to return to Paris without having obtained the definite answer which

¹ Comte de Falloux, t. ii. p. 557.

² It certainly seems that the Comte de Paris was not aware of M. Combier's mission, for he writes, in his letter of October 3rd to M. d'Haussonville: "I have a letter from my brother, much pleased with his visit to Frohsdorf. He found M. Combier, who had evidently come to report on the conference of the 29th, at which he was present. The Comte de Chambord told my brother that he was *much phased with the news which M. Combier brought him* (words underlined in the text). My brother's impression was excellent, especially of the manner in which they spoke to him of the role of the Assembly." (Unpublished paper.)

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was impatiently expected. " It is an acceptance rather than a refusal," said M. de Falloux ; " but it is not definitely either."

M. Combiér returned to Paris on October 3rd. The meeting was fixed for the 4th. No progress had been made.

From this time, the feelings of the Due de Broglie, on the subject of the attempt at Restoration, became fixed. Having already long felt serious doubts as to its success, he now lost all confidence. Burdened with grave responsibilities, anxious to assure, or at least to reserve, the future, no longer hoping to overcome what M. Merveilleux du Vignaux calls " the easily aroused mistrust of the Comte de Chambord," he prepared for retreat by again bringing forward through his inspired newspapers " the expedient of the prolongation of Marshal MacMahon's powers."

On August 24th, 1873, at the banquet of the General Council of the Eure, he had already uttered these significant words : " Let us foregather round the venerated name of Marshal MacMahon; he is the natural chief of honest men ; and if, in concert with him, we assure the safety of France, we shall have brought to light a great moral lesson, one which is more necessary in times of revolution than at any other period: it is, that in private life as in public life, the truest, highest policy consists of honour and virtue."

" We ought to anticipate the obstinacy of which the Comte de Chambord has already given more than one proof," wrote the Due de Broglie to M. de Falloux about the same time. " We ought, on this hypothesis, to reserve a second solution which would prevent the complete confusion of the Conservative

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party. This combination," he added, " would be a temporary, but sufficiently prolonged power which we would entrust to the Marshal. . . " ¹

¹ Comte de Falloux, vol. ii. p. 568.

CHAPTER IV

THE SALZBURG INTERVIEW

- I.—The meeting of October 4th—Constitution of the Committee of Nine—The Quai d'Orsay dinner—First meeting of the Committee of Nine—The Army and the Tricolor—M. Chesnelong deputed by the Committee to visit the Comte de Chambord.
- II.—The parties and the Restoration—The elections of October 12th—The Left organises opposition.
- III.—M. Chesnelong, at Salzburg—His three interviews with the Comte de Chambord—The Salzburg Declarations.

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Meeting of
October 4th,
1873 **T**HE meeting fixed for October 4th took place at the house of M. Maurice Aubry, 1, Avenue d'Antin; It was composed of the executives of the four monarchist groups, Extreme Right, Right, Changarnier adherents, and Right Centre.

Here the sense of unity was shown to be less solid than on September 25th. "The emotion felt by all was visible/" reports M. de Dampierre: "every one measured his words, and every one felt the responsibility which rested on him."

General Changarnier presided. He recommended "discreet concert before the struggle, and discipline during the battle"; then, without opening the debate, he suggested the appointment of a committee to prepare the plan of campaign. The old soldier naturally used military language.

After the members of each group had exchanged

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their views in an undertone, a somewhat confused debate arose on the President's motion. It was easy to discern a divergence of views between the friends of the Princes of Orleans and those of the Comte de Chambord. The latter did not wish for a Committee. M. de la Rochette, president of the Extreme Right, declared that in his opinion it was necessary to postpone "alike any preparation for the struggle and any debate on fundamental principles."

But the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier knew what he wanted. He spoke with vigour as he had done on September 25th. "Where are we," he asked, "on the question of the flag? It would be of importance to know this. As for us—I say it with perfect frankness—on every other point, we will lend ourselves to any honourable agreement, but, on this point, we \$0 not impose anything on the Prince, we impose on ourselves, or rather the country imposes on us, a condition *sine qua non*. It must be understood above everything and beforehand that the tricolor flag will be maintained." And the Duke, addressing his colleagues of the Right, ended as follows: "Are we agreed? If there is any opposition, I beg you to proclaim it here and to-day; for the worst of all would be to unite in a false agreement which would only serve to prepare and aggravate the rupture of to-morrow."

The "battle" was engaged and the Right Centre was at once putting forward its ultimatum. The word "ultimatum" was uttered. At this moment, there intervened in the debate an excellent man, who had been following the windings of the crisis with anxiety, and had for some time been taking great pains to find a solution; this was M. Chesnelong, deputy for the Basses-Pyrenees.

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Formerly a merchant in hams and cloth, M. Chesnelong was a royalist of somewhat recent date. He had been elected a deputy to the Corps Legislatif in 1865, and, according to his own expression " he had given loyal support to the Empire" ; as he further said, he was " before everything a Catholic, devoted to the Church and to France." He was wanting neither in ardour, imagination, nor ability. His strong point was dialectic; honestly reeling off well-considered arguments, he developed in copious periods what he called " points of view," sought for " grounds," analysed " elements " ; such was his style. M. Chesnelong was a man of active mind, a born peace-maker. When he had understood the distress of the royalist party, the emotion which seized him was like the call of his natural vocation.

In the first days of September he had poured forth his feelings in a long letter to M. de Carayon-Latour. He had written equally freely to the Vicomte de Meaux. To both of these, perhaps to others, he told his sorrows, his agonies, examining all the hypotheses, always ending with one and the same conclusion, which he expressed in these terms: " To find a means of hoisting the white flag without repudiating the tricolor flag, and, in grand and generous terms, to indicate the national signification of this co-existence or alliance, in such a way that the Revolution find no profit in it, and the dignity of the King and that of France may both be united and safeguarded:" He added, in good faith, " That would indeed be an act of salvation ! " ¹

At the meeting of October 4th, when M. Chesne-

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, *La campagne Monarchique*, p. 50.

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long had heard the words uttered by the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, he felt that his hour was come : he threw himself into the breach. " Behind us," said he, " as behind the country, the bridges are broken . . . For the country, it is the harbour or the abyss : for the Assembly, it is its honour in the face of history or its condemnation." He refused to accept one " ultimatum " or the other; he set forth that success depended on two conditions : the first, " to group an assured majority on a well chosen ground " ; the second, " to obtain from the King that he should place himself on this ground " ; and, by a series of arguments somewhat long to repeat, he arrived at establishing that " the ground of understanding " could not be defined in a full meeting, and that it was proper to appoint a Committee charged to look for it. " On both sides opposing reservations were mutually accepted," and the Committee was nominated on the intervention of M. Chesnelong.

M. de Larcy, in the name of the friends of the Comte de Chambord, did not hide his opinion. This was an engine of war which was being forged against Legitimism. He uttered the following phrase, full of reminiscence and menace: " If the meeting intends to begin 1830 over again, it is useless to appoint a Committee." ¹

The Committee was composed of
The Committee of Nine MM. d'Audiffret-Pasquier and Callet
for the Right Centre, Tarteron and
Combiér for the Extreme Right, de Larcy and
Banignon for the Moderate Right, Daru and
Chesnelong for the Changarnier group. General

¹ Aubry, p. 21. Unpublished memoirs.

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Changarnier himself was to preside. This was the famous Committee of Nine.

By constituting this Committee the groups of the Right opened the engagement. The Comte de Paris, who up to now had hesitated as to the best line to follow, whether to "make a frontal attack," or to turn the obstacle, felt all the gravity of the decision. He still hoped that it would be possible to treat with the parliamentary Legitimists without being obliged to apply to the Comte de Chambord. He wrote from Arc-en-Barrois on October 6th, approving what had been done at the conference held in M. Aubry's house: "You know that I have always dissuaded my friends from addressing themselves directly to the Comte de Chambord in order to obtain concessions from him. I think we must continue to avoid bringing him personally on the scene, because for him the best way to-day of accepting the tricolor flag is perhaps to allow his hand to be forced some day by his friends. . . . It was necessary to say what was said here; it was necessary to say it in the presence of your colleagues of the Moderate Right; they understood it; there has been no friction: and, by maintaining your ground, you have arrived at the nomination of a committee in the bosom of which it will be possible to speak more at one's ease. . . . I continue to believe that the Moderate Right can exercise the most decisive influence in the way of concessions. . . . I think therefore that, in spite of, appearances, your meeting has been able to advance matters."¹

¹ Private paper, unpublished.

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We see that, in spite of everything, the Comte de Paris preserved some misgivings at the moment when events were hurrying on at the call of M. Chesnelong.

On the part of the Legitimists there was still more anxiety. All the dangers of the policy which consisted in "putting the King at the foot of the throne" were understood. It was not thought that the Comte de Chambord would let his hand be forced so easily.

It is to be remarked that, on one side, MM. Lucien Brun, de Carayon-Latour, and de Cazenove de Pradine, "appointed by the Comte de Chambord to be the interpreters of his opinions and intentions in the National Assembly," held aloof from the negotiations, and that, on the other side, the Extreme Right, differing in this from the other groups, had not secured representation by its leaders on this Committee. The shrewdest were able to conclude from this, according to the observation of the Comte de Meaux, that if these parliamentary negotiations were not formally condemned by the Prince, neither were they favourably welcomed.

The Marquis de Dreux-Breze said to a member of the National Assembly : " For me there is neither motive nor room for negotiations. There cannot be a question of conditions, always hateful, and moreover very specially inopportune at the present moment. The duty of the Assembly is purely and simply to proclaim the Comte de Chambord King of France under the title of Henri V." ¹

In his *Notes et Souvenirs*, the same Marquis de Dreux-Breze reveals the opinion of the " circle "

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 101.

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upon the Committee itself: "The whole of this proceeding," says he, "had the aim of making the leaders of the Right, so called moderate, and of the Right Centre, masters of the coming situation. . . . Around the Permanent Committee, whose existence facilitated their meetings, were grouped the deputies, who, in spite of the efforts of the Right properly so-called, wished to pursue their separate campaign. From these often confused meetings, . . . the Committee of Nine proceeded, a committee towards which all the asserted claims converged, from which all the proposals to be submitted to His Highness would start." ¹

Opinion at Frohsdorf was notoriously hostile to the parliamentarians, to those who under the guidance of M. de Falloux were drawing up a whole programme preparatory to the depreciation of the King of France as sovereign.

Precisely at this moment M. de Falloux
The Quai
d'Orsay
dinner returned upon the stage. In his presence, and in some degree under his presidency, immediately after the meeting of the Rights, a dinner was held at the Cafe of the Quai d'Orsay on October 4th, at which MM. de Cumont, de Meaux, Baragnon and Chesnelong were present; here they endeavoured to find a conciliatory formula which could be adopted by the Committee of Nine. The point was to bind the King down closely on the question of the flag. Use was made of a last communication, which the Prince had made after the visit of M. Combier, and which, being addressed to M. Ernoul, had arrived in Paris late, on the very

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 104.

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evening of the meeting. This communication contained the following phrase : " As to the question of the flag, His Highness, on his return to France, reserves the reopening of the subject, *feeling sure of obtaining from his representatives a solution compatible with his honour.*" The little assemblage thought they would not be travelling too far from the royal word by translating it into this other phrase which would be brought as a final formula of agreement before the Committee of Nine: " The tricolor flag is maintained. It can be modified *only by the agreement of the King and the Assembly*"

M. Chesnelong undertook to submit this formula to the next meeting of the Committee of Nine.

M. Chesnelong was full of hope. He thought that he owed it to himself to pursue the mandate of conciliation which events imposed on him. Sufficiently informed as to the attitude of his colleagues, he thought it necessary to inquire into the state of mind of the Prince. He betook himself to M. de la Bouillerie and M. Ernoul. What exactly was the result of the missions fulfilled by MM. Merveilleux de Vignaux and de Sugny, then by M. Combier ?

M. de la Bouillerie said nothing. M. Ernoul communicated to M. Chesnelong the text of the note of September 12th, modified by that of October 2nd on the point relating to the flag : " He neither imparted to me," says M. Chesnelong, " the considerations which he had submitted to the Comte de Chambord, nor what the Prince had himself said to our honoured colleagues in the audiences which he had granted them."

Thus M, Chesnelong did not know that **the**

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" solution " of which the Comte de Chambord spoke was to place the Assembly under the alternative of the adoption of the white flag, or the return of the King to exile. M. Ernoul entrenched himself behind the confidential character of the letters of M. de Blacas. On the other hand, the Due de Broglie said later to M. de Meaux : " I certainly thought what was reported to us from the Comte de Chambord very insufficient, but I believed that he wished to have his hand forced." *

First Meeting of the Committee of Nine The Committee of Nine held its first meeting on Monday, the 6th, at the house of General Changarnier. The decisive phase had come. To maintain the tricolor flag, to put the King face to face with an irrevocable decision, to determine a way in which to bring to his knowledge the attitudes of the parliamentary groups which would have to declare themselves on the re-establishment of royalty, such was the plan of the day. Precaution was to consist in presenting as a concession, what really was a condition.

General Changarnier said, in opening the sitting: " On the constitutional question we are entirely agreed : we have nothing to do but to find formulas. On the question of the flag, on the contrary, there is as yet no agreement; we must work at that."

The General immediately added : " Nothing can be attempted successfully without being sure of the faithful, resolute, energetic help of the Army. I know the Army and its chiefs. If the army is made anxious as to its flag, it will not revolt; it is a well disciplined army. But it will be dissatisfied

¹ Vicomte de Meaux, p. 206.

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and will not give its devotion; several of its leaders will send in their resignation. Such are the facts." And he concluded: "As for myself, I would risk my head to place the Comte de Chambord on the throne, I am devoted to the Comte de Chambord up to that point; but not to the extent of sacrificing the tricolor flag."

The Comte Daru and the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier expressed themselves in the same sense. If the tricolor flag was not retained, the Right Centre would not vote for the monarchy.

But at this point an intervention occurred of a far more serious aspect :
The Army
and the
Tricolor
Flag "I have conversed on the question with Marshal MacMahon," said Due Pasquier. "Now the President has declared to me, that, if the National Assembly, in the exercise of its constituent right, re-establishes the monarchy, he will not fail in the duty of making its decision respected ; at the same time he does not believe that he can answer for the public peace if the question of the flag is not settled beforehand in favour of the tricolor; apart from that condition he will be obliged to withdraw his help, and to free his own responsibility, that is to say, to resign."

Due Pasquier added that the Marshal had authorised him to make this communication to the Committee confidentially in his name. He further declared that he had that morning received from the Secretary to the Presidency a letter which he held in his hands, and which gave him confirmation of the resolution adopted by the Head of the Government, at the same time that it authorised him afresh to convey it, confidentially, to the knowledge of the Committee. The Marshal ex-

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pressed his opinion in the following terms : " If the white flag were unfurled opposite to the tricolor, if the white flag floated from one window and the tricolor from another, the chassepots would go off by themselves, and I could no longer answer **for** order in the streets or discipline in the army."¹

After this communication, which " deeply moved the delegates of the three Rights," the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier concluded: "I demand that a clause worded thus: ' The tricolor flag is retained,' be inserted in the actual document which will re-establish the monarchy, and call the Comte de Chambord to the throne, in virtue of his hereditary right; I demand further that, before submitting the draft of this document to the National Assembly, certainty should be found for us that the clause on the flag is accepted by the Prince."

The venerable Baron de Larcy, with the touching emotion of a faithful servant of royalty, who suffers the sorrowful fate of seeing the harbour receding at the moment when he thought he had reached it, cried out : " I am overwhelmed with grief. The guarantee demanded by Due Pasquier, I wish I could give it; it has not been obtained so far as I know, and I cannot offer any certainty that it will be obtained."

The Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier held to his conclusions. He opposed to the principles spoken of by his colleagues, and not contradicted by himself, the necessity of facts : " Can we try the enterprise of the monarchy on a ground on which the country, dissatisfied, would not follow us, on which the Army, offended, would not support us, on which

¹ Marquis de Dampierre, p. 233.

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the Marshal who is in charge of the public peace and also bears responsibility for it, thinks it impossible to lend us his help, on which, lastly, the majority would fail us in the Assembly ? Can we ? That is the question such as it is put, not by myself, but by the force of circumstances."

Now was M. Chesnelong's turn. He spoke abundantly; in order to conciliate the anxieties of M. de Larcy, and the demands of M. d'Audiffret Pasquier, he ended by proposing the formula drawn up the evening before with M. de Falloux :

" The tricolor flag is retained. It can only be modified by the agreement of the King and the representatives of the nation."

This seemed a novelty. The Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier gave his adherence from a spirit of conciliation, and " from a movement of feeling." The meeting rallied to the views of M. Chesnelong.¹

It now remained to submit these resolutions to the Comte de Chambord. What was more natural than to have recourse to M. Chesnelong, the actual author, or at least editor responsible for the proposal ? The Comte Daru, who was in all the secrets, proposed him to the vote of his colleagues. Assent was unanimous. M. Chesnelong demurred, then accepted, demanding that MM. de Larcy and Lucien Brun should be joined with him.

M. de Larcy refused. M. Lucien Brun would not consent to become the delegate of a Committee of which he was not a member ; he did not, however, refuse to accompany M. Chesnelong on his journey. " I saw clearly that I should have to carry the burden alone," writes M. Chesnelong, despondently.

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, pp. 76-93.

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We may be surprised at the choice of the M. Chesnelong committee : M. Chesnelong was, in fact, as ^{sent to} Frohsdorf a negotiator, somewhat too inconsiderable and too much of a novice for so heavy a task. Those who occupied the front of the stage, the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, the Due Decazes, would have been better qualified to lay before the Comte de Chambord the duly weighed opinions of the majority. In the words of Cardinal Richelieu, " in great affairs, personages of great authority are necessary, in order that many may embark under their shadow." Was M. Chesnelong a personage of great authority? M. de Meaux says simply, " that M. Chesnelong displayed at one and the same time the obstinacy of the citizen who refuses to despair of his country, and the subtle tenacity of the man of business determined to bring to an end a necessary but thorny negotiation." ¹

Between "man of business" and "man of affairs " there is a shade of difference which assuredly did not escape this witty writer.

In the evening M. Chesnelong at once busied himself about obtaining an audience of the Prince. M. Lucien Brun undertook to put M. de Dreux-Breze, President of the " bureau " of the King at Paris, in possession of the facts of the situation, and to beg him to be so good as to receive the delegate of the Committee of Nine.

The Committee met yet again on the following day, the 7th. M. Chesnelong indicated to his colleagues the conditions under which he intended the accomplishment his errand. Everybody was agreed

¹ *Correspondent*, October 25, 1902, p. 206.

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as to the meaning of the declarations which would be made to the Prince, and also the stipulations, which the document calling Henri V to the throne should contain, " stipulations in no way intended as limits and precautions against the royal initiative, but simply to put the country on its guard against the libellous declamations of hostile parties,"

The Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier defined these stipulations as follows : " (i) The Constitutional laws, the proposing of which would be reserved to the Government of the King, should rest on the four bases which the Prince had at all times accepted and even proclaimed : executive power for the King ; legislative power exercised by the King and two Chambers ; the inviolability of the King and the responsibility of his Ministers; (2) the civil and religious liberties which constitute the public rights of Frenchmen would be maintained."

M. Chesnelong practically took with him in his portmanteau a charter and a flag."

" We separated in deep emotion," he says himself, "but, in spite of everything, full of hope, appointing our next meeting for Thursday, October 16th, after my return."

At the moment of departure he was furnished with all the *viatica*. First, a fresh declaration from the Marshal, transmitted by the Comte Daru : " I feel bound," said the Marshal, "to make known to the Committee my sentiments as Head of the Government. They are also my sentiments as a soldier. Never will I repudiate the tricolor. The Army, which I know well, holds the same views as myself." Secondly, a declaration from the Due de Broglie, received from him in person at a dinner

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given by M. Ernoul: " It would have been impossible to open the monarchical campaign on the grounds of the phrase transmitted to M. Ernoul in the King's name; but the formula of the Committee of Nine must be considered strictly and rigorously acceptable/¹ " We are content with it," he said to M. Chesnelong. " Try to get it' accepted by the King. If not, the enterprise will be doomed to a **fatal** collapse. The Marshal would not lend himself to it, no more should I. I wish for the monarchy very sincerely and very energetically : I am ready to risk on it my responsibility, my life, my honour, if the conditions are possible. But we have no right to risk the fortunes of the country in an attempt of which the defeat would be certain. I add that the meeting of the Assembly is close at hand, and that we must take a line within the next fortnight."

M. Chesnelong, loaded with these distinguished recommendations, was now only waiting for a word from Frohsdorf. But in that quarter no great haste was shown. " I feel the shudder of responsibility," he wrote to his family : " I have very great anxieties along with doubtful hopes."

On October 8th, M. Chesnelong saw the Marquis de Dreux-Breze, who made him the following communication : " His Highness is away for some ten days. I am not in the secret of the Prince's residence, and I shall not be able to tell you till next week where and on what day he will be able to receive you. For the rest, the Prince has said his last word concerning the flag. . . . "

M. Chesnelong objected that the Committee of Nine had adjourned to the 16th, that it was to render an account of its mandate in the meeting of

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the groups, already fixed for so early as the 18th, and that delaying the interview until the 20th might throw confusion into men's minds and discourage many good inclinations.

M. de Dreux-Br6ze promised to make every effort on his part to hasten the date of the interview. On the following day he advised M. Chesnelong through M. de la Bouillerie that on the 12th or 13th, at the latest, the day of audience would be fixed.

A few hours after this communication, M. Lucien Brun informed M. Chesnelong confidentially that the Prince was at Salzburg, and that he had summoned him there as well as his two friends, joint delegates from the Prince, MM. de Carayon-Latour and de Cazenove de Pradine. "I shall be at Salzburg on Sunday the 12th," said he. "Be ready to start that evening or Monday morning. M. de Dreux-Br6ze will receive on Sunday a telegram signed 'Noel,' which will commission him to tell you the day on which the Prince will be able to receive you,"

At last the telegram arrived. "I had been expecting the notice which I was to receive from hour to hour," says M. Chesnelong. "At seven o'clock in the evening, when I had ceased to count on it, M. de Dreux-Breze came himself to tell me that the telegram had that moment arrived, and that the Prince would receive me at Salzburg on Tuesday the 14th, at two o'clock in the afternoon. I barely had time to go to the Eastern station : an hour later I was on the road."

So the mandatory of the Committee of Nine, who had never seen the Comte de Chambord, who had never seen the Comte de Paris, who had never seen Marshal MacMahon, charged with the powers of

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the political group which had at its head the Due de Broglie, the Due d'Audiffret - Pasquier, and the Due Decazes, was about to intermediate between all these exalted personages. He bore to the descendant of Kings the words destined to assure the safety of France, and of the dynasty. The worthy man set out armed with his good will, his eloquence, and his faith.

II

While an understanding seemed to be growing between the groups of the Right, ^{Anxiety of the Left} anxiety increased in the groups of the Left. The Opposition began to organise.

M. Thiers had spent the holidays in Switzerland. He returned to Paris. On the Eastern frontier, at Nancy, at Belfort, he was welcomed with enthusiastic ovations. In these regions he was " the liberator of the territory " ; he again became, for all the man of 1830, the leader of the Liberal party; he was already considered as the founder of the Republic. By a rare favour of fortune, he saw his popularity increase with age, after the most strongly repressive Government known to France. Numberless addresses were sent to him. He had been invited to Luneville ; a festival which would have been the festival of the liberation was prepared in his honour. The whole of Eastern France would have come to hail him, The Government thought it expedient to forbid these manifestations.

In Paris, M. Thiers took in hand the management of the Republican campaign. He addressed

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to the Mayor of Nancy a letter dated September 29th, drawing the attention of the country to **the** danger of a Restoration threatening " all the rights of France, her civil, political and religious liberties, her flag, her social conditions and the principles of 1789, which had become those of the whole world."

M. Thiers openly allied himself with M. Gambetta, and grouped around him the Left Centre and the Republican Union. He occasioned important manifestations. MM. Alfred Andre, manager of the Bank of France, Cezanne, Sebert, declared that they could have accepted the monarchy with the Comte de Paris, but not with the Comte de Chambord. M. Drouin, a former President of the Tribunal of Commerce of the Seine, wrote that " he would vote for the Republic, and that he determined to do so after having taken the unanimous opinion of the highest commercial circles in Paris." *

Numerous General Councils and Chambers of Commerce submitted to the Government and President of the Republic the expression of their fears.

M. Gambetta spoke twice, at Perigueux on September 28th, on the occasion of the inauguration of a monument raised to General Daumesnil, and, on October 3rd, at the Chateau de la Borde, near Chatellerault, the house of M. Escarraguel. He appealed to the union of all Republicans, urged the middle classes to an alliance with the proletariat, and announced to the Conservatives that **the** " reaction " premeditated by some would **be the prelude and** preface to a most **terrible revolution.**"

¹ E. Daudet, p. 124.

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The Republican papers, fearing prosecution, **did** not reproduce these speeches. The *Sifole* alone published fragments of the Perigueux speech ; its sale in the public streets was forbidden in the whole area of the Department of the Seine.

The Bonapartists, in their turn, took part in the struggle. Some weeks before, on the occasion of the anniversary of August 15th, the Prince Imperial had delivered his first speech at Chislehurst. He had opposed theory to theory : " In exile and near the tomb of the Emperor," he said, " I find in my paternal inheritance the principle of national sovereignty and the flag which consecrates it."

On September 26th, 1873, the *Avenir National*, the organ of M. Portalis, who had taken the initiative in the Barodet candidature, published, under the heading " Compact of Alliance," a letter addressed to Prince Jerome Napoleon :—

"For a century, the flag of the Revolution alone has sheltered the genius, the glory, and the sorrows of France ; it is the flag which should lead us to a really democratic future. Let us be united against fatal enterprises, and let us thus form the holy alliance of patriots."

Prince Napoleon, who had been appointed President of the General Council of Corsica for the session of August 1873, had been in Paris for some time, claiming to be restored, as General of a division, to the registers of the army, from which his name had been struck off by General de Cissey on the suggestion of M. Thiers.¹ The Cabinet of May 24th having refused to do justice to his demand, and the Council of State having rejected the petition **which**

¹ General du Barail, vol. iii. p. 398.

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he had drawn up on this occasion, he was making reprisals.

He did not, besides, conceal the antipathy which he felt for the Comte de Chambord. "I tell you, you will have a bath of holy water," he said, laughing, to the Vicomte de la Gueronniere.

The unexpected manifestation of Prince Jerome caused chiefly surprise. The fraction of the Bonapartist party which obeyed M. Rouher and received its inspiration from Chislehurst, protested against the new departure of the "fallen Caesar." M. Paul de Cassagnac expressed himself in the *Pays* as follows : " Since yesterday, we have one Napoleon the less. Prince Jerome no longer exists for us, he is dead, and would that it had pleased God that he had really fallen with a bullet or a sword through his bosom, rather than that he should miserably trail the name of the dynasty in the gutters of the Republic."

Republican
bye elections

On October 12th, four bye-elections took place, in the Nièvre, Haute-Garonne, Loire and Puy-de-Dôme. This was the first occasion on which universal suffrage had been consulted since the 24th of May. The Government had very timorously decided to convoke the electors, since after this election, thirteen Departments had still to elect one or more representatives. The Government candidates had not affirmed monarchical opinions on any point; they had limited themselves to vague declarations of a Conservative character. The Republicans, on the contrary, had unfurled their colours everywhere, and very loftily.

Now, in the four Departments consulted, four Republicans were elected with imposing majorities.

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The Loire and Puy-de-D6me elected two moderate Republicans, MM. Reymond and Girod-Pouzol, the Nièvre a Radical candidate, M. Turigny, whose election had been invalidated on a previous occasion ; lastly, the Haute-Garonne sent to the Assembly by 48,000 votes against 20,000 given to his Bonapartist rival, M. Ch. de Remusat, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, a personal friend of M. Thiers, who had been beaten on the 27th of the preceding April by M. Barodet, in Paris.

It was therefore not the compromises and complacency of M. Thiers towards the Radical party which determined the Republican movement. The Cabinet of May 25th, in spite of all its efforts, effected no change in the attitude of the electors, and was not successful in "teaching the country how to walk."

Everywhere, but especially in country districts, the Restoration was dreaded. Skilful party tactics threatened the peasants with a return to the *ancien regime* and feudalism. Epinal prints, representing in anticipation the unhappy fate of the peasant under the restored *ancien regime* were spread abroad in all directions. Pamphlets were distributed in the smallest hamlets. Newspapers were multiplying. It is related that the inhabitants of a village on the Loire penned up their animals one night under the conviction that Henri V, as a largesse on his joyous accession, would order a general raid upon cattle.¹ The peasants sold their harvest in haste, to escape the tithe. They wondered whether the mayors would not be replaced by the parish priests.²

¹ E. Daudet, p. 42.

² Marquis de Flers, p. 179.

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The deputies of the Left maintained constant communications with their constituents. A hot campaign brought groups and men together, who did not seem in any way fitted to understand each other. Then did the Republican party really discover its strength. Recollections of the common struggle consolidated it for a long time.

III

M. Chesnelong at Salzburg On Tuesday, October 14th, the mandatory of the Committee of Nine reached Salzburg. He was received at the station by MM. de Carayon-Latour, Lucien Brun, and de Cazenove de Pradine, who had been already sent for by the Prince. "Be of good courage!" they said to him: "his Highness is awaiting you with impatience, and will welcome you with favour."¹

"They took me to the Neubourg Hotel," relates M. Chesnelong, "where the Prince was staying in a separate building with the Comtesse de Chambord and all his suite. I had just entered the bedroom reserved for me, when they came to tell me that the Prince was ready to receive

¹ These gentlemen had been summoned by the Comte de Chambord, who had come from Frohsdorf to Salzburg, "to spare," as he had kindly said, "his friends half the journey." The journey was a merry one. Carayon was full of hope, he was convinced that the question would be settled on the day of the King's return by what he called the *plebiscite* of the windows, which he saw hung with white flags by a population in which logic and the sentiment for imperative decencies were not disturbed by parliamentary preoccupations." See *Souvenirs inedits* de M. de Vanssay.

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me. I hardly had time to shake off the dust of the journey when I was conducted to the room where the Comte de Chambord awaited me.

"He was alone, standing opposite the door. I bowed respectfully to him; I could not control an emotion which betrayed itself in spite of my efforts. He took me by the hand and said to me, kindly, 'I know who you are, and have long desired to know you. I am charmed to receive you under circumstances so solemn for our country. . . . Be therefore welcome. Sit down and let us talk of France.'" ⁱ

Then began a conversation concerning which grave misunderstandings arose in the sequel, and as to which we only have information from one of the parties concerned. The Comte de Chambord, it is true, kept a diary, in which he probably wrote down his own version. Lacking this document we can only depend on the accuracy of M. Chesnelong.

It was a day of overwhelming heat; black clouds rolled in the sky, and a storm which never burst could be heard rumbling in the distance. The Prince, although favourably impressed by M. Chesnelong's honest countenance, preserved a latent sense of irritation and mistrust. He had a foreboding that, by these repeated discussions, his words and thoughts would be obscured rather than made clearer.²

M. Chesnelong set forth the object of his mission. "I come," said he, "in the name of the monarchist Conservatives of the National Assembly, not

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 109.

² *Souvenirs inédits* du Comte de Vanssay, collected by the Marquis Costa de Beauregard.

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to impose conditions on your Highness, but to impart to you the possibilities and necessities of a very complicated and difficult situation, and to express to you the wish that you may be willing to take them into account without sacrificing any portion of the monarchical principles and your royal dignity."

The Prince invited him to speak with perfect frankness.

M. Chesnelong told how the Committee of Nine was constituted, of its deliberations, of the necessity, which it believed to be incumbent on it, of presenting to the Assembly, at the end of the vacation, a proposal by which it would wish to be able to conciliate, on the one side, all that was demanded by the dignity of the Prince, on the other, all that was necessary to rally a majority in the Assembly and to obtain the consent of the country.

"This proposal will touch on the constitutional question in the first place, in the second place on the question of the flag."

On the constitutional question M. Chesnelong developed the terms of the proposal as they had been drawn up by the Committee of Nine in the sitting of October 7th.

"His Highness," says M. Chesnelong, "did not formulate any objection, either to the method of procedure, which I had just submitted to him, nor to the insertion, in the actual document, which should recognise his rights to the throne, of the points which I had defined, nor to any of the points individually. His face had an expression of perfect serenity. His consent, *although silent*, seemed to me so manifest/' adds M. Chesnelong, "that I took formal note of it,"

"Therefore," says M. Chesnelong, "our agreement

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on the constitutional question was perfect and complete."

"The Prince, without pronouncing the least word of reservation, made me a sign of acquiescence," concludes M. Chesnelong, and he adds : "The Prince approved all, *or at least did not oppose anything*"ⁱ

This silence did not alarm M. Chesnelong, but rather reassured him. He passed on to the question of the flag : "The agreement is complete on the constitutional questions," said he. "Why is it not the same on the question of the flag ?"

"Ah, yes," replied the Comte de Chambord, "I know that the question of the flag encounters many difficulties, and I regret it."

"Difficulties so grave and so delicate," said M. Chesnelong, "that, in the present state of men's minds, the solution of the monarchical Restoration may depend on the solution which the question will receive,"

The Prince then said :

⁴⁴ I have never had, and I never shall have, the vulgar ambition of power for power's sake, but I should be happy to devote to France my strength and my life, as France has always had my soul and my heart. I have suffered from living apart from her ; she has not been at her ease in being separated from me. We are necessary to one another.

"She has a right to any sacrifice from me. There are, however, two which she cannot demand of me, that of the principle which I represent, and that of my honour. The question of the flag touches the principle which I represent, and without which I should be powerless for good ; it also touches my honour. Hence its gravity and delicacy.

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 124.

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" But, be that as it may, I shall be grateful to you for conversing with me on the subject with perfect honesty, and without leaving me in ignorance of what you think well to bring to my knowledge,"

M. Chesnelong felt, to use his own expressions, a " profound disagreement between the resolutions of the Prince, and the demands of the situation." He armed himself with courage and pleaded the cause of the tricolor flag.

The position was certainly not of the easiest. There was only one argument which could be received by M. de Chambord, and M. Chesnelong hastened to formulate it : " Without the tricolor, the monarchical enterprise would neither be welcomed by the Army, supported by the country, seconded by the Government, nor voted by the majority."

The Prince listened to M. Chesnelong " with intentional goodwill, but also with a determined and impassive silence, which seemed to indicate an obstinate and irrevocable resolution," Some of the words of the eloquent ambassador were met with " a smile, slightly veiled with sadness " ; the Prince " preserved a grave and deeply impressive countenance," The most pressing objurgations " saddened, but failed to shake him," and his interviewer " suffered from his own inability to persuade him."

M. Chesnelong then set forth before the Prince the different possible solutions. The first, that of the fusion of the two flags, " did not seem to please the Prince." M. Chesnelong " observed upon his countenance an expression of visible displeasure."

The delegate of the committee did not insist, and

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immediately proposed the co-existence of **the two** flags. The Prince interrupted him, saying in a tone of gentle firmness, as if speaking to himself : "*Never will I accept the tricolor flag*" And M. Chesnelong immediately replied with "respectful emotion" : "Your Highness will permit me not to have heard those words. In any case, you do not, I think, charge me to report them in Paris. If I reported them, I am certain that the monarchical campaign would be abandoned immediately. Therefore I forget the words which your Highness has just spoken. Your Highness will be so good as to indicate to me at the end of the interview the final answer, which I shall have to report. Whatever it may be, I shall transmit it faithfully, but that is the only report which I shall have to transmit."

"So be it," replied the Prince, "*but you see what is at the root of my opinions*" *

M. Chesnelong was well aware of that, but having come from so far and being furnished with such good intentions, . . . how could he be satisfied with such a declaration ? He did not insist.

The Prince did not wish any illusions to be entertained, but he had no interest in a rupture. Having said what he had to say, he continued to lend himself to the conversation. M. Chesnelong, invoking the monarchical principles, submitted to the Prince the famous formula, the result of the deliberations at the dinner on the Quai d'Orsay, which anticipated, on the question of the flag, an agreement to be arrived at between the King and the Assembly.

At this point the Comte de Chambord became animated. He spoke at greater length than was

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 141.

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usual with him, and in broken phrases. " The monarchical principle ! " said he. " For forty years I have had no other effective mission, and I have not been able to do any service to my country except to maintain it intact! I have given much thought to it; I do not think I exaggerate its bearing ; I trust I shall not let it become lowered in my hands. By it I may be a true force to bring France back to the path of her destinies. A diminished King, I should be a powerless King; and I should only have the value of an expedient.

" The flag is the symbol, the external expression of the principle ; it is its manifestation before the people, the only visible one, the only one which has for it any decisive significance: and that is why the principle and the flag cannot be separated.

"I admire the glory of the French Army; I am more proud of its courage, its heroism, than anybody. . . . Be assured that after we have met face to face, the Army and I, we shall understand one another. It will feel what I have at heart. It will always have in me a vigilant guardian of its honour, which is one with my own. It will take from my hands, without being offended, the flag which I will hand over to it after having presented it to the country. . . . I honour every service which has been rendered to France, at any time. I have said it, I am not a party and I would not reign through a party. I would call to my side every merit, every capability, every devotion. The unity of France, such has always been the programme of my House; I would have no other. The guarantee is in my intentions, in my feelings, in my duty, in which I will not fail, in the uprightness of my soul, which, I hope, nobody doubts. It is also in

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the authority which comes to me from my principle. And that is why I am bound not to weaken **that** principle, either in itself or in that by which it might be represented.

" I will speak on the moment of my return to France. I will then present to the country a solution concerning the flag compatible with my honour, and I feel sure of obtaining it from the country through its representatives. I am confident that when France and I have found one another again, obstacles will be smoothed down, and concord, which seems so difficult to-day, will be born of the situation itself."

Seldom have more noble words been pronounced ; seldom, too, words causing deeper despair to him to whom they were addressed. A servant of royalty would have bowed, full of regret and admiration. A politician representing the irreducible will of the country would have opposed to the authority of the principles invoked by the Prince, the authority of the opposite principles and the necessity of facts. M.Chesnelong went on with his statement : " The Committee of Nine," he resumed, " and the Government, are of opinion that ¹ two assurances are necessary from the King ; (i) he will have to abstain from using his initiative till after having assured the effective management of the Government ; (2) possession will remain till then to the tri-color flag, which will be the legal flag/ On these two points I implore your Highness," said M. Chesnelong, " to authorise me to give in your name an assurance, which the Committee of Nine and the Government consider, I repeat it, absolutely necessary."

" The Prince gave me no **answer**," says M.

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Chesnelong. "From that moment," he says further, "the countenance of the Prince veiled itself as in an impenetrable impassiveness." M. Chesnelong insisted. "The Prince did not break his almost reproachful silence,"

"I was, I remember well, very anxious," pursues M. Chesnelong, "very anxious and much pained by this attitude on the part of the Comte de Chambord. . . ."

He went on speaking, however; the ambassador of the Rights, engaged on such an enterprise, struggled desperately.

"Such is the sad fatality of my task," said he, "that I am condemned to say to your Highness things, which you are so good as to listen to with kindness, but which, I see, often offend your feelings. I regret it deeply, and, in spite of that, I should wish, before leaving this room, to be able to bear witness to myself that I have fulfilled up to its limits the duty of saying the whole truth on the situation, such, at least, as it appears to me. Will your Highness permit me to submit one last reflection?"

On receiving an affirmative reply from the Prince, M. Chesnelong resumed "in tones in which, in spite of himself, the profound emotion which he felt was perceptible,"

"Here," said he, "is a last consideration which I would wish above all to submit to your great heart.

"With a concession on the flag from which, as I understand it, your honour would not have to suffer, and for which France would be deeply grateful to you, I say that not only will the monarchy be, I say that it already is, and that France will hail it to-morrow.

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" If on the contrary your Highness refuses any concession respecting the flag, if I have the day after to-morrow to carry back this answer, that your resolution is inflexible, that you do not even accept, that the question be deferred till after you have taken possession of power, to be then solved by agreement between the King and the Assembly,—not only will there be no monarchy, that is my absolute conviction, but a precarious and fatally useless solution will be sought for in other channels. . . . Pardon me the respectful liberty of my language, Sir; and when you think it your duty to tell me, as to the flag, the words on which will depend the success or the failure of the Monarchy, the salvation or the ruin of the country, I venture to entreat you to weigh this last consideration, and to put it in the balance, in your royal conscience, against the sentiments, so noble, so disinterested, and so lofty, which might dispose you to resistance,"

The Prince had listened to M. Chesnelong " with painful attention. His face had often revealed the anguish of his soul."

" A silence of two or three minutes fell upon us," says M. Chesnelong. " Then getting up and taking my hand, he said to me, with a broad smile, in which a cordial kindliness beamed:

" ' The Comtesse de Chambord starts for Frohsdorf at seven o'clock this evening. For myself, I shall not start till midnight, so as to be able to resume our conversation this evening. I am charmed at having been able to talk with you on the interests of our beloved France.'

" Thus ended the first audience, which had lasted more than two hours."¹

¹ Chesnelong, p. 156.

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M. Chesnelong, beaten all along the lino, was "discouraged,"

M. de Blacas came to him. Evidently they were unwilling to allow him to go away under the influence of this impression. After having confronted him with a clear resolution, it was necessary to gather up the advantages of the position acquired, and tie again for the advantage of the cause the threads which had been so determinedly broken on the question of principle. It was necessary to win the Ambassador of the Nine and turn him round, and, if possible, to make him the messenger of the King's will to those who had thought of taking that will by surprise.

"His Highness, after his conversation, went to the apartments of the Comtesse de Chambord," said the Comte de Blacas to M. Chesnelong. "I was there ; I have never seen him so deeply moved and so favourably impressed. He said nothing to us of the substance of his conversation with you ; but to judge of it by the mood which seems to animate him at this moment, I have an intimate conviction that he will consent to everything which does not wound either his principles or his honour. Try to find some combination on this delicate question which will be acceptable to him, and can be satisfactory to our friends in Paris. You have inspired him with confidence by the sincerity of your language ; I cannot believe that your visit will remain without result."

M. Chesnelong was immensely comforted. "On being left alone," he says, "I drew up in my mind three declarations to be demanded of the Prince, which were, in my opinion, the minimum necessary to secure the continuation of the monarchical campaign in Paris."

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At dinner there was no talk on political questions. Some minutes after leaving¹ the dining-room the Comte de Chambord went to escort his wife to the station ; at the moment of starting, he notified that he would first converse with MM. Lucien Brun, de Carayon-Latour and de Cazenove de Pradine ; then, and apart from them, with M. Chesnelong.

This conference having been a short one, the Comte de Chambord summoned M. Chesnelong. This time he received the mandatory of the Committee of Nine standing. The latter understood that the business before him was no longer to argue, but to come to a conclusion.

" What, then, are these declarations which you wish to obtain from me ? " asked the Prince.

" There are three, your Highness, which seem to me indispensable," replied M. Chesnelong; and he imparted the first.

" I entreat your Highness to authorise me to make a first declaration in your name, which runs as follows :

" ' (i) His Highness the Comte de Chambord, does not demand that any change be made in the flag before he has taken possession of power/ "

" So be it. I accept that," answered the Prince.

M. Chesnelong passed to the second declaration, which he formulated as follows :

" ' (2) The Comte de Chambord reserves for himself to present to the country, at the time which he shall judge to be suitable, and feels certain of obtaining from it, through its representatives, a solution compatible with his honour, and which he considers of a nature to satisfy the Assembly and the nation/ "

The Prince having again acquiesced, M. Chesnelong imparted the third declaration ;

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"(3) The Comte de Chambord agrees that the question of the flag, after having been put forward by the King,, shall be decided by agreement between the King and the Assembly,"

" I certainly intend to present the solution to the Assembly," said the Prince, " and I hope that we shall agree."

This was an evasive answer. In his anxiety to arrive at an understanding, M. Chesnelong took it for an acceptance. " I cannot," he says, " express the emotion which mastered me. . . . No misunderstanding seemed to me possible. The formulas accepted completed one another and gave no room for any ambiguity. . . . Such as they were, I firmly hoped that they would be sufficient to allow the monarchical campaign to be opened, and to enable the proposal for the re-establishment of the monarchy to obtain a majority in the Assembly. . . . I became, so to say, overwhelmed by patriotic satisfaction. . . . My joy overflowed, and I gave vent to it by saying to the Prince, that on the ground which he had just accepted, and although I had desired another, the monarchy could and should be declared, and that I and my friends would spare no efforts to bring it about; that, in my opinion, the Government and the majority would consent to pledge themselves, and that God and the country would stand by us."

Carried away by his enthusiasm, M. Chesnelong added: " In a month's time we shall have the happiness to see your Highness ascend the throne of France, and an era of renovation and safety open for France herself."

The feelings of the ambassador infected the Prince. " His heart seemed to open to hope.

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He seemed very happy in what he had just done ; very confident of success. I saw him thrilled by the thought of being able henceforth to give all his life to France. . . . These impressions were displayed in words, broken, but full of noble emotion which I seem still to hear," says M. Chesnelong.

" Beloved France," said the Prince. " How happy I shall be to serve her ! I hope that she will love me ; I have always lived close to her in my heart, and it will be pleasant to me to show her my love by living henceforth for her alone ! She must be redeemed, made greater and happier ! With the help of honest men of all parties, I shall succeed in this. I will bring her three things which will be my strength : a principle which will be for her a guarantee of stability, respect for her liberties of which this principle will be the surest safeguard, and an energetic desire to do her good.

" I do not bid you good-bye," he added, pressing the hand of M. Chesnelong. " I shall see you again at midnight, at the station, at the moment of my departure, for we shall start nearly at the same time, I for Frohsdorf, you for Paris, where, I hope, you will only precede me."

M. Chesnelong rejoined MM. de Blacas and de Monti. He was " radiant as after an unexpected success," overflowing with confidence.

The Comte de Chambord recalled him once again to thank him afresh, and to assure him that he would not be " King of a party, but the King of all." He did not neglect personal questions ; he begged M. Chesnelong to " say straight out " that he would demand a " great sacrifice of self-denial" from the Legitimist party ; that he **would** not take the persons of **his**

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Government exclusively from that party ; that he would ask the able men of other shades of opinion " for their useful and indispensable assistance." Lastly he spoke in the highest terms of the Due de Broglie and M. Buffet.

" We gave ourselves up to hope," says M. Chesnelong, " with a security which refused to admit any anxiety. But anxiety was knocking at the door, and we were not long in feeling it."

M. de Blacas having gone to take the Comte de Chambord's orders for the departure had spoken to him of the satisfaction and hopes of M. Chesnelong, and alluded to the three declarations relative to the question of the flag.

" I have in fact accepted the two first declarations," said the Prince, " and I hold to my acceptance. As for the third, M. Chesnelong spoke to me, it is true, of the agreement of the King and the Assembly as being alone able to settle the question, and I did not contradict it. But I should not like that to be declared beforehand and in my name. I should be placing myself, so to say, at the discretion of the Assembly. Tell M. Chesnelong my impressions on the subject of the third declaration : / *wish him to confine himself to the two first!*"

M. Chesnelong was " thunderstruck" by this communication. He begged the Comte de Chambord to receive him " a fourth time, in order to arrive at complete clearness, without ambiguity." The Prince was exhausted with fatigue and had gone to bed. He would have liked to drop the subject. However, on the persistence of M. Chesnelong, he fixed a last interview for half-an-hour before his departure. MM. de Blacas, de Monti, Lucien Brun, de Carayon, de Cazenove, and Chesnelong spent " two long

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hours, very sad and very worried," during which they gave way to "sorrowful discouragement." M. de Cazenove de Pradine had a fit of sobbing which drew tears from all.

M. Chesnelong thoroughly understood that the Prince's decision was irrevocable. He had an idea : " I am going," he said, " to ask the Comte de Chambord not to forbid the royalists of the Extreme Right to vote for the clause on the flag which will be proposed by the Committee of Nine, and to allow them the liberty of their resolutions : I am convinced that he will consent," " In that case, do you authorise me, you three, my dear colleagues," added M. Chesnelong, addressing MM. Lucien Brun, de Carayon, and de Cazenove, " to declare in your name, that, speaking for yourselves, and answering for your friends of the Extreme Right, you pledge yourselves to vote for the formula of the Committee of Nine, while reserving to yourselves to vote later for the solution which will be presented by the King ? "

All three consented.

At half-past eleven at night M. Chesnelong was again introduced to the presence of the Comte de Chambord. " His face bore traces of his fatigue and of deep internal emotion. It also revealed some sadness, though it was still open and smiling." The truth is that the Comte de Chambord had had enough.

M. Chesnelong repeated the three declarations which he would make in the name of the Comte de Chambord, if the latter was so good as to confirm his approval.

" I accept fully the two first declarations such as you have just repeated them to me. The third

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puts me too much at the mercy of the Assembly ; I beg you to suppress it."

At the mercy of the Assembly ! The words were clear, they hit the exact point of the fundamental debate between the two "rights," hereditary right and popular right; agreement was impossible.

M. Chesnelong persisted. He could get nothing further. He proposed his queer combination.

"It is not for me to intervene in that," said the Prince. "Our friends will use their liberty on their own responsibility; mine is not pledged."

M. Chesnelong, who was in an interpreting vein, interpreted these words as an acquiescence. Everybody started for the station. "Soon," says M. Chesnelong, "the whistle of the engine announced the arrival of the train by which the Prince was to travel; we conducted him to the door of the saloon carriage which had been reserved for him. He bade us farewell, shook hands with us, then addressing me—these were his last words before his departure—he said : "Once again, thank you, my dear sir, and to meet again, is it not ? I give you rendez-vous six months hence at the Chateau de Pau."

And M. Chesnelong adds : "I bowed respectfully, concealing a tear which I felt rise to my eyes. This was the last time that I heard the voice of the Comte de Chambord. But the tones of that voice still vibrate in my soul, and the recollection of that impressive day will never be effaced from my heart."¹

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 193.

CHAPTER V

THE LETTER OF OCTOBER 27TH

- I.—Meetings of the Committee of Nine, and of the executives of the group—M. Chesnelong reports on his mission—It is decided to propose the Restoration—Public opinion.
- II.—The Government and the Restoration—Preparations for the King's return—Incredulity of the country—The Lefts organise resistance—The Army.
- III.—Meeting of the groups of the Rights—Report of the Right Centre—The Left centre declares that the Restoration would bring about a fresh revolution—Anxiety respecting the silence of the Comte de Chambord—The letter of October 27th. Did the Comte de Chambord wish to reign ?
- IV.—Last meeting of the Committee of Nine—The monarchical campaign abandoned—The Council of Ministers declares for the extension of the Marshal's powers—Public opinion and the parties.

I

M. Chesnelong and the Committee of Nine
M. CHESNELONG returned to Paris towards six o'clock in the morning on October the 16th. During the journey he had reflected at length, and had come to the conclusion that, after all, he had not failed in his mission; there was therefore nothing to be done but to pursue the enterprise of the restoration of the monarchy and "march in spite of difficulties."

His return was awaited in Paris without impatience but without confidence. Already and betimes "the line of retreat" was being prepared, that is to say, the prolongation of the powers

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of the Marshal. The Comte de Paris had been obliged to intervene personally in order to secure at least the postponement of any active steps till after the arrival of the mandatory of the Committee of Nine.

He wrote from Chantilly on October 15th : " I understand your anxieties and responsibilities ; however I cannot say, as you do, that if the question of the flag was settled to-day, if we could be certain of presenting the tricolor and constitutional monarchy to the Assembly with the support of the Right, the game would be lost. I think, on the contrary, that it would be a very fine hand, and that the whole of the lost ground would be recovered in twenty-four hours. I cannot, then, as yet believe in the necessity for concerning ourselves exclusively with the line of retreat, although I find myself in agreement with you, to-day, as to that line. I had thought of another solution ; but for that the help of the Legitimists would have been necessary, and we shall not have it for an abstract monarchy with the Marshal as *locum tenens*. Just because this line of retreat is the only possible one, it will be sufficient to study it on the day on which circumstances oblige us to take it. That will perhaps be to-morrow ; it is not to-day. . . . Two delegates¹ have been sent to the Comte de Chambord to obtain a categorical reply. The answer, which they are not to bring back till to-morrow, has not yet been received. It seems

¹ M. Lucien Brun was generally considered as having received the same mandate to the Comte de Chambord on behalf of the Committee of Nine as M. Chesnelong. It is somewhat curious that the Comte de Paris should have been inaccurately informed on this point. M. de Falloux makes the same mistake (*Memoires d'un royaliste*, vol. ii. p. 567).

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to me that we must wait before adopting a course of action."

The mental attitude was singularly modified by the return of M. Chesnelong.

The meeting of the Committee of Nine was to take place on the same day, October 16th, at nine o'clock in the evening. As early as nine in the morning M. Chesnelong went to see General Changarnier. He told his story fairly succinctly, and pressed the pursuit of the monarchical campaign. His zeal infected the General. M. Chesnelong tried to see the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, but failed to meet him. He went to Versailles, where he "reported to M. Ernoul in the greatest detail his conversations with the Comte de Chambord."

M. Ernoul does not appear to have asked himself whether or no there was any advantage to be gained by postponement. He promised to approach the Government—M. Chesnelong undertaking to deal with the Committee of Nine—so that the campaign might be opened immediately and the Assembly might be put in possession of the plan for the monarchical restoration on the first day of its meeting, November 5th. So far as the Marshal and the Government were concerned, M. Ernoul held it to be certain "that they would lend their support very clearly and frankly."

At nine o'clock the meeting took place in General Changarnier's house.

A fresh recital on the part of M. Chesnelong: on the constitutional question, spontaneous acquiescence of the Comte de Chambord, "we beat in an open door"; on the question of the flag, the two declarations to which the Prince gave a verbal consent; no change will be made in the flag till the

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Prince has taken possession of power; " he reserves to himself the right of presenting to the country at the time which he shall judge to be suitable, and is confident of obtaining from it, through its representatives, a solution compatible with his honour, which he believes to be of a nature to satisfy the Assembly and the nation."

M. Chesnelong did not repeat to the Committee of Nine those words of the Prince : " Never will I accept the tricolor flag." He says that he omitted this incident on purpose. " Silence on the word *never*" says he further,^c was for me a point of honour. ... I should have broken my given word, an elementary obligation of my mandate, I should have incurred blame, and assumed culpable responsibility, if I had imparted this incident of my conversation with the Prince."¹

That may be; but, by giving this information M. Chesnelong would have made light, and would have certainly responded to the thoughts of the Prince, who wished before all things to avoid ambiguity.

M. Chesnelong confided the formidable phrase solely to the " absolute discretion " of MM. de Larcy, de Tarteron, and the Comte Daru, limiting himself " to leaving no illusion with the members of the Committee on the present attitude of the Prince, even as to the extreme unlikelihood of his adoption, in the future, of the tricolor flag."²

M. Chesnelong did not fail to set forth and explain, with some little insistence, the last concession which he had obtained from the Comte de Chambord, to wit, the liberty left to members of the Legi-

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 201.

² Ch. Chesnelong, pp. 216 and 277.

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timist party of voting, if need be, for the provisional retention of the tricolor, pending the return of the King and the statement of his resolutions.

He further took upon himself, at that very important meeting—he has not told us under what inspiration—to make an allusion to a compromise, which however had already been contemptuously rejected by the Comte de Chambord : " I am inclined to believe," said M. Chesnelong to the Committee," that the Prince will perhaps present some flag or another which, while it is not the white flag, will certainly not be the tricolor, and which, it is said, may be a blue and white flag."

All this at great length, with much diffusiveness and obscurity. Such certainly were the first impressions.

The Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, for his part, spoke quite plainly on the subject in replying to M. Chesnelong.

" I f the assurances brought to us," said he, " postpone the difficulty, they do not solve it. . . . If the solution which the King is to present one day or another, on the subject of the flag, does not satisfy the Assembly, what will happen ? How will the conflict settle itself ? And what shall we not have to fear from the counter-stroke of the hostile parties, if this division breaks out on the very morrow of the restoration of the monarchy ? " All that was " narrow, perilous."

The Duke did not conceal his " apprehensions." He asked time for reflection, for consultation with his friends; in spite of the pressure of some, he persisted : " What a fiasco it would be," he said, " i f the monarchy were rejected by an Assembly so fundamentally royalist as the present National

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Assembly! " An adjournment was made to the following day.

The friends whom it was necessary to consult were the Princes of Orleans. The Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier saw the Comte de Paris ; so did M. Ernoul. General Changarnier went to the Due de Nemours.

In this quarter, the impressions received had been quite different, and the opinion was that it was necessary to go on. On reflection, the situation showed some advantages; on the whole, the tricolor was retained. It was well known that the white flag would neither find a majority in the Assembly, nor support in the country. It was asked how the conflict would settle itself—"Let us wait till it is declared." In fact, the somewhat complicated procedure set forth by M. Chesnelong afforded a means of "turning the obstacle," As for the future, they would see ; had not the Comte de Chambord said to M. Merveilleux du Vignaux, and M. de Sugny, that if the white flag were not accepted, he would "return to exile" ?

The rumour spread that "the Princes were entering into the movement with determination." The Due de Broglie and the Government gave up for the moment "the line of retreat," and took part in the campaign.

On the following day there was a decisive sitting of the Committee of Nine. "I have reflected," said the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier. "I no longer hesitate. I have seen some of my friends : the Right Centre accepts the formula of the Committee; the groups of the Right also give their adhesion ; the Due de Broglie has given me the assurance, that, if the Government is to leave the initiative to ourselves, there will be no failure of a very frank and very

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devoted assistance on his part. Let us restore the monarchy under these conditions. The majority will not fail us."

Proposed restoration of the Monarchy The Committee was unanimous. General Changarnier begged the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier to disclose the draft of a resolution which he had prepared, and which was to be submitted to the National Assembly. The draft was as follows :—

The National Assembly using the constituent rights which belong to it, and which it has always reserved,

Declares :—

I.—National, hereditary, and constitutional monarchy to be the government of France. Consequently Henri Charles Marie Dieudonné, head of the royal family of France, is called to the throne ; the Princes of this family will succeed him from male to male in the order of primogeniture.

II.—Equality of all citizens before the law, and their admissibility to all civil and military offices, civil and religious liberties, the equal protection which is at present enjoyed by the different forms of worship, the annual voting of taxes by the representatives of the nation, and, in general, all the guarantees which constitute the present public rights of Frenchmen are, and continue to be, maintained.

The Government of the King will present constitutional laws to the National Assembly with the object of defining and ensuring the collective exercise of legislative power by the King and the two Chambers, the attribution of the executive power to the King, the inviolability of the royal person, and the responsibility of the Ministers which is inseparable from it, and in general all laws necessary for the constitution of the public powers.

III.—The tricolor flag is maintained ; it can only be modified by agreement between the King and the National Representatives.

Let us look at things as they must have been seen at Frohsdorf : this was a *charta* deliberated with the Comte de Paris and dictated by the Assembly in virtue of " its constituent right," at a time when it had not even been communicated to the head of the family, to the " King."

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The most important clause, that which established ministerial responsibility,¹ and, thus instituted the parliamentary and constitutional system, had been, to say the least, held in suspense in that conversation from which such exaggerated consequences were drawn, and which had been little else but a monologue on the part of M. Chesnelong.

Special mention was made of "civil and religious liberties," These last words, and the phrase which underlined them, were full of mistrust. They had been subjected to long and minute discussion. Among the partisans of the monarchy, the members of the religious minorities had coupled this condition with their vote as a *sine qua non*. These minorities believed that they had everything to fear from the return of the Comte de Chambord. They were apprehensive of the restoration of "a state religion." Pressure had been applied, notably to the Chief Rabbi ; and other influential persons.²

¹ On the question of "responsibility of ministers," or "ministerial responsibility," see the somewhat confused explanations of M. Chesnelong, *La Campagne monarchique d'Octobre 1873*, pp. 119 and following. See, per contra, the restrictions of the Marquis de Dreux-Breze, *Notes et Souvenirs*. "The responsibility of Ministers," says he, "was not to be allowed to encroach upon the limits of the ground which his Highness was determined to reserve for the royal authority, as M. de Blacas reminded me in a letter dated from Frohsdorf, September 15th, 1873" (P. 343).

² See the letters of M. Adrien Leon, deputy for Bordeaux : "October 18, 1873. I have just left the meeting presided over by General Changarnier. To-morrow, at one o'clock, a meeting at the house of the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier. Grivard, Desjardins, and Vingtain are here, no better satisfied than I am, though the Comte de Chambord is giving way all along the line.

"To-morrow I shall discuss in the programme, of which I am forbidden to give a copy, the question of religious liberty. I

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On this point, the most pressing anxieties **had** been appeased. The drafting of Clause 2 even went beyond what was desired. But it was easier to draft these formulas in Paris than to get them accepted by the Comte de Chambord.

However that may be, the draft prepared by the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier was unanimously adopted.

It was agreed that the Committee of Nine should present a report on the execution of its mandate to the executives of the four groups of the Right, summoned for the next day, October 18th, and that it should propose to them the ratification of its resolution.

M. Chesnelong, for his own protection, demanded authority to draw up "a statement in which would be summed up, shortly but definitely, the explanations given to the Committee."

Among themselves, there was complete agreement. And the country? What was to be done for the public? Was this statement, the statement which founded the monarchy, to be divulged?

"The Committee examined the question in all its bearings," says M. Chesnelong, "and, after ripe reflection, determined to publish neither the statement of my explanations, nor the text of the Prince's declarations,"

Why? M. Chesnelong says: "because the text was not of a nature to seize the spirit of the masses, which is repelled by complicated matters, and goes have spoken of it to the meetings, and there seems to be a willingness to accept the form which I could desire.

"Clause 2 is thus drawn up: 'The civil and religious liberties, the equality of all citizens before the law, their admissibility to all offices, etc., and all the guarantees which complete the public rights of Frenchmen are, and continue to be, maintained.'"

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 250.

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straight to simple and downright ideas," and because, "twisted, changed, and discredited by discussion, it would come before the Assembly later on with diminished authority."

Discussion was feared: daylight was feared. Obscurity prevailed everywhere, in the text of the statement, and in the procedure. Then what remained? The Restoration in a dark room!

In order that operations of this kind may have a chance of success, they must not drag. Now, fifteen long days were still to pass before the meeting of the Assembly. Some were of opinion that it should be summoned immediately. The blow would have struck public opinion, and perhaps would have carried success. The anxious, the scrupulous, those who waited on the wind, the men with misgivings, held that it was better to prepare opinion by a note issuing, not from the parliamentary groups, but from the executives of the monarchist groups.

It was then thought sufficient to allow some glimpses of the great mystery. The royalist papers spoke with confidence of the approaching advent of the monarchy.

Meanwhile, the organs which took their word of command from the "bureau" of the Comte de Chambord preserved silence on the question of the flag.

The view most generally spread abroad was that the Comte de Chambord had accepted the tricolor, while reserving to himself to add to it, after his elevation to the throne, the escutcheon of the House of France with its fleur-de-lys, and a white pennon recalling the old flag of the monarchy.

Finally, a meeting of the executives of the groups of the Right was called by the Committee of Nine. It took place at one o'clock

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on October 18th, in the Rue de la Pepiniere, at the house of M. Anisson-Duperron. In all, sixty to eighty deputies, representing chiefly the partisans of 'fusion,' the greater number of the deputies present in Paris had joined the members of the executives of the groups. On the whole, the Extreme Right was absent.

The President, General Changarnier, reported the resolutions of the Committee. "The results of M. Chesnelong's mission to Salzburg," said he, "have seemed to him sufficient for the monarchical campaign to be entered upon with the greatest chance of success. At yesterday's sitting the Committee prepared the draft of a resolution to be presented to the Assembly. If you approve of it, as I have no doubt you will, I shall have the honour to carry it, in the name of all of you, to the tribune of the Assembly on the first day of its return."

"Warm applause welcomed the president's address," remarks M. Chesnelong. "It was obvious that the meeting had neither doubt nor hesitation as to the line to be taken."

M. Chesnelong began again the story of his four conversations with the Comte de Chambord. When he came to the explanations on the question of the flag, he was listened to with "a somewhat anxious attention." At last the subject was dropped, and the resolution "to go ahead" was not shaken by it.

The draft presented by the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier obtained unanimous approval. The President of the Right Centre then proposed to make known to the country the "design, programme and aim" of the majority. A Committee of five was appointed to draw up a note, which was

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to be communicated to the papers at once. The note was drawn up and approved.

Then the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, in " very grave and impressive accents," extolled this hour, this union, this decision, the approaching success. "The monarchical campaign is opened," he said. "We will pursue it to its triumph. The triumph will come ; your applause is the pledge of the vote of the Assembly. In three weeks' time the national hereditary and constitutional monarchy will be re-established. Henri V will be King."

There was a scene ." of indescribable emotion and confident enthusiasm." The Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier possesses soul-stirring eloquence. His words deeply touched his hearers.

It was like another *Servient du Jen de Paume*. M.de Carayon-Latour had for some time held aloof from the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, on account of political differences. He moved towards him : " We did not understand one another," he said to him. " At this moment we understand one another well, and I cordially offer you my hand."

" The Due Pasquier, moved to tears, clasped M. de Carayon to his breast. All eyes were wet, and an indescribable shiver of honour, patriotism, joy and hope, passed through the souls of all." '

" We separated with happy hearts," further states M. Chesnelong.

On the next day the note issued by the meeting appeared in the papers. It ran as follows :—

The executives of the parliamentary meetings, which had already conferred on October 4th last, having assembled to-day, October 18th, unanimously agreed in recognising that the adop-

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 270.

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tion of the proposals prepared by the **Committee of Nine** was imperiously demanded by the interests of the country.

According to these proposals the monarchy was to be re-established ; all the civil, political and religious liberties which constitute the public rights of France were to be guaranteed, the tricolor flag was to be maintained, and changes could only be made in it by the agreement of the King and the National Representatives, the royal initiative remaining intact.

The groups represented by these executives will be immediately assembled.

Here then we have public opinion informed : a ray of light in the dark chamber.

What was the first impression ? In general the note was considered as the statement of the agreement established on the three articles between the Comte de Chambord and the monarchist majority in the Assembly. The fusionist papers breathed confidence. M. Edouard Herve, editor-in-chief of the *Journal de Paris*, wrote :—

" A great event has just come to pass. . . . The Comte de Chambord and the delegates of the different groups of the parliamentary majority have come to an agreement as to the conditions upon which the monarchy is to be created. . . . The Salzburg interview restores the monarchy."

Meanwhile, on the part of the Legitimist journals reserve was maintained ; the *Union*, the accredited organ of the ' bureau ' of the Comte de Chambord, expressed itself as follows : " The Comte de Chambord has conceded nothing, granted nothing ; *he will re-ascend to the throne in the majesty and integrity of his principle!*" What did that mean ?

The *Univers* had declared that the programme carried to the Comte de Chambord by M. Chesnelong was not acceptable " to the conscience of a citizen, and the honour of the Prince." M. Veuillot's

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paper translated into clear language the true monarchical doctrine, when it affirmed that the transaction, if it took place under the conditions anticipated by the Committee of Nine, would be " a new edition of the Social Contract "

After the meeting of the 18th October, when the Marquis de Dreux-Breze was informed of the note decided on by the executives of the four groups, he complained to the Marquis de Mornay that a decision should have been taken to publish so important a document " without a previous understanding or authorisation," and he gave vent to the formal opinion that it was " in complete contradiction with the truth of the situation."¹

Some days afterwards M. de Dreux-Breze told M. Chesnelong that he was anxious as to the impression which the note would make upon the Prince, and, in general, " that he was anxious concerning the opinions held at Frohsdorf." In any case silence prevailed in that quarter.

How can it be explained that, in the short interval when each and all were watching one another, when all were listening, when only a word, a sign, was awaited, to hail the return of the King, a rumour spread from some unknown quarter that the Assembly, instead of being invited to recall the King immediately, would be solicited to make the Due d'Aumale Lieutenant-General of the kingdom ! The name of the Due d'Aumale, we may remember, had already been pronounced very unseasonably, at the time of the famous Falloux meeting which had turned out so badly.²

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 120.

² " At the moment when I was entering the house of M. Anisson-Duperron," relates M. Aubry, " I met the Vice-

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At the same moment another and no less singular rumour was picked up by the press : M. Robert Mitchell, in the *Constitutionnel*, which was believed to have official connections, affirmed that the Government intended to ask the Assembly to prolong the powers of the Marshal, at the same moment when General Changarnier was to propose the restoration of the monarchy. M. Ernoul, Keeper of the Seals, drew the attention of the Council to this incident. He demanded a public correction. The secretarial office of the Presidency communicated the following note to the Havas Agency and to the papers : " Some deputies having called on Marshal MacMahon to-day to ask him if the rumours reproduced in certain papers, and notably in the *Constitutionnel*, were accurate, the Marshal replied : ' I have already had occasion to make my intentions known to several of your colleagues. If, as a soldier, I am always at the service of my country, as a politician I absolutely reject the idea that I am to retain power, under whatever conditions it may be offered to me. I was appointed by the *majority of the Conservatives, from whom I have no wish to separate.*" *

president of the Council in the doorway; the presence of such a personage at this meeting seemed to me at the least strange. I went up to the Due de Rochefoucauld-Bisaccia," continues M. Aubry, " and asked him if he had any knowledge of this proposal. He replied to me in an undertone, turning his eyes in the direction of the Vice-president of the Council: ' Above all do not let us speak of that here'" (Aubry, p. 26. *Souvenirs inedits*). My attention has been drawn to the fact that the presence of the Due de Broglie at these meetings is not altogether likely; the Government was careful to hold aloof. The incident, if it took place, had no sequel.

* Merveilleux du Vignaux, p. 114.

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So the Marshal declared that he intended to abide by a community of ideas with the majority. That was all.

The news produced the most deplorable effect at Frohsdorf, where it was considered that it plainly revealed "intrigue/" as it was called. M. de Blacas wrote, October 14th, that they were convinced that the scheme for the prolongation of the powers of the Marshal had got the upper hand.

As to the plan for organising the office of Lieutenant-General, it caused an excitement little short of sheer anger: "If this idea came to be realised," wrote M. de Blacas, October 2nd, "it is possible and likely that an energetic resolution on the part of his Highness to present himself in France, and risk his chances, would put an end to this obstacle."¹

Thus, in spite of the reconciliation, the Comte de Chambord did not renounce his old mistrust with reference to Orleanism. He met tactics with tactics, shade with shade, or, perhaps, to be still more exact, he met the shrewd and supple play of the Right Centre with a defence of unshakeable solidity. M. de Blacas wrote to M. de Dreux-Breze on the subject of the declarations made to M. Chesnelong: "It is probable that they will not satisfy *those* who have determined in advance not to take anything into account which is not exactly their formula and their text."²

¹ M. de Dreux-Breze, who publishes this letter from M. de Blacas, p. 333, says that it includes after the word "idea" an "epithet which bears evidence to the extremely painful impression" experienced by the Comte de Chambord on the announcement of this plan.

² Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 379.

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The worthy M. Chesnelong did all that he could. He faced the anxiety which he felt on the subject of the Prince's intentions. He repeated more than once, to M. de Dreux-Breze : " We must untie the knot, not cut it." In a letter written to his family he said: "I am anxious about the Prince; *he may break out in a new manifesto* ; he can bring everything down with a rush in a moment,"¹

M. de Carayon-Latour, better informed than M. Chesnelong as to the thoughts of the Comte de Chambord, wrote in a letter of October 21st: " The press can still smash up everything. To-day, more than ever, *silence is golden.*" Silence !

" The *Figaro* does us terrible mischief !" wrote M. de Margerie. " It warps public opinion with its insensate and enthusiastic campaign of the tricolor flag. . . . Ah ! If one could suspend the liberty of the press !" *

" Nobody will ever know exactly," writes M. Merveilleux du Vignaux, the "depth of the *poisoned wound* inflicted on the Prince by the insidious art employed by the Republican and Bonapartist press, sure of being read at Frohsdorf, in underlining, exaggerating, and disfiguring by only too skilful comments the incidents to which the Comte de Chambord might be most sensitive. The *Gaulois*, *Rappel*, and *Republique Frangaise* never lost a day in depreciating the noble character, the immaculate honesty, the energy, of his Highness, who had as it were given the lie to himself, lowering his flag, and denying his maxims."³

Frohsdorf obstinately preserved that silence

¹ Marquis de Dampierre, p. 239.

² A. de Margerie, p. 31.

³ *Un pen d'histoire, etc.*, p. 112.

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which was so much desired in Paris. M. Chesnelong **did** not know which to fear most, its continuance or its end ! One thing alone was said, that the Prince bore " with impatience " any suggestion on the subject of the flag.¹

He always had had this habit of not giving explanations, even to his friends, that " system of speaking alone " and *proprio motu*, which exasperated M. de Falloux.² His partisans were to obey, not to debate.

The Comte de Paris was no better informed than anybody else. He said to M. Chesnelong, on October 18th : " I know nothing of the ideas of the Comte de Chambord except what his manifestoes and letters have told me." ³

The Due d' Aumale replied to the congratulations which were sent him in anticipation : " After all, whatever happens, we shall have done our duty/' *

The Marquis de Dampierre had found a somewhat singular expression in a letter from M. de Carayon-Latour, October 19th : " Be without anxiety on the question of the flag. It will be settled with honour to the King, and *compulsory satisfaction* of the Right Centre."⁵ Compulsory!

II

Tension of
the Public
Mind This short week was for both sides a period of anxious hope. All faces bore a tense smile; all colloquies a tone of assurance ; at heart a profound anxiety.

¹ Aubry, p. 2.

³ *Memoires d'un royaliste*, vol. ii. p. 12.

³ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 273.

⁴ Vicomte de Meaux, p. 210.

⁵ Marquis de Dampierre, p. 238.

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Positions were taken openly or behind the scenes. Pressure upon the waverers went on with closed lips. Very excitable people held their tongues, and very close people appeared to know a great deal. Such crises are made both dull and comic by the fact that, in addition to the anxiety which they cause, they stir up the inevitable flies: silence was wanted, and there was an universal buzzing.

The Government was at the centre of the work, receiving everything, watching everything, itself uncertain and already pulled in different directions, seeing without joy the advent of a future without light.

"The Due de Broglie is energetically resolute, which does not prevent him from being visibly anxious." Thus judged M. Chesnelong.

Anxiety prevailed. The Due de Broglie conceived the idea of entrusting the French Ambassador at Vienna with an official mission to the Comte de Chambord, to set before the Prince the conditions under which the re-establishment of the monarchy was thought to be possible by the Government responsible for the public peace, and to inform him that he would find that Government quite ready to welcome him if, when recalled by the Assembly, he returned with the tricolor flag; otherwise, not.¹ The Marshal did not lend himself to this procedure.

In several speeches delivered at agricultural meetings at Evreux, Bernay, Neuville-le-Bon, the Due de Broglie spoke of the approaching restoration. He met the criticisms formulated against it. "The social condition of modern France," he said at

¹ Vicomte de Meaux, p. 195.

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Bernay, " is as indestructible as the foundations of the soil; it is no more possible to make a successful attack upon it than it is to alter the quality of the air which we breathe." He said again : " Nothing which resembles the legal power of the clergy could even reappear for a day." " We want a government which understands the legitimate requirements as well as the dangers of our modern societies, and which accepts their fundamental principles, repudiating only their excesses." This defence of an eventual restoration was at the same time a limitation ; it was clearly felt to be such at Frohsdorf.

In the Cabinet there was no deliberate enemy of the monarchy. MM. Ernoul and de la Bouillerie were Legitimists of yesterday ; they were the very soul of the enterprise ; they received the effusions of M. Chesnelong.

MM. Batbie and Beule, Orleanists, were happy and confident. M. Beule was ready, he said, " to risk his head if necessary," M. Deseilligny, Minister of Public Works, had signed the Republican declaration of the Target group ; that perhaps diminished his " ardour," but not his " sincerity."¹ Admiral de Dompierre d'Hornoy loudly affirmed his royalist convictions and hopes. M. Magne alone, Minister of Finance, declared that he would abstain from voting on the re-establishment of the monarchy " from motives of personal gratitude."

There remained the Minister of War. He was not a member of the Assembly, but it would be his duty to give the orders at the moment of the King's return. General du Barail was in his tendencies a Bonapartist. It is somewhat curious that care had not

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 295.

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been taken to have a safe man in that position. As a disciplined soldier, he confined himself to saying that he would follow the instructions of the Marshal-President. He did not conceal some ill temper. " They had thought of everything," he says in his *Souvenirs*, " of the deputies and even of the horses ; but they had not given themselves the trouble to inform the Minister of War."¹

In agreement with Marshal MacMahon, General du Barail had made his arrangements to preserve order. In private conversations he had spoken of " the eventualities of the future " to the principal military chiefs, who were frequently summoned to Paris in consequence of the reorganisation of the Army. " I had studied the spirit of the troops and of the leading officers with their help. I was perfectly well informed, and had scrupulously kept the Marshal informed. Lastly, I had given them very clear instructions in the event of their being obliged to intervene."

General du Barail sums up these instructions as follows : " In case of disturbances, absolute prohibition to scatter the troops. Formal order to concentrate them under the hands of the generals. Not to try to be present everywhere. Secondary points to be neglected, so as to be able to crush important centres of insurrection at once. Small groupings of

¹ Du Barail, vol. iii. p. 421. General du Barail relates that a somewhat lively incident happened at the Council of Ministers on October 20th, and that he protested vigorously against an allusion made by M. Ernoul to the sentiments of the Army concerning the white flag. (*Souvenirs*, vol. iii., p. 426.) But the Due de Broglie, in a letter published in the *Figaro*, May 25th, 1898, has protested against the General's narrative, and affirmed that "no Minister had formed the intention of adopting the white "flag."

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men to be avoided. Any contact between the soldiers and the crowd to be prevented. The troops only to leave barracks for practice."

Only one commander of an Army Corps could cause anxiety, because of his relations with the Imperial family, General Bourbaki, governor of Lyons. On being sounded by Prefect Ducros, the General replied that if there were disorder, he would suppress it, but, respect for law being once assured, he would go " and bury himself in retirement, faithful to his past." *

Everybody, even M. Buffet, President of the Assembly, was pre-occupied with the details of the procedure to be followed for the proclamation of the " King." ²

Measures
taken for
the King's
Return

Lastly, the agents of the Comte de Chambord had received orders to prepare for his return to France. " Everything was combined, settled, and arranged in advance/" says the Marquis de Dreux-Brezé, " so that his Highness might be spared the usual stoppage on entering France, the delays and investigations of the custom-house, and the formalities, always to be anticipated, concerning passports."

According to the plan adopted and marked out on a map, with explanatory notes, the Comte de Chambord was to leave the railway at a station on foreign territory, cross the eastern frontier by a carriage road, and be conducted to a French station, where he would again get into the train. " The conditions of the road, the habits permitted in a hunting country, the frequency of comings and

¹ Vicomte de Meaux, p. 195.

² Vicomte de Meaux, p. 209,

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goings, afforded every moral security that the Prince would not be recognised,"¹

A Lieutenant-General's uniform, intended for the Comte de Chambord, had been deposited with the Marquis de Dreux-Breze, and the latter had received commands to order a ribbon and star of the Legion of Honour. In the centre of the star a fleur-de-lys was substituted for the Imperial eagle.

The gala carriages were built by the firm of Binder.³ Horses had been bought for which harness stamped with the royal arms had been made by a saddler in the Rue Caumartin. In the Rue Vivienne could be seen the carpet, covered with fleur-de-lys, intended to be spread in the royal carriage. A programme had been published of "the entry of the King," and the route which the procession was to follow in the streets of Paris had been marked out.²

M. Beule, Minister of the Interior, made the following confidences to the Comte de Falloux : " I have just received, to my great satisfaction, the irrefutable proof that the Comte de Chambord has sacrificed *in petto* his manifesto of July 5th, 1871 : it is that he is pressing on all the preparations for his return to Paris with great activity. A police report has just informed me that Count Maxence de Damas, who is in special charge of the equipages at Frohsdorf, came to visit the Emperor's stables at the Louvre. He criticised several of the old arrangements, and indicated new ones, and took

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 72.

² They were bought later on by M. Waddington, and were used for the mission which was present at the coronation of the Czar Alexander III, at Moscow.

³ Du Barail, vol. iii. p. 421; Daudet, p. 200.

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little or no precaution to conceal the name of him for whom this visit was made/*

White flags, cockades, sleeve bands, had been made, and Venetian lanterns with the inscription : "Vive Henri V!"²

The words attributed to M. Leon Renault, Chief of Police, were repeated : "With two hundred thousand francs I could flag Paris in white from top to bottom/'

There was, as it were, the buzzing of a swarming hive in parliamentary circles, in the newspaper offices, and on the boulevards.

As for the country, it let things go on, but in fact remained sceptical. All this labour, concerning which it was, for that matter, but ill informed, seemed to it to be mere parade, a conversation between excited phantoms. The country waited. Perhaps this calmness was really due to that prescience, sometimes enjoyed by the masses, of what is happening in the depths of men's minds, which the more sagacious men think they have concealed, because they have said nothing.

People read between the lines of telegrams, proclamations, communications, and speeches; the Comte de Chambord seemed far away, the Government very circumspect, the parties much divided, the majority very uncertain, everybody irresolute. The atmosphere was not that of a storm, of violence, of a sudden revolution. And further, the perfect honour of all the actors reassured the public as to the solution.

The general state of mind is accurately set

¹ Comte de Falloux, vol. ii. p. 558.

² Fidus, vol. i. p. 334.

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forth by this passage from Littre, who followed the movement with attention, and wrote at the heat of the crisis : " They are coming to a tricolor legitimacy ; it is hoped that the Legitimists will vote for it, because it is Legitimist, and the Orleanists because it is tricolor ; and if they succeed, they will congratulate themselves on having effected a combination disliked by the whites, disliked by the blues, assailed by the Bonapartists, attacked by the Republicans, unconfirmed by the country, without any guidance except a tendency towards clericalism and the past in opposition to modern tendencies," *

The Left was enthusiastically carrying on its opposition campaign. The extreme Left and the Republican Union had appointed a Vigilance Committee which maintained communications with the Republicans elected in Paris and the Provinces.

On August 17th, there were five General Council elections in the Herault, Ardennes, Aude, Yonne, and Landes : all Republican. At the opening of the General Councils, manifestations from the presidents in favour of the Republic were numerous and strong. M. Dauphin, in the Somme, declared that the restoration of the monarchy would be the signal for civil war. These were not mere words. At Hellesmes (North) a pilgrimage had taken place with the white flag and the hymn of the Sacred Heart; two thousand peasants replied with the *Marseillaise*. Some fighting took place and the white flag was torn.

On August 20th the deputies for the Meurthe and Moselle wrote to their constituents, protesting against the fusion, " not wishing for another invasion" ; shortly afterwards, the deputies for

¹ Littre, *De l'Etablissement de la Troisieme Republique*, p. 261.

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the Aisne, including Waddington, Saint Vallier, Henri Martin, did the same. On September 4th, the anniversary of the foundation of the Republic, there were some disturbances at Velay and Bordeaux. The Government was obliged to take measures.

The eventuality of a possible resistance became apparent. On September 15th the *Republique française* wrote : " We warn the leaders that it is not only a question of exerting moral violence in order to induce France to support Henri V. Material force would be required, because the immense majority of the country, towns and rural districts, artisans and tradesmen, and the Army itself, will have none of him ; and if deeds of violence are to be dreaded, it is by those who are playing with fire."

In monarchical circles these threats produced little alarm. It was known that Paris and the country were disarmed. " On two occasions, once between 1789 and 1792, a second time in 1830,—a third time might have been added, in 1848,—the *Garde Nationale* and the people of Paris had been the instruments of the Revolution in opposition to Royalty; but now, in 1873, the National Guard was disbanded, and the Government transferred to Versailles." ¹

The Resistance is Organized However, the movement was gaining strength. Would it not be necessary to reckon with it? " Every day came fresh addresses from constituents to their deputies, letters from deputies to their constituents, proclaiming the Republic, pledging themselves to defend it. Nor was it only deputies or Departments of advanced opinions that were thus carried away

¹ Vicomte de Meaux, p. 207.

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by **the** movement: the members of the Left Centre declared themselves one after the other, appealing to their constituents, carrying addresses to the Marshal, loudly protesting against any connivance with the monarchical conspiracy. Soon the whole Left Centre was of one mind."¹

Complete union had taken place in the Republican party.

As early as October 7th, the Republican Union, meeting in the Rue de la Sourdiere, nominated a committee intended to bring itself into touch with the Left and the Left Centre for the purposes of common action.

On October 17th, a manifesto of the deputies for the Seine, was signed by Louis Blanc, Gambetta, Brisson, Peyrard, Tirard, etc. " We are not only concerned—as M. Thiers, interpreting the sentiments of all France, has said—with defending a form of government, but with preserving the civil, political, and religious liberties won by our fathers, which are inseparable from the maintenance of the Republic. . . . Your deputies will oppose with energy any measures tending to re-establish by surprise a reign which France renounces. . . . "

On October 24th, the " last preparations for the battle " were completed; the Republican Left, meeting in the Boulevard des Capucines, had also elected a committee for action. The Left Centre appointed a similar committee.

At the Republican Union, it was decided that all resolutions taken by a majority in the meetings of the committee, comprising the delegates of the three groups, should be followed. This decision was accepted by the whole party.

¹ Ranc, p. 226.

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In the Army, which was indisputably in the hands of its officers and chiefs, one single incident occurred. General Carey de Bellemare, who was in command at Perigueux, wrote a letter on October 27th to the Minister of War, which is epitomised in its first words. " I have served France for thirty years with the tricolor flag, and the Government of the Republic since the fall of the Empire. I will never serve the white flag. . . . "

The General was put on the retired list. General du Barail took advantage of the circumstance to address an order to the Army.

Marshal MacMahon himself thought it his duty to intervene. He issued the following proclamation :—

SOLDIERS,—

An act of indiscipline has been committed in the Army.

The Marshal-President is convinced that it will not be repeated. He knows the spirit of devotion by which you are animated. You will know how to maintain in the Army that union and discipline of which it has always afforded examples, which are its strength, and which alone can assure the tranquillity and independence of the country.

As soldiers our duty is clearly laid down : it admits of no discussion. Under all circumstances we must maintain order and secure respect for the law.

The impression was received that the Government considered the re-establishment of the monarchy as certain, and would if necessary have recourse to force in order to secure respect for the decisions of the Assembly.

III

The parliamentary labours went on, in secret and in public. In the lobbies, pressure was brought to bear on uncertain

The Calculations of Votes

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deputies,. Names were pricked off, calculations were made, and attempts to win over or convince as many as possible. There was a group whose vote would determine success : the group of the men of scruples ; the object was to snatch them from the influence of M. Thiers. One of the leaders of the campaign wrote : " The important man to handle is Goulard : he alone can give us the *fifteen* wavering votes ; he is placed on the border lines of the Right Centre and the Left Centre. He will vote with us : he must *work* for us. Everything depends on that. . . ."

There were others ! The *Liberte* had published a list of names labelled as *certain*, *antagonistic*, and *doubtful*. These lists were examined with magnifying glasses ; every name was carefully checked. There were infinite consultations, secret pressure. Every means was good. Ladies, of course, busied themselves with the zeal which they generally show in seconding the plans and ambitions of their friends of the moment. Society life was turned upside down, shooting parties were put off; everybody, even the most exalted, put their fingers in the pie. Paris—I mean that narrow Paris which dubs itself All Paris—was transformed into an arithmetic class. They did their addition sums furiously, painfully, like gamblers :

" October 19th. Yesterday evening we dined with MM. Vingtain and Desjardins at the railway club opposite the Baden Hotel. There was a good deal of chatter about everything that is going on. I was employed as secretary by these gentlemen in the calculation of the strength of each party. Every name has been arranged in a probable category. This checking of names is going on everywhere. Ours gives the somewhat problematical result :

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348 votes for the Monarchy;

344 „ „ „ Republic;

36 doubtful.

" It is said that the tactics of the Left are wholesale abstention, and as at least 370 votes are required, royalty might make a *fiasco*. The Chamber may be summoned for the 27th (Monday). The Government is anxious to arrive at a conclusion.

" October 23rd.—In political matters everything changes from hour to hour. Each side is sure of victory ; each deputy makes his *certain* calculation. The only *certain* thing is that nothing is *certain*. The day before yesterday agreement seemed to be all but broken off; since yesterday the threads are being joined again. The Legitimists are all becoming Liberals."¹

Everything at once was staked on the card that was about to be turned up. And what morrows were in store ?

General
Uncertainty " October 23rd.—At the present moment calm prevails ; everybody tries to come out of the situation with the least possible harm. Moderate monarchists and moderate Republicans feel that they are not working for their own advantage ; some royalists, in moments of weakness, fear success almost as much as defeat. The bad thing about the present situation is that everybody feels the danger of either solution. We cannot get out of this muddle except by the abdication of the Comte de Chambord; we shall certainly have to come to that, if the monarchical solution comes off.

" Meanwhile, we are not only fighting to conquer ; we are also trying to save a retreat in case of failure. Moderate monarchists say among themselves : If

¹ Unpublished correspondence of M. Adrien L6on, junr.

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the monarchy is not established, what **shall we do** ? We cannot leave the country in the hands of the Radicals. The moderate Republicans put the same question to themselves, and I see clearly the dawn of a new party which says to itself: "The debate settled, if we monarchists are beaten we shall become the Right of the Republic. If the Republic is beaten, we moderate Republicans will become the monarchists of the Left."*

These feelings and anxieties remained locked up in men's minds. They, however, hampered the ardour of the zealous, and they were soon to be manifested in broad daylight.

In public, the parliamentary wheels began to stir, but heavily.

After the meeting of the Committee of Nine came that of the executives of the groups. The latter decided in their turn to convene the groups of the Right so that M. Chesnelong might present the oral account of what had happened at Frohsdorf to each of them separately.

What speeches ! what discussions ! what indiscretions ! Imprudence, hesitation, vain trepidation ! If failure had been wished for, the procedure would hardly have been otherwise.

The meetings were called for October 22nd. On that day numerous deputies arrived at Versailles. " The atmosphere of Versailles is quite royal," says one of the most confident, M. Martial Delpit. " The wind here is set in favour of monarchy ; the town of Louis XIV presented an animated aspect yesterday ; men meet with mutual congratulations and en-

¹ Unpublished Letter of M. Adrien Leon, deputy for the Gironde.

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couragements; everybody believes **in** success. The most animated are the new converts, and it is amusing to hear them say "The King' ; nothing else is said now. . . . The Marshal is quite willing to help us to establish the monarchy, but in any case he retires afterwards. He does not wish to try to govern with the Left, and has spoken out plainly. . . . Any mean term is removed; either the monarchy or radicalism."¹

The Right Centre was the most important group, the one which was going to decide the victory. Its members met again at one o'clock in a room in the hotel Petit-Vatel, the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier presiding. He asked his colleagues to ratify the draft of the resolution proposed by the Committee of Nine. Not doubting success, he further asked that the executive of the Right Centre should be authorised "to concert with the executive of the Left Centre to try to rally this group to the plan of the restoration of the monarchy."

The text of the resolution was adopted with a slight modification, and two additions directed to the liberty of the press and the maintenance of universal suffrage.

M. Chesnelong, who was not a member of this group, was present at the meeting and told his usual story, with the two declarations, the Comte de Chambord's reservations on the subject of the flag, etc.

The reservations were received "very coldly." "Do you know," said M. Bigot to M. Chesnelong, on leaving the meeting, "that when you were speaking of the flag, I thought for a moment that everything was going to be spoiled? I was on live

¹ Delpit, pp. 274, 275.

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coals. In fact, there is a fraction of the Right Centre which is intractable on this question of the flag."¹

At four o'clock there was a combined meeting of the Moderate Right and the Extreme Right at the Hotel des Reservoirs. Baron de Larcy presided. M. d'Audiffret-Pasquier, by his presence, affirmed the union of all fractions of the majority. No incident occurred. The draft resolution already adopted by the Right Centre was approved. The Right, after the Right Centre, decided that there was no occasion to give effect to a plan for anticipating the recall of the National Assembly: an incomprehensible decision, if there had not been some doubt on the subject of agreement with Frohsdorf. It was felt that an effort was still necessary to break the last resistance in that quarter.

The
Decisive
Day

We have now reached the culminating point of the parliamentary action.

"Hope reigned in every heart/' says M. Chesnelong. "M. le due Pasquier said to me, on leaving the meeting of the Right: 'All goes well: the union is perfect: success cannot escape us.' "²

Versailles was like a black ant-heap. People who did not bow to one another the day before now conversed at length and with familiarity. Nothing was talked of but the approaching division and the future majority.

Independ-
ence

This point had been reached, in a state of excited tension in which there was still some apprehensiveness, when suddenly became visible the depths of a situation which had remained obscure in spite of everything.

The labours for the fusion, which had been con-

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 307.

² Ibid., p. 307.

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fined up to this time within the twilight of confidential negotiations and secret conferences, were revealed to the public; but under such conditions and with such an evident bias, that the question was asked whether there was any calculation in the transaction, and if so, what was its real bent.

Perhaps—and this assumption is the most natural of all—there was simply a wish to palliate and cover before public opinion the unsatisfactory nature of the agreement, and its deficiencies ; and perhaps it was thought that good service might be rendered, if not to the Comte de Chambord, at least to the monarchical cause, by insinuating into the declarations obtained by M. Chesnelong, changes and attenuations, intended to render the plan more acceptable to the parliament and the country.

Here are the facts : the official report of the meeting of the Right Centre was published immediately after the sitting, on the evening of the 22nd. It set forth the declarations of M. Chesnelong. In the passages devoted to the constitutional guarantees it contained such phrases as the following : " The King is disposed in anticipation to the most *complete harmony* with the *most liberal* members of the Assembly and country. There will be room to insert in the document by which the monarchy will be re-established *the fundamental principles of our public rights*, in order to indicate that for the future it is intended to leave them beyond any dispute." " The agreement is complete and absolute between the ideas of His Highness the Comte de Chambord and *those of liberal France*"

But the intentional intervention was yet stronger in the passages concerning the flag : " His Highness the Comte de Chambord was reported to have said

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that since the tricolor flag was the legal flag, if the troops had to salute him on his entry into France, he would be happy to salute the flag dyed with the blood of our soldiers. . . ."

" His Highness the Comte de Chambord is said to have added that he reserved it for himself to propose to the country, through the medium of its representatives, a *compromise* compatible with his honour/* (Now, M. Chesnelong had repeated, without being contradicted, that he had never used any other word than the word *solution*, the only one adopted by the Prince, and one which expressed the formal determination of the latter not to make any concession, nor to accept any condition, and not to act in the future except with full liberty and *proprio motu*.) Lastly, the official account ended intentionally with these words : " *The tricolor flag will be maintained*"

The negotiations of M. Chesnelong were represented as having succeeded, when in fact they had failed.

When this statement was read out, all those who knew the under side of the cards were absolutely thunderstruck. Even before this document was divulged, this sentiment had been manifested, the journalists in the train which took the deputies back to Paris having shown the document which had been communicated to them some minutes before. " I saw the text which was about to be given to the papers," says M. de Castellane, " and I uttered a cry of terror. The Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, on my request, read the whole of it." (It is, then, certain that he did not know it). " He did not see in it what I saw. I insisted, I begged him to look at it again, to weigh its terms before delivering it to the public." ' It

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is too late/ was the answer made to me: 'it is striking four o'clock and the evening papers will be out at five.' "¹

The secretaries of the Right Centre were the Vicomte d'Haussonville and M. Savary. The first was not present at the meeting when M. Chesnelong spoke. Thus it was M. Savary alone who drew up this part of the statement. The Vicomte d'Haussonville read it on returning to his colleague; belonging as he did to the Liberal fraction of the Right Centre, he approved of it. Whatever arguments may be drawn from the end of M. Savary, his good faith has not been impugned, even by M. Chesnelong. As for the latter and the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, they had left the meeting of the Right Centre in haste to join the united sitting held by the Moderate Right and the Extreme Right. During that interval, M. Savary, without the directions of M. Chesnelong, had drawn up the decisive document and handed it on to the press.

Such was the incident. The only document given to the public concerning an agreement which disposed of the whole destiny of France was left to the improvisation of a man who had himself seen or known nothing about it, and not even checked by either of the contracting parties. Had things reached such a point that the fate of the monarchy and that of France, hung on a piece of negligence, a clumsy finesse, or a thoughtless prank?²

¹ Marquis de Castellane, *Dernier essai de restauration monarchique*, in the *Nouvelle Revue*, November 1st, 1895, p. 59. See the documents collected in the pamphlet of M. A. Callet, *Les Responsabilités*, 8vo, 1895. . . . See especially the controversy on this pamphlet in the *Memorial de la Loire*, September 17th; *Union*, September 12th, 27th; October 4th, 13th; *Journal de Paris*, October 18th, and *Memorial de la Loire*, October, 29th, 1875.

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Within an hour M. de Dreux-Breze **said** to M. de Margerie, who was endeavouring to palliate the effect on the public : " I don't care about the public. What I care about is what his Highness will *think, say, and do*, when he sees that liberties have been taken with his word." ¹

The impression on the friends of the Comte de Chambord is expressed in yet more definite terms by these other words from M. de Dreux-Breze :

" This report, of a so-called official character," says he, " contains numerous and *odious* inaccuracies. . . . I could not but foresee only too clearly the disastrous consequences of an act, the *insidiously hostile* inspiration of which left no doubt in my mind. We were to be faced with a *manoeuvre* calculated in such a maimer that the only path remaining open before the King was to refuse to submit to *conditions already rejected* by him." ²

Then the excitement was renewed, but in a contrary direction. What had been confidence became doubt; those who had laughed became alarmed ; mutual suspicion complicated an already complex situation. The Legitimist papers, headed by the *Union*, refused to insert the report. M. Chesnelong was in the depths of anguish.

Public opinion accepted the report as accurate, and no longer saw any immediate difficulty in the return of the King. The vote was now certain. A majority of forty was talked of. It was declared that the Left Centre was beginning its process of evolution. Certain of its members were already dubbed " monarchists of the Left." Names were quoted. M. John Lemoinne, under the influence of

¹ A. de Margerie, p. 31.

² Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 129.

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recent events and some pressure, wrote in the *Debats* of October 24th : " We see, according to the explanations given yesterday, that the guarantees for which we asked are assured, and that the Act which is to restore monarchical government will be inseparable from that which will consecrate the rights of the nation. . . . We ask of those who persist in bringing the weight of their liberal and conservative opinions to bear in the direction of the Republican solution, permission to address a question to them : if all the liberties enumerated in the preparatory document published by the monarchical meetings were guaranteed and assured to them, would they hesitate to accept the re-establishment of royalty ? We believe not. . . . The Conservative Republic is henceforth relegated to the category of those suspension bridges which have very appropriately fallen into the water on being submitted to the test of carrying a load, and we now have to try the experiment of the Republican Republic. Now this is precisely the experiment which the country refuses to make. . . . "

Thus the protagonists of the monarchical restoration reckoned on defections from the Left Centre. Meanwhile at Versailles this group stood firm. It met at midday on October 23rd. The Savary statement informed it that overtures would be made to it : " We must not let the country think," said M. Francisque Rives, " that we accept negotiations. Let us therefore commission our executive to declare in our name that we only accept proposals in accordance with our programme."

Forthwith the giloup passed the following order of the day, which was communicated to the press :—

The Left Centre remains united in the conviction that the

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Conservative Republic is the surest guarantee of order as well as of liberty, and that the monarchical restoration, which is spoken of, would only be a cause of fresh revolutions for France." *

M. Leon Say, President of the Left Centre, **left** his colleagues to go to the Permanent Committee at two o'clock. He met the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier. The latter suggested a conference of the two Centres, in which would be set forth the reasons militating in favour of the draft resolution of General Changarnier. M. Leon Say replied that " the plans of the Right were too well known not to have been appreciated by everybody. Every man's mind being made up, the proposed conference became unnecessary," ²

The Bonapartist party was naturally no less ardent against a combination which deprived it of all hope. Between Bonapartists and Orleanists there was an open contest and profound antipathy. The meeting of " the appeal to the people " was called for October 25th, with a view to drawing up the terms of " a protest against the establishment of a final system, of whatever nature, without recourse to universal suffrage consulted through an appeal to the people." ³

The papers published a manifesto signed by Baron Eschasseriaux, president, and Comte Ginoux de Fermon, secretary of the group of the " appeal to the people," declaring that the restoration would be " a retrograde revolution," and announcing that " the Imperialist party would vote against all the monarchical proposals."

¹ E. Daudet, pp. 195-6.

² G. Michel, *Leon Say, sa vie, ses œuvres*, p. 228.

³ E. Daudet, p. 161.

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About the same time a man of high consideration in parliament, brother-in-law of M. Target, and, like the rest of the group in habitual relations with M. Guizot, a man who by his tact and incontestable oratorical talent had acquired real authority, and was about to play an important part during the whole constitutional crisis, M. Raoul Duval, had broken openly with the Monarchist Right, and "set the example of schism in the conservative camp."

Perhaps he had not been properly treated. However that may be, he pursued a very ardent campaign in Paris and the provinces. He reproached the *Nouvelliste* of Rouen, an important organ at that time, with being too "Chambord and clerical." Many of the waverers shared this view and grouped themselves around him.¹

In spite of some hesitations, the Bonapartists, feeling that they had been out-manoeuvred, entered into the struggle with their usual procedure; they were to deliver the blow which would bring down the fragile edifice.

Note in the On Saturday evening, October 24th, the
Liberie. *Liberie*, edited by M. Leonce De troy at, published a note, which, said the paper, emanated from a "faithful friend to Frohsdorf, who was initiated into the intimate views of the Comte de Chambord."

It ran as follows :—

The Comte de Chambord is honour itself; no political intrigue will succeed in prevailing over his conscience, over what is his royal dogma.

Doubtless since the 5th Aug. he has made a point of offering to

¹ See E. Daudet, pp. 186 et seq., and Vicomte de Meaux, *Correspondant* of October 25th, 1902, p. 196.

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the various visitors who have gone to solicit his acquiescence in their combinations, a welcome of which the perfect kindliness has reached the point of exhaustion; but in the presence of no one of them has he allowed a word to escape him which might contradict his past declarations or compromise the principle by which alone he is King.

He has given nobody a commission to speak in his name ; he may have graciously accepted offers of devotion and service, allowed negotiators, doubtless full of conviction, to seek for a public formula which might prepare his return to France ; but he has never taken any pledge, has never rallied to the representative system, and above all has never allowed it to be understood that he could abandon his white flag.

Further, the Comte de Chambord is very much concerned by every action which would tend to compromise the declaration of the principle, outside of which he has nothing to do, and can do nothing.

If the National Assembly offered him the crown on the distorted conditions published by certain papers, he would refuse it on the spot. In any case, he will never abdicate, no more at Frohsdorf than in Paris.

As for the eventuality of pretended compromises of conscience, due to the influence of high notabilities in ecclesiastical circles,¹ it is possible that some such calculations may have entered the minds of certain people who put their ambitions before the interests of France and the Church ; but the Comte de Chambord is, and will remain, unshakeable : *justum et tenacem*.

¹ It has never been known for certain to whom and to what the note of the *Liberie* here alluded. Was it the approach made in August to the Bishop of Poitiers by some one in the circles of the Government ? (See above, page 148). Did it refer to the audience granted by Pope Pius IX to M. Keller, a member of the Changarnier group, October 12th, 1873 ? In the course of this audience the Pope spoke of France.

" You think that you are going to create the monarchy ? " said the Pope.

" Yes, Holy Father, we hope so, and we wish it very strongly."

" Well, you will not do it. Usually I do not concern myself with political questions. . . . But this time the thing was so important for France and the Church that I *let the Comte de Chambord be told* what I thought of it. The colour of the flag has no such very great importance. The French re-established

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This note heralded the storm. M. Chesnelong, who could no longer bear the implacable [silence preserved at Frohsdorf, went to M. Ernoul; he took him to M. de Dreux-Breze. He questioned the latter: "But where are we now? Speak!"—"I am," said the head of the royalist "bureau" to MM. Chesnelong and Ernoul, "without information and without instructions. I do not know what his Highness thinks of recent incidents."

This was hopeless.

The *Liberie* which appeared on the 26th supported its information, and added: "MM. Chesnelong and Lucien Brun will not contradict us, if they will only be so good as to remember in whose presence they spoke to the Comte de Chambord."

M. Chesnelong no longer controlled himself; he flung himself into the fight, he protested, he affirmed, he pledged his word that he was the only negotiator, received without witnesses.

The journal of M. Leonce De troy at replied: "During the stay of M. Chesnelong at Salzburg there were other conversations which enabled the Comte de Chambord, as soon as he heard of the *statement published by the Right*, to evince his amazement at it, and even to say to an intimate friend, "You were there! you! Is that really the meaning of my words?"¹

me at Rome under the tricolor. You see that good things can be done with that flag. But the Comte de Chambord would not believe me." (Chesnelong, p, 456). General du Barail, in his *Souvenirs*, recalls the epigram attributed to the Pope after the failure of the Comte de Chambord: "And all that for a napkin!"

¹ Who was the informant of the *Liberie*? It has since been learned that it was M. Norbert Billiard, a former editor of the *Journal Officiel*, under the Empire, a friend to M. Rouher.

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The Comte de Chambord was now directly brought into the case. Furthermore, the *Liberte* of the 29th announced that a letter had come from Frohsdorf confirming the information it had given, and that no one dared publish it.

All eyes were turned towards Frohsdorf. Decisive words from that quarter were now waited for. The silence could not be prolonged : the King " had been brought to the foot of the throne." Yes or no, had he " wished to have his hand forced " ? Stage by stage, things had been brought to the point that silence meant consent, and he could only speak to accept or break off.

At this time, when everything in France seemed to be smiling on him, the Comte de Chambord at Frohsdorf was in a state of anguish. What was he to do ? He was struggling in this dilemma ; either the crown without the principle, or the principle without the crown. Situations, doctrines, reasons for action, procedure, consequences—everything revealed itself to him at once.

Although this embarrassment arose from the facts, there was in it something irritating to the proud nature of this disciple of exile. His confidential friends

Disappearance of the
Comte de
Chambord

M. Billiard has declared that he had conducted this campaign to " clear the way for the profit of the Empire," and had acted in concert with M. Morange, another Bonapartist personality, who professed to have received " the heart confidences " of an *old* friend, " a devoted intimate of the Comte de Chambord, who had come to France with a commission to dissipate the equivocations, and break up the intrigues" (Dampierre, pp. 270-278).

The name of the *old* friend of M. Morange, the faithful servant of the Comte de Chambord, has remained a mystery. MM. Henri de Vanssay and de Cazenove de Pradine, each in their turn, protested indignantly against the charge of being the authors of " the alleged indiscretion " of the *Liberte*.

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watched his silent and clouded brow with anxiety: "I need not tell you to what degree his Highness is moved. If they wished to force him to speak, they would not set about it otherwise. He sees the *imbroglios* * and misunderstandings increase from day to day ; you know that nothing is more repugnant to his nature than ambiguous positions, and nothing appears to him too strong to extricate himself from them." ^a

For after all he was the King ; his will held everybody in suspense. Through him, everything was possible ; without him, the whole edifice crumbled. Had the force, his force, been sufficiently weighed ? He was the representative of that legitimacy of which Rojter-Collard has said " that it makes *right* perceptible to all in a revered impersonation." And this was the right under discussion, his right—the right.

For years he had turned the problem over and over again in his conscience. There were not two solutions, but only one ; the right of the monarchy was sufficient for itself ; it did not borrow from anything else ; in subordinating itself, it abdicated ; its virtue was exhausted as soon as it was shared. There was more than a contradiction, there was an impossibility in the words " legitimate King of the Revolution."

He had asked for advice. He, the descendant of St. Louis, a Christian soul, subject to the will of God, had questioned the representatives of Divinity on earth, the Pope and the priests. Pope Pius IX, deceived at first by opinions which had reached him

i Evident allusion to the Due de Broglie.

2 Letter from M. de Blacas to M. de Dreux-Breze, dated October 25th, 1873 (Dreux-Breze, p. 340).

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from Paris, had advised him to accept the tricolor. But the Comte de Chambord had enlightened the Holy Father, and explained to him the reasons for his *non possumus* ; and the Pope had directed an answer : " I understand : what you have done is well done, now as always."¹

An illustrious prelate, the honour of the French episcopate, Mgr. Pie, had been consulted in March 1873 ; he had been asked to set forth in writing the general principles of the royal and Christian policy. The Bishop, after having hesitated for a long time and " said a mass for the purpose," had sketched this programme, and sent it to the Prince, who thanked him effusively : "I cannot thank you enough for sending me these precious papers. It is possible that in the near future I may be obliged to recall what are the true foundations of the traditional and Christian monarchy, and these papers will then be of great help to me."

Now let us see what this royal duty was, such as the Bishop had marked it out in a firm hand : "A Christian prince should not take up a position from the point of view of interest; interest is full of obscurity, above all in times like the present. But he should act with a view to duty, with consistency and vigour. If he runs the risk

¹ Ade Saint Albin, p. 391. The Comte de Chambord had sent the Comte Henri de Vanssay to Rome, and the latter had there met Mgr. Pie. The prelate " prepared the ground " for the King's envoy, and made himself, on the Prince's own avowal, " his protector, his guide, his support." There was much talk of the restoration of the monarchy between the Pope, the Bishop of Poitiers, and M. de Vanssay. " It seems that Rome," says the historian of Mgr. Pie, " holds at the present moment the knot of the destinies of France " (M. Baunard, *Vie du Cardinal Pie*, vol. ii. pp. 482-493). See also Taine, *Regime Moderne*, vol. ii., p. 137.

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of succumbing to his task, and perishing in the work, fall for fall, is it not better to fall a martyr to duty ? To fall in this way is to fall as the tree falls which has borne its fruit, which has left its seed, that is to say, the germs of its multiplication. . . ." And some weeks afterwards the prelate had written, defining his whole way of thinking : " To those who say that his Highness does not seem anxious to return, I permit myself to reply, *that he is anxious above all to stay when he has come back*, and that so far from being afraid to reign, he is on the contrary by no means disposed *not to reign*"

This, in fact, was the real question : " To stay after having returned'^ to return "to reign" and not "not to reign," The firm attachment to the principle was not only a point of duty and honour, it was also wisdom, skill, security. The cause of all the evils which had overwhelmed this unhappy country was the abandonment of traditions and the successive weaknesses and capitulations, the lapses, of which infidelity was the fruit.

Who was to bring about the reaction, who was to replace the country in the path of right, if not he who was "right" ? and what was the time for effecting the reaction, if not the hour when everything was being decided, that is to say the very beginning ? *Concessions* were asked for, *guarantees* were demanded; on whom were they imposed ? On the King. By whom formulated ? By those who advertised the " conquests of the Revolution." They made no concealment; what they wanted was to introduce into the very document which was to restore the dynasty, that same doctrine by which it had twice already been shattered. How could

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it be supposed that it would not produce its fatal consequences yet again ? To consent to this was surely to disarm in advance the one authority capable of bringing effective remedies, to prepare the victory at no long interval for a fresh revolution, and a revolution without hope of salvation ?*

Thus, knowing what they wanted, they chose their symbol well: the tricolor flag. In fact, the whole question lay there.

What the Prince thought said the Prince to himself, lost in his reflections, always the same, and which so many direct witnesses allow us to reconstruct—"can I forget that this tricolor flag killed Louis XVI ? It was this tricolor flag, which, surrounded by pikes dripping with the blood of the heads impaled on them, drove away and killed my great-uncle. And I am to accept this flag ! Never ! Never ! " ²

"What that flag has done, it will do again ; and further, that is what is being prepared by bringing me back behind it. It is the symbol, the standard, recognised by all, of the political heresy to which

¹ " It is very easy to understand why the King did not accept the crown on the conditions imposed by the Right centre. . . . The King refused to do so, because he is the representative of heredity, and traditions, whereas the Right Centre wished to make him the King of the Revolution ; . . . because he has his own share in the public sovereignty, and the Right Centre wanted to take this share away from him by placing the whole sovereignty in the Assembly, which sprang from universal suffrage : this in reality constituted the sovereignty of the people, that is to say of numbers—the fatal principle of all revolutions.¹ Letter from M. de La Rochette in the *Union* of September 27th, 1875.

² Henri de Pene, *Henri de France*, p. 60. Unpublished *Souvenirs* of M. de Vanssay.

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I am the antithesis, of the Revolution. This flag is perhaps not actually anarchy, but at least—I know its insidious methods—it is the predominance of the fickle will of the nation over tradition, of the aspirations of the modern world over the principle of authority, of the interests and rights of the society of 1789 over the eternal necessity, in France, of a stable government : it signifies 'supremacy of parliament, guided by some leading personalities, over the Sovereign simply reigning/¹

" And these men, who are leading the whole campaign, I know them too. My mistrust has long been watching them. Ministers of the younger branch, aiders and abettors in all the disorders, aristocrats, they and theirs have at all times thought of nothing but of usurping the liberties of the nation in order to pare away the authority of the King for their own profit.² I know them. I have no confidence.³ Why did they not come here, and why did they send me that parliamentary envoy, who wore me out with his solemn verbosity ? It is a question of making a bargain ?⁴ I know what they want of me, that I should reign and abdicate to leave room for their ambitions and intrigues.⁵ I will not abdicate.

" I am the obstacle, that is well understood; they

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 143.

² " . . . The union of the people and the King permitted the French monarchy to baffle, for centuries, *the calculations of those who contend with the King only to domineer over the people.* . . ." (Manifesto of the Comte de Chambord, July 2, 1871).

³ Confidential statement of Pere Marcel (unpublished).

⁴ See above the words of the Vicomte de Meaux.

⁵ See above the letter of M. Adrien Leon : " We cannot get **out** of this muddle except by the abdication of the Comte de Chambord.¹

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would like to break it or to make use of it. I will not allow myself to be used, and I will break them ; I will stand firm. We shall see clearly if there is anyone now who can put himself between France and the King.

" If I do not yield, they propose to drag matters out. What are these plans for the prolongation of the powers of the Marshal but the delay necessary for my disappearance ? What are these plans for making Joinville or Aumale Lieutenant-General of the kingdom ? Am I impotent ? Am I incapable ? Well ! should such plans be realised, nothing would stop me—I should go, I should show myself to France ; I should myself fight the prince of my blood capable of such treason.¹

" I will go: I will present myself to the people, to the Army. They would understand perhaps ; in their simple, honest logic, they would understand that I cannot yield on the only thing that remains to me, my principle and my flag. They throw in my teeth Henri IV, and his phrase, true or not true, ' Paris is well worth a mass.' But he was a victor, while I am nothing but a stout man with a limp.² What a figure I should cut before this people if I presented myself, bent, begging of all my opponents for a throne which would not have me ?

" As for concessions, have I not made them all, one after the other ? I have conceded the constitution, the political rights ; they have made me

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 233.

² Eugene Dufeuille, *Reflexions d'un monarchiste*, p. 199. The Comte de Chambord used to say further : " If they think me good for anything they should leave me to act, if not they should leave me on one side " (Comte d'Osmond, *Reliques et impressions*, p. 63).

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accept universal suffrage, the two Chambers. Now we have the responsibility of ministers, religious liberties, the indifference of the State ! Every day they pile up fresh demands, fresh restrictions, in declarations which have never been discussed nor accepted. I am shown to this people swaddled in the formulas and reservations of the worthy M. Chesnelong. That is called 'the aspirations of France/ At the very outside 'party combinations to reduce me to the impotence of a disarmed sovereign.'*

" I am to capitulate to a Savary report ! I have come to that ! They want me to speak. Well, I will speak. . . ."

The Comte Robert de Mun was at this time at Salzburg, impressed, as were so many others, by the gravity of the circumstances. He was to dine at the Comte de Chambord's table. As they were moving into the dining-room, the Prince took him familiarly by the neck : " Your Highness is thinking, perhaps," said M. de Mun, "that you have only a few more days to dine in exile." " Yes," replied the King, " the monarchy is made; but from the way in which it has been made, it would perhaps be better that it was not made at all."²

It was not to be made. From every
Veillot's quarter protests came to the Prince. From
phrase everywhere, from Paris, from the provinces, from abroad, there arrived letters, telegrams, questioning, imploring him not to yield. M. Louis Veillot had uttered his famous words : " I f the Comte de

¹ Letter from the Comte de Chambord to M. Eugene Veillot, on the death of his brother, April, 28th, 1883.

² Henri de Pene, p. 396.

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Chambord gives way, he will perhaps be my King, but he is no longer my man! "

The Prince was still wavering; the Savary report was the last straw. Then the Comte de Chambord obeyed his own character: he acted. It is said that at the last moment he took advice once again, and that he even had a conversation on the subject with the Emperor of Austria. Perhaps some foreign pressure was brought to bear upon him and alarmed his patriotism.¹ He wrote the document, which was to settle his own destiny, and perhaps that of his dynasty, after two efforts. Confidence and mistrust or, to be still more accurate, two duties contended within him, and the document itself shows traces of these hesitations and this struggle. At last he made up his mind.²

M. de Blacas announced this resolution to M. de Dreux-Breze in the following terms: "His Highness the Comte de Chambord is more and more persuaded, on reading the papers and letters which come to him from all sides, that misunderstandings continue, spread, and are aggravated every day, in spite of the quick and clear rectifications inscribed by your orders in our papers. He sees in this an immense danger for himself, his position before the country rendered false and ambiguous, both now and especially after his return, and he has decided, as I allowed you to anticipate yesterday, to free

¹ The fact of an interview with the Emperor of Austria is said to have been reported in the unpublished memoirs of Marshal MacMahon. General du Barail is yet more definite: "The Marshal," says he, "was convinced that the Prince yielded to patriotic considerations and the fear of bringing upon his country the animosity and even the arms of Germany" (*Souvenirs*, vol. iii. p. 42).

² *Souvenirs inedits* of the Comte de Vanssay.

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himself from this situation, which is unbearable to him, by addressing a letter to M. Chesnelong, which Rene de Monti will place in your hands, and which is to be inserted in the *Union*, by his Highness's orders."¹

The letter, dated October 27th, written entirely in the Prince's own hand, and sealed with the royal arms, was brought to Paris by M. de Monti on the 29th. The Marquis de Dreux-Breze was to consign it to its recipient, M. Chesnelong, at half-past twelve. M. de Monti was also the bearer of a copy, which he was instructed to deliver to the *Union* with an imperative order from the Comte de Chambord, requesting its publication the same day, at three o'clock in the afternoon.²

Henceforth no one was to interpose between the Prince and the nation.

The resolutions of the Prince were punctually executed. M. Chesnelong has himself related the circumstances under which he received this document, which linked his name for ever with that of the House of France.

M. Chesnelong receives the Comte de Chambord's Letter

M. Chesnelong was in the company of M. de Mackau in a restaurant in the Rue des Reservoirs at Versailles, when the Marquis de Dreux-Breze came in, visibly in search of him.

"I at once went up to him," says M. Chesnelong, "and, possessed by the thought which had been pursuing me for four days, I addressed him first, saying: 'You have a letter from his Highness?'"

"'Yes,' he replied; 'it is addressed to you, and I am charged to deliver it to you. Here it is.'"

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 340.

² Ibid., p. 138.

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" 'Do you know anything of it? Is it good, or does it destroy our hopes?'

" 'It is very honourable for you,' he replied to me. 'But as for the most important matters, it claims the white flag, and seems to admit of no anticipatory conditions or guarantees.'

" 'But then,' said I, 'that is ruin. We must keep the secret of this letter, write to the Prince, at need start for Frohsdorf this evening, and conjure away at any cost an inevitable catastrophe.'

" 'That is useless,' answered M. de Dreux-Breze: 'a copy of the letter has been addressed to the *Union* with a formal order to publish it this very evening.'

" I was thunderstruck. I took the letter from the hands of M. de Dreux-Breze without saying a word more, and went back to M. de Mackau completely overcome.

"Seeing the profound distress imprinted on my countenance, M. de Mackau understood. I asked his permission to leave him. I went back to my house to learn the contents of the letter from the Prince, which had just been given me, and to reflect upon the situation.

"The letter was dated from Salzburg, doubtless to indicate that it was an epilogue to the interview." Its terms were as follows:—

Letter of
October 27th "I have preserved, Sir, so pleasant a recollection of your visit to Salzburg, I have conceived such a profound esteem for your noble character, that I do not hesitate to address myself loyally to you, as you yourself came loyally to me.

"You discoursed with me for long hours on the destinies of our dear and much loved country, and I know that on your return you pronounced

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words in the midst of your colleagues which will warrant you my everlasting gratitude. I thank you for having understood so well the anxieties of my mind, and for not having concealed anything as to the unshakeable firmness of my resolve.

" Accordingly I was not disturbed when public opinion, carried away by a current which I deplore, asserted that I was at last consenting to become legitimate King of the Revolution. I had the warrant of the evidence of an honest man, and I was determined to keep silence, so long as I should not be compelled to make an appeal to your loyalty.

" But since, in spite of your efforts, misunderstandings are accumulating, seeking to render my policy, open as it is, obscure, I owe the whole truth to that country, by which I may be misunderstood, but which renders homage to my sincerity, because it knows that I never have deceived it, and never will do so.

" I am asked to-day to sacrifice my honour. What can I answer, except that I make no retraction? That I retrench nothing from my previous declarations? The claims of yesterday give me the measure of the demands of to-morrow, and I cannot consent to inaugurate a rule of restoration and strength by an act of weakness.

" It is the fashion, as you know, to contrast the firmness of Henri V with the skilful policy of Henri IV. ¹ The violent love which I bear to my subjects/ he often said, 'make's everything possible and honourable to me.'

" I claim on this point to be no whit behind him, but I should be very glad to know what lesson that rash man would have drawn upon himself

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who was venturous enough to persuade him to abjure the standard of Arques and Ivry.

" You belong, Sir, to the province which saw his birth, and you will be, like myself, of the opinion that he would have promptly disarmed his adviser by saying to him with his native spirit, ' My friend, take my white flag : it will always lead you on the path of honour and victory.'

" I am accused of not holding the valour of our soldiers in sufficiently high esteem, and that, too, at the moment when I have no aspiration except to confide to them all that I hold most dear. It is, then, forgotten that honour is the common patrimony of the House of Bourbon and the French Army, and that on this ground they cannot fail to understand one another !

" No, I ignore none of the glories of my country, and God alone has seen in the depths of my exile the tears of gratitude flow, whenever, either in good or in bad fortune, the children of France have shown themselves worthy of her.

" But we have a great work to carry out together. I am ready, quite ready, to undertake it, whenever you please, to-morrow, this evening, this minute. That is why I wish to remain entirely what I am. But, diminished to-day, I should be powerless to-morrow. No less a work is to be done than to reconstitute on its natural foundations, a deeply shaken society, to ensure the reign of law, to cause the re-birth of prosperity at home, to contract durable alliances abroad, and above all, not to fear to use force in the service of order and justice.

" There is a talk of conditions. Were any imposed on me by that young Prince, whose loyal

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embrace I felt with so much happiness, and who, listening to the voice of his patriotism alone, came spontaneously to me, bringing me, in the name of all his family, assurances of peace, devotion, and reconciliation?

"Guarantees are wanted. Were any demanded of the Bayard of to-day on that memorable night of the 24th of May, when was imposed on his modesty the glorious mission of soothing his country by words from an honourable man and a soldier such as reassure the good and make the wicked tremble?

"I have not, it is true, worn the sword of France on twenty battle-fields, as he has: but I have preserved intact for forty-three years the sacred trust of our traditions and our liberties. I have, therefore, a right to reckon on the same confidence, and I must inspire the same security.

"My person is nothing, my principle is everything. When France is willing to understand this, she will see the end of her tribulations. I am the necessary pilot, the only one capable of bringing the ship into harbour, because I hold a mission and authority for that purpose.

"You can do much, Sir, to dissipate misunderstandings and stop defections in the hour of the contest. Your comforting words, on leaving Salzburg, are unceasingly present in my thoughts: France cannot perish, for Christ still loves His Franks, and when God has determined to save a people, He sees to it that the sceptre of justice may be entrusted only to those hands which are strong enough to bear it."

This letter was full and explicit, it left nothing unsaid. In the words of the Marquis de Dreux-Breze, the

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King "had scattered the darkness." In his authoritative, sharp way he had torn himself, with one smart effort, from the knots with which he had been bound. He had baffled "intrigue," Perhaps he had not calculated all the consequences quite accurately.

What he saw clearly was that he escaped an almost immediate danger, one which would have brought him to the most vexatious of all ends, the end which he feared above everything ; namely, that of taking possession of the throne again, only to lose it immediately. To be a simple makeshift, a bridge for his successors of the House of Orleans, was a hateful idea to him, and there is no doubt that it was unceasingly present to him.

The negotiations which multiplied around him caused him to foresee the difficulties which he would encounter on the very day of the restoration. He had seen, as already once before at Chambord, in July 1871, the spectre of the abyss which separated him from modern France. The elections of October 12th, 1873, warned him now, as those of July 2nd, 1871, had warned him before.

"His Highness was very imperious, and I used to laugh a little to myself," says Mme. de laFerronnays, in her memoirs, "when I heard the worthy *ultras* express a fear that, on his return to France, he would show himself too liberal. Nobody was less so than he. If the Restoration had taken place, his idea was to organise departmental assemblies in France, to which more extensive powers would have been assigned than are held by the present General Councils, and to work at decentralisation. All his sympathies were with the provinces and the people who came from them ; he feared Paris, somewhat like Louis XIV, who had preserved a

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bitter reminiscence of the day when, at the beginning of the Fronde, it had been thought necessary to remove him from thence.^{M1}

The first lasting impression of his childhood had been the Revolution of 1830; it overshadowed the whole of his life. From those days when his aged grandfather had been so cruelly betrayed by his own kindred, one dominant sentiment had remained with him—mistrust: he was "as suspicious as Louis XI," someone said to me.

The same feelings prevailed in his circle. The name of the Comtesse de Chambord has been mentioned. The demands, and even the attractions, of Paris frightened this woman, whose mind and body had taken the mould of exile: "I am the companion of misfortune," she said; "if my husband reascended the throne, the best thing for everybody would be, that I should be killed." ^a

¹ Mme. de la Ferronnays, *Memoires*, p. 118.

² H. de Pene, p. 399. "The Princess," says Mme de la Ferronnays, "was three years older than her husband. She was known to be far from beautiful. An accident at birth had disfigured the whole of one side of her face, as if she had had a stroke, which she never had. . . . Brought up at the court of Modena, the only reigning house which had refused to recognise the legitimacy of the royalty of the Bourbon-Orleans branch, where the most complete absolutism reigned, and the most retrograde ideas, she had been influenced by her early surroundings, and what was called liberalism seemed to her an insult to the Divine Law (p. 68). She did not conceal her animosity against the Princes of Orleans. . . . In her intimate circle the Comtesse de Chambord went so far as to say, in speaking of the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg, with that southern accent which she never lost: * That C16mentine, she makes me dine opposite the portrait of Louis Philippe in his red trousers. Does she then think that that is agreeable to me ? ' (p. 262). . . . The Comtesse de Chambord has often repeated to me that she felt herself humiliated before the French by her sterility, **and** even

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Must we conclude that the Comte de Chambord did not wish to reign? No. Did the Comte de Chambord wish to reign? His thoughts were quite otherwise, as his later conduct clearly showed. But if he wished to reign, it was according to his own conception of royalty, by a straightforward and honest understanding between himself and the nation. His policy was to be, as he said, "clear as daylight."¹ If this understanding was not realised in full light, he thought the rest useless.

He counted to an extraordinary degree upon the personal influence which he exercised. He thought that on the day on which he presented himself to the country, hearts would fly to meet him. He believed in the "window plebiscite." *

But precisely with a view to that day of effusions, he dreaded above all things to break the charm

thought that, the more royalist they were, the more they ought to wish for her death. The poor Princess, whom one may perhaps be permitted to reproach with not having exercised a beneficent influence upon his Highness, suffered cruelly from not giving a Dauphin to the country. . . ." (p. 80).

¹ This was the impression of the Due de Nemours immediately after his visit to Frohsdorf: "The Due de Nemours is convinced that the Comte de Chambord has no idea of conceding the question of the flag at this present moment (October 7th, 1873). He believes that he is master of the situation, that they cannot do without him, that the monarchy is already created in men's minds, and that if he does not advance towards us, we shall be compelled to advance towards him. I must add that I am inclined to think that, when the Comte de Chambord is enlightened on the real situation, when he understands that he must choose between reigning with the tricolor flag, or ending his life in exile, *he will choose exile*. . . . The opinion of the Due de Nemours is that the Republic must be prolonged with the Marshal" (Unpublished letter written by the Marquis d'Harcourt from Vienna, October 7th, 1873).

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which emanated from his loyalty, his straightforwardness, his fine traditional figure. He expected nothing from political wiles. He did not flee the throne, he refused to run a venture. Let us repeat once again his explanation in his own words, which were always the same : " If I had admitted all the concessions demanded of me," he said to the Marquis de Dreux-Breze, " if I had accepted all the conditions which they wished to impose on me, I might perhaps have reconquered my crown, but I should not have remained six months on my throne. Before the end of that short space of time, I should again have been relegated to exile by the revolution, whose prisoner I had become on my return to France." ¹

Here again we find the Prince in a close communion of thought with the Bishop of Poitiers. The latter, in fact, wrote to Mgr. Mercurelli, with reference to the letter of October 27th : " If the monarchy had been created under the conditions arranged by liberalism, our last religious and national resource was lost. It is clear that the King would not have lasted six months, and would have been unable to do any good during that very short reign. He had against him, over and above the different factions of the Left and Bonapartism, the greater part of the Right, brigaded by leaders whom he would not have wished for as ministers. Before this opposition, after the failure of two or three ministerial combinations, he would have had to withdraw, and this time withdrawal would have been abdication. On the other hand, to maintain his principles and wait for God's good time.

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 371.

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was to reserve himself for a future which cannot be far distant. . . ."x

Honour, conscience, piety, prudence, spoke the same language. A shrewd policy would -perhaps have spoken otherwise ?

The Comte de Chambord was the man of another age, a man of exile. M. de Margerie having asked him one day what was to be said to those who affirmed that "the King does not wish to reign," the Comte de Chambord did not allow him to finish his sentence, and his answer " went off like an arrow or an explosion," " Tell them," he cried, in a loud voice and with an incomparable tone and gesture, " that that is as much as to say that the King does not wish to work out his own salvation, that the

¹ Mgr. Baunard, vol. ii. p. 509. One cannot fail to be struck by the singular analogy between the terms of the monarchical programme drawn up in March 1873, by the Prelate (see above, p. 246), and the letter of October 27th. The biographer of the Bishop of Poitiers emphasises this analogy : " Mgr. Pie," says he, " found in this letter an echo of his thoughts, almost of his words." Indeed, the Salzburg letter says : " Nothing less is in question than . . . to ensure the reign of law . . . and above all not to fear to employ force in the service of order and justice. . . ." The notes of Mgr. Pie say : " It is then important that in the royal declaration or proclamation which will be made, *the reign of law should be energetically affirmed, the employment of force in the service of order and justice. . . .*" The words of Napoleon III : " It is time that good men should be reassured . . ." are recalled alike in the notes of Mgr. Pie and in the letter of October 27th. Finally, the Comte de Chambord concludes his letter thus : " France cannot perish, *for Christ still loves His Franks*, and when God has determined to save a people, He sees to it that *the sceptre of justice be placed only in hands strong enough to bear it.*" The Bishop of Poitiers also said : " What the world wants is *the sword-bearer, the grand justiciary*, as was said of St. Louis;" and he closes his outline of a declaration with these words : " *May God help us, and His Christ, Who loves the Franks !*"

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King does not wish to go to heaven. A man wins salvation only by doing his duty to the State. My duty to the State is to reign." *

But he did not think that his duty to the State was to yield.

Here we have the whole of the Comte de Chambord, the man and the " King."

IV

The Salzburg letter produced the most divergent sentiments at Versailles, in Paris, throughout France : surprise, dismay, joy, and, in a general way, a kind of relief.

For M. Chesnelong it was " ruin." He did not at first resign himself to "such a sad *denouement*."^{yy} He wrote a very long letter *ab irato*, to the Comte de Chambord, which he then folded up and kept by him. Then he went to look for M. de Dreux-Breze, and found him in the study of the Minister of Agriculture, M. de la Bouillerie. M. Lucien Brun was there : " We have had a fine dream/" said the latter; " it is shattered."

M. Chesnelong again pressed the Marquis de Dreux-Breze for a suspension of the publication. The order was, however, formal, and there was nothing to be done but to carry it out. M. de la Bouillerie undertook to communicate the letter to the Government, to whom, for that matter, it was already known.

The Committee of Nine was summoned for three o'clock. M. Chesnelong went to General Changarnier's house. He found a numerous assemblage there. More than sixty deputies, brought to Paris

¹ A. de Margerie, p. 39.

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by the approaching reopening of the session, had betaken themselves to the president of the Committee of Nine. A "certain" calculation of votes had just been made. "Taking into account only verbal or written adhesions, formally received, they were sure of a majority of twenty on the first division. Everybody was radiant."

M. Chesnelong entered : "I saw," says he, "confidence on all faces ; but they were struck by the sadness of mine."¹

"Have you brought bad news ?" the General asked, hastily.

"I have received," answered M. Chesnelong, "a letter from the Comte de Chambord."

A solemn silence immediately reigned, and M. Chesnelong read the Prince's letter with an emotion which he could hardly control. Not a word was uttered during the reading by the sixty deputies who were listening. "But as the reading went on, I could see anxiety," says M. Chesnelong, "then disappointment, lastly a kind of disheartened dismay, pass over the faces of all. . . . It seemed," he adds, "as if we were looking on at the unexpected collapse of a Government smitten in the fulness of its strength and life." Tears flowed down the cheeks of General Changarnier.³

A "mournful silence" followed. The Due Decazes broke it to point out "the marked differences" which existed between the declarations of M. Chesnelong and the letter of the Comte de Chambord. "I maintain all that I said on my return from Salzburg," answered M. Chesnelong. . . . "That was the truth. If it were disputed, I should appeal to

¹ *Campagne Monarchique*, p. 389.

² Compare Falloux, vol. ii. p. 580.

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the King. And if the King failed me, I should appeal **from** the King to God." The company bowed before the protest of this perfectly honourable man.

It is certain that there was at the least a misunderstanding. In his letter the Comte de Chambord cast no doubt upon the uprightness of M. Chesnelong. He even said that the latter's words " would earn his everlasting gratitude " ; but he did not sanction them by his adhesion.

On the constitutional question the Prince protested above all against the terms of the Savary report speaking of the " guarantees" which M. Chesnelong was said to have demanded at Salzburg.

As for the flag, the Comte de Chambord did not mention the two declarations which M. Chesnelong had produced in his name.

By the terms of these declarations the Comte de Chambord was said to have consented not to raise the question of the flags *before* having ascended the throne, and to have felt confident of making the National Assembly accept the *solution*, which he would propose. But it is certain that he had never renounced the white flag.

According to the statement of M. Chesnelong, that which at Frohsdorf was only a means, had been taken at Paris for a result.¹

¹ See the special note which appeared separately in the appendices to the *Notes et Souvenirs* de M. le Marquis de Dreux-Breze (4th edition, p. 325): *Origines de la lettre de M. le Comte de Chambord a M. Chesnelong; causes de sa publication*. According to M. de Dreux-Breze the causes of the publication of the letter of October 27th were : (1) The substitution of a " short note constituting on an essential point an inaccurate statement of the situation " in the official report of the sitting held on October 16th by the Committee of Nine ; (2) The "unexpected" publica-

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The Comte de Chambord, disappointed and angered, withdrew even the provisional concession which had been snatched from him : he resumed his primitive, categorically uncompromising attitude; he put on one side any recourse to ulterior negotiations. He repudiated the tricolor flag, and imposed the white flag.

The scaffolding so laboriously erected by the Committee of Nine tumbled down. The first impression was unanimous : " All is over. Our plan is no longer realisable." There was, however, a wish to leave time for reflection ; the Committee adjourned to the following day, Friday.

At the same moment the Government
Effect on the Govern-
ment was deliberating under the Presidency of Marshal MacMahon. The Comte de Chambord had ordered that before the publication " a complimentary communication " of his letter should be made to the President of the Republic.¹

The Due de Broglie had long foreseen the failure of the fusion. As an experienced chief, he had taken his measures to protect the retreat. The Council ranked round the Marshal was at once of opinion that the event ought not to involve either the resignation of the President, or the fall of the Ministry.

tion of the Savary report; (3) The " powerlessness of the bureau " of the Comte de Chambord " to re-establish the truth of the facts and triumph over the bewilderment of the public." The Frohsdorf correspondence qualifies these incidents as " terrible complications,"* announces that " the King alone can henceforth dispel the darkness " and " restore to his intentions, his views upon France, his understanding of the duties of a sovereign their true character progressively distorted." (See extracts from the correspondence of M. de Blacas above, p. 217).

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 147.

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The duty of the latter was to present itself united before the Assembly.

The eventuality was mentioned of a proposal, due to parliamentary initiative, supporting the proclamation of the monarchy along with the Regency of the Comte de Paris or General-Lieutenancy of Marshal MacMahon. MM. Emoul and de la Bouillerie supported the opinion of the Vice-president of the Council as to the small chance of success of this combination, at least so far as the Comte de Paris was concerned. Besides, the latter had urged " that his name should not be engaged in a campaign which had no chance of being useful to the country/" The Marshal put on one side the idea of a General-Lieutenancy for himself. Willing to remain at the orders of the Conservative party, he eagerly expressed the wish not to retain power except so long as no change was made in the existing conditions.¹

They were then coming to the prolongation of the powers of the Marshal. " The idea having been put forward," says M. Merveilleux du Vignaux, " it was natural that it should reappear at the time when the hopes of the monarchists were collapsing."²

The Council was of opinion that a constitutional act was indispensable. But matters did not proceed without difficulty. There was an adjournment to take counsel with the groups of the Right.

The Comte de Chamhord's letter had
Effect of the Letter in Paris appeared in the *Union* towards six o'clock in the evening. The news spread in Paris and made its way onwards like a lighted train of

¹ E. Daudet, p. 231.

² *Un peu d'histoire, etc.*, p. 112.

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gunpowder. Most of the papers issued supplementary editions, which appeared at the hour when Parisians leave the table to go either to the theatre or the boulevards. There was a general stupefaction.

People snatched at the papers, and the kiosks were besieged. The letter was read aloud by men who shook their heads or shouted and applauded. The Stock Exchange opened, and, as on all great occasions, men began by losing their heads, and the sellers operated in the direction of a panic.

The crowd had gathered close to the still smoking ruins of the Opera, and held discussions among the mounted police who were guarding the approaches to the burning building.

Those who were most deeply compromised held their tongues or lost their tempers, according to their temperaments ; the prudent congratulated one another under their breath ; the skilful performed evolutions ; " many rubbed their hands, affirming, some that the Republic was made, others that the return of the Empire was assured." ¹

In that corner of Paris in which all know one another more or less, the signs of conflicting passions were to be seen on all faces.

Some persons refused to believe in the authenticity of the document: " It is a forged letter," they said. " This is another trick of M. Thiers* ; but we will not let ourselves be caught by it." ²

In the theatres, everybody was standing, turning over the papers. The passages were filled with a tumultuous crowd. At the *Italiens*, M. L6once Detroyat, editor of the *Liberie* " walked about triumphantly" ; M. Paul de Cassagnac, at the

¹ E. Daudet, p. 231.

² Marquis de Flers, p. 190.

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top of his voice, demanded the prolongation of the Marshal's powers. At the *Gaiett* M. Batbie, Minister of Public Instruction, who, having been absent from Versailles in order to be present at the first performance of the *Gascon*, had not been able to take part in the deliberations of the Council of Ministers, was reading the letter in the papers like everybody else.¹

The Left Centre happened to be holding its meeting that evening. The group declared itself in permanent sitting, and communicated the following resolution to the press : " The Left Centre, inspired by the evidences of approval which have reached it from all parts of France, declares that the moment has come to abandon provisional arrangements and to organise the Conservative Republic."

Other meetings or conferences were improvised.

At Versailles, a certain number of members of the Right assembled at the Hotel des Reservoirs under the presidency of the Baron de Larcy. " A supreme and heartrending meeting," says M. Maurice Aubry, " in which I seemed to be personally the only objector, the only man vanquished," Seeing that the great majority of his colleagues were inclined to conclude that the restoration was henceforth impossible, the honourable deputy for the Vosges intervened in these terms : " If after the noble letter of October 27th, which shows the King such as he is, such as he always has been, such as he ought to be, you abandon the creation of the monarchy, it will be an historical disgrace for the National Assembly."

" On these words," says M. Aubry in his *Souvenirs*, " a new storm of speeches broke out, as if to cover

¹ E. Daudet, pp. 229, 233.

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the retreat of consciences alarmed by the bitter consequences of a fault henceforth inevitable, and by the presentiment of the responsibilities which would be its fatal result. . . . When I withdrew, some twenty deputies, less obscure and more excited than myself, came to say to me, with tears in their eyes and in their voices, "Thank you ! thank you." *

M. Thiers was giving a reception at the Hotel Bagration, Faubourg St. Honore. "Standing in front of the fireplace, and holding an evening newspaper in his hands, M. Thiers was radiant. Presently he did not resist the desire to read the royal letter aloud. Silence was made around him, and he began in a slow, measured voice. When he came to the passage referring to "the flag of Arques and Ivry," he stopped and raising his eyes over his spectacles, said, in that malicious tone so well known to those who have heard it: "I should like to see Pasquier's face ! " ²

And at the very same time, some important members of the Right Centre, whose president was the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, had met at the house of M. Lambert de Sainte-Croix. They decided to propose the Regency of the Comte de Paris.³

At Versailles M. Deseilligny, Minister of Commerce, was giving an official dinner : "During the reception which followed the dinner, the deputies of the different shades of the majority crowded round members of the Government, under the first shock of surprise, eager to learn what they knew, to anticipate what they were going to do; and, amongst them, the most disappointed, the members of the

¹ Maurice Aubry, p. 38.

² Daudet, p. 235.

³ E. Daudet, p. 237.

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Extreme Right, were not in these first moments least bitter against their Prince.

" Broglie, seizing Buffet by the arm and drawing him aside, said to him : ' You hear those men ? Well ! in a fortnight, I shall myself be accused by them of having prevented the monarchy ; but we have fifteen days before us to give France a Government and to save her.' "¹

Opinion as to the consequences of the royal letter was unanimous : in the words of M. Lucien Brun, " the dream was shattered,"

In his *Souvenirs politiques*, M. de Meaux relates that he had ascertained after a calculation that " the majority for the monarchy was secured," and and he was telling the news joyously to his mother when his uncle Merode came in. " All is over," he said to him, handing him the *Union*.²

" I felt on reading this," says the Marquis de Dampierre, " that all our hopes were foundering." ³

" We are lost," were the first words of the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier.

M. Martial Delpit expresses the same sentiment with still greater energy : " I was completely overcome," he writes in his *Journal*, " on my way to Bergerac, by reading the new manifesto of the Comte de Chambord. I felt the blow. We are at sea again ! " ⁴

" I wish I were dead," said one of the most ardent royalists to Mgr. Dupanloup. For the latter the event " was one of the greatest sorrows of his life." ⁵

Among the general public, as it possessed but little

¹ Vicomte de Meaux, p. 213 ; cf. Comte de Falloux, vol. ii. p. 584.

² Vicomte de Meaux, p. 221. ³ Marquis de Dampierre, p. 248.

⁴ Delpit, p. 279. ⁵ Abbe Lagrange, vol. iii. p. 289.

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information, nobody understood : " The Orleanists are furious. Their anger is so violent, so blind, so outrageous that it becomes comic." " There is nothing left for him but to die ! " the General of the Jesuits is reported to have said, in speaking of the Comte de Chambord.¹

Some one said, no less crudely (the words were attributed to the Comte de Merode): " He could not open his eyes: nothing is left for him but to close them." The pure Legitimists, like everybody else, noted the irremediable failure. " The Comte de Chambord is a madman," opined M. de la Borderie, deputy for Ille-et-Vilaine; " he has made the monarchy impossible," " The Comte de Chambord has thrown the crown out of the window," said M. de Saint-Cheron, with scant reverence.

Speaking to M. Callet, of the Right Centre, M. de la Rochette declared that " if the letter of the Comte de Chambord had been entrusted to him, he would have torn it up or burned it; but he certainly would not have published it." ²

Among the Bonapartists, the letter roused uproarious delight. On the evening of October 30th, M. Rouher was arriving from Cercey just as the *Union* was being sold. " Theophile Gautier the younger rushed to meet him and shouted to him: ' A letter from the Comte de Chambord! He maintains his white flag, and his declarations, and won't have any concession.'" " M. Rouher," as M. Eugene Loudun relates, " hurried into his study, where we all went, with Baron Eschasseriaux, who had just

¹ Fidus, p. 282.

² See in connection with this Callet, *Les Resfionsabilites*, and a letter from M. de la Rochette to M. Callet, inserted in the *Union*, October 13th, 1875.

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arrived, and M. Rouher told M. Gautier to read the letter. At the first words, we held up our hands: 'That is not possible ! It is an invention!' Doubt ceased when we were told that the letter was published on the first page of the *Union*.

" Then there was a general explosion of joy, especially on the part of M. Rouher. He could not contain himself; he walked up and down the room, he kept interrupting with jokes and puns in doubtful taste. . . . His joy overflowed irresistibly, and, from the violence of the outburst, we could judge of the intensity of his previous fears,"

At last, M. Rouher, addressing the Duke of Padua, said : " There is no meeting to-day; we are going to offer our homage to the Comte de Chambord." Indeed, on the following day there was " an outburst of admiration " for the Prince in the Bonapartist papers. " The Comte de Chambord," said the *Gaulois*, " has preferred suicide to dishonour ; the whole of France will feel for him the respect demanded by such a noble attitude." " This letter," we read in the *Pays*, " takes a king from France but leaves her an honourable man." " Royalty," wrote the *Liberie*, " is doubtless dead for ever ; but, in dying, it bequeaths to all Frenchmen a great lesson in patriotism and honour." The *Ordre* was no less lyrical : " Such men as the Comte de Chambord can do without crowns ; uprightness of mind, pride of soul, nobility of character, give them a crown never reached by parties and consecrated by history."

Since the Legitimist and Orleanist parties mutually annulled one another, Bonapartism, as representing the tricolor monarchy, recovered hope. Having only the Republic to face, it could wait for the poli-

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tical majority of the Prince Imperial fixed for March 16th, 1874.

The Republican papers were no less complimentary to the Comte de Chambord. The *Republique française*, the *Opinion Nationale*, the *Rappel*, and the *Evlnetnent*, congratulated the Prince on "not belying his past."

Besides the official paper of the Comte de Chambord, the *Union*, one Conservative journal alone, the *Univers*, commended the Salzburg letter.

M. Louis Veillot, according to the estimation of the Comte de Chambord himself in a letter addressed later to M. Eugene Veillot, "was the only man who understood and accurately interpreted the thoughts which had dictated the letter of October 27th."¹ He wrote in the *Univers* on November 2nd : "For us and for others, God be praised, this manifesto shows what a king of France and a Christian King really is. It shows us a man merciful and patient, but above all sincere, who rejects a throne on which God should no longer be seated, and from which the people would no longer be governed according to its rights and its needs,"

On the other side, we must quote the words of one of the vanquished in the fray. Mgr. Dupanloup wrote to M. de Pressense, Oct. 18th, 1873 : "We shall go from one calamity to another, down to the depths of the abyss. The curse of the future and of history will rest on those who, when it was in their power to establish the country on historic foundations, in stability, liberty, and honour, will have hindered that work! What grief, what remorse, for certain men who will then be compelled to say to themselves : There was a day, an hour, when we could

¹ Fidus, vol. i. p. 228.

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have saved France, when our help would have decided everything, and we would not have it so.

Thus do human judgments rush into rash conflict.

¹ Letter of Mgr, Dupanloup to M. de Pressense, dated October 28th, 1873.

CHAPTER VI

THE SEPTENNATE

- I.—Combined meeting of the groups of the Right—Attitude of the Orleans Princes—The Extreme Right—The prolongation to be proposed by the Rights.
- II.—Opening of the parliamentary session —The Due de Broglie proposes the Septennate—Message of the President of the Republic—Changarnier proposal—The Comte de Chambord at Versailles—M. de Blacas with the Marshal—The Marshal refuses to see the Comte de Chambord.
- III.—The report of the Committee on the Changarnier proposal—Debate on the prolongation—New presidential message—The Septennate is voted.
- IV.—Consequences of the vote—Difficulties of the Extreme Right—The Comte de Chambord leaves Versailles.

I

Failure of
the Parlia-
mentary
Restoration

THE want of agreement between the two monarchical systems rendered a parliamentary Restoration impossible. The failure of this combination disconcerted those who had placed all their hopes in it.

The Comte de Chambord, on the contrary, did not lose heart. Following a line of thought, the secret of which he confided to nobody, he decided to risk the adventure of a direct restoration.

But there was no longer contact between the Claimant and the chiefs of the royalist party in the Assembly. The latter, ill-informed as to the Prince's plans, afforded him no help. They saw no

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resource but temporisation. They gave their adhesion to a solution prepared long before: the prolongation of the Marshal's powers.

The Prince came to Versailles, and failed; the expectant policy gained the day : this time again it was to advance the cause of the Republic.

Such is the history, such the bearing, of those hurried days which inaugurated the parliamentary session, and ended in the vote for the Septennate.

On Friday, October 31st, at eleven in the morning, the Committee of Nine met at the house of General Changarnier. The latter could but repeat the unhappy words which he had already uttered at Metz : " Victory is for those who know how to wait." *

The Committee was in presence of " defeat." They did not even linger over the idea of challenging a vote of the Assembly in favour of the monarchical restoration : " We should have been 160 in its favour," says M.Chesnelong, "perhaps 200, if the most royalist portion of the Right Centre had joined us."

The Committee of Nine " considered itself virtually dissolved."

The Government remained.

The Due de Broglie understood better than any body the futility of an enterprise whose object was " to proclaim or to found the Monarchy, without a king who refused the crown." He was persuaded " that they would never succeed even in bringing forward any plan, much less in getting it voted ; so it would be necessary to keep to the powers of the Marshal, to consolidate those powers without changing the title, to assign to them a fixed

* General Zurlinden, *Souvenirs*, p. 141.

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duration, to render them independent of the present Assembly, and especially of future parliaments, and thus to constitute authority by personifying it in a man in default of a dynasty ; then ultimately to build up free institutions round this temporary but stable authority, which was moreover incapable of any encroachment. He thought that no other refuge remained between demagogues and a Caesar." *

This was also the opinion of the Comte de Paris : he wrote a letter on Friday the 31st to one of his confidential friends in intimate relations with the Government, in which he traced a whole line of conduct :—

Plan of the
Comte de
Paris " I like to believe that nobody will involve my name in a campaign which would have no chance of being useful to the country. It must be very plainly shown that we did not enter on this campaign either with personal aims in the background, or in order to set ourselves free from the Legitimists. There is therefore an even measure to be observed in the evolution imposed on us by circumstances. But throughout this evolution we must have a definite aim in view, without pressing the consideration of our self-esteem at the expense of more exalted interests. That aim should be to maintain a majority in the Chamber for the Conservative party : for that is our sheet anchor. We can reach that aim by imposing on our allies, from whom we have the right to demand it to-day, the task of supporting the Government as frankly as ourselves, in the policy which it shall adopt with reference to constitutional legislation. There we can find a ground which will unite all true Conservatives, all

¹ Vicomte de Meaux, p. 213.

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honest adversaries of Caesarism. It will be necessary **from** the outset to make a clear utterance upon a distinction which is hardly apparent to-day, but will become of capital importance as soon as we grapple with the question : that is the distinction between a pure and simple prolongation without organisation, the programme of the Radicals and Bonapartists, and, on the other side, a solid and serious organisation." ¹

Full Meeting of the Rights
In this remarkable letter everything was foreseen. It was simply for form's sake, that, in the combined meeting of the groups of the Right, which took place at General Changarnier's house on November 1st, All Saints' Day, the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier proposed to make a final attack upon the Comte de Chambord, and if this effort did not succeed, to proclaim the monarchy with the Comte de Paris governing in the name of the King under the title of Regent.

After a confused discussion, the decision remained in suspense. The Extreme Right opposed the idea of a Regency, above all with the Comte de Paris as Regent. In the end it permitted inquiries to be made as to the sentiments of the Prince de Joinville.²

A note published by the *Frangais* dispelled the doubts, if any existed, on the subject of the attitude of the principal parties interested. " In presence of what has just happened," said this note, " it is naturally asked, what is the situation of the

¹ From an unpublished document.

² See on this point the contradictory information supplied by (i) M. Merveilleux du Vignaux, p. 115, and the Vicomte de Meaux, p. 215, who say that the plan of a regency was adopted ; (2) by M. Chesnelong, p. 412, and the Due de la Rochefoucauld (Dreux-Brezé, p. 331) who affirm that no decision was taken.

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Orleans Princes. This situation is perfectly clear. The Princes of Orleans have declared that, on the day when there is a wish to restore the Monarchy, pretenders to the crown will not be found among them. Their declaration stands, and they remain faithful to it."

Nevertheless, General Changarnier executed the mission with which he was entrusted to the Prince de Joinville. The Prince refused : " That," said he, " would be to try a second 1830. The conduct of my father," he added, " was justified by the fact that at that time France had no resource except himself. If I accepted the offer which is made to me to-day, men would have the right to condemn my father retrospectively, because we should seem to be always ready to seize the chief power, whatever the manner in which it became vacant. France has now what she had not in 1830, a Government still in existence. She has the Marshal; he must be retained. I am, and we all must be, MacMahonist." ¹

Other approaches made to the Comte de Paris, the Due de Nemours, and the Due d'Aumale were equally futile.²

" We are all MacMahonists ! " were the words of the Prince de Joinville, and they were the words of the situation.

However, the Extreme Right was losing patience. It had no news from Frohsdorf : how was it to pledge the future without definite instructions from the Prince.

¹ Vicomte de Meaux, p. 215.

² Some days afterwards, by the Comte de Chambord's orders, the Marquis de Dreux-Breze conveyed the thanks of the Prince to the Comte de Paris and the Prince de Joinville for " their resolution, their attitude, and their language on this occasion " (Dreux-Breze, p. 126).

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The prolongation of the powers of the Marshal might, perhaps, be accepted ; but the Government and the Right Centre were more exacting, and demanded, according to the Comte de Paris's formula, " a solid and serious organisation," " a prolongation for ten years ! " Ten years ! a century ! What would Frohsdorf say of this eternity of provisional arrangements ?

M. Ernoul, carefully coached by the Due de Broglie, had gone the same evening to M. de La Rochette, president of the Extreme Right, and had put the screw on him : " The danger now lies," M. Ernoul had said, " in the Left. Since we have not succeeded in restoring the Monarchy, let us not at any rate destroy all its chances; there is only one practical way of reserving the future, that is to prolong the powers of the Marshal; if the monarchical campaign were one day to be reopened, the obstacle would apparently not come from him."

M. de La Rochette was afraid to declare himself. He recognised that an immediate decision was necessary, but he saw the gravity of either decision.

Then M. Ernoul, who was doubtless authorised to do so, brought the big springs into play : " The Government wishes to know where it stands; the final resolution must be taken to-morrow at the council of ministers. But it will not proceed, unless it is supported by the Right, by the whole Right. If not, the Cabinet will resign, and the Extreme Right will bear the responsibility before the country and history of having, in the midst of a crisis, brought on a dislocation of the ministry which will inevitably involve the resignation of the Marshal," *

The most influential members of the group who

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 421.

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were present at this meeting, MM. de La Rochette, Lucien Brun, de Cazenove de Pradine, were looking at each other ; they did not know what answer to make; they gave way one after the other, and answered for the Extreme Right. This was an important resolution, and its consequences will soon be seen.

On the following day, November 2nd, the General Secretary of the Presidency wrote to M. Gavard, head of the Secretariat of the President of the Council, the following letter, announcing success :—

VERSAILLES,

November 2nd.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have this moment arrived from Paris, too late to take the news to M. de Broglie as I had promised. . . . Will you tell him, as soon as he wakes, that all the combinations put forward in the course of the day have failed, thanks to the loyal, disinterested, and patriotic attitude of our Princes ? The Marshal, then, remains alone in the field. He is accepted by all. The Extreme Right is making difficulties as to the duration of his powers, but will, I think, resign itself to voting for ten years.

Yours, etc.,

EM. D'HARCOURT.

And the Due de Broglie, in transmitting these words to the Keeper of the Seals, M. Ernoul, accompanied them with this short but significant note :—

DEAR FRIEND,—I am in receipt of Harcourt's words to Gavard. You see that the last hope of France has not allowed itself to be compromised. It is now for you to act so that the majority may arrive renewed and rallying behind the clay rampart that we have been reduced to giving it in order to save it from the rising flood.

BROGLIE.¹

An hour later, the Council of Ministers met. The

¹ Merveilleux du Vignaux, p. 118.

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Due de Broglie was master of the situation. Not only was the prolongation of the Marshal's powers decided on, but the Government was of opinion that the initiative of the proposal should come, not from itself, but from the groups of the Right. The latter having announced that they would bring forward a motion for the restoration of the monarchy, and not finding themselves in a position to fulfil their engagement, it seemed indispensable that they should themselves ensure their retreat in the eyes of public opinion.

This was agreed to. General Changarnier was to bring forward the bill for prolongation in the name of the three groups of the Right, and the Right Centre.

Lastly, in a meeting of this latter group, held on November 4th, its President, the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, sounded the bugle-call on a rather loud note, it is true: "Because," said he, "the ship touched the reef, the pirates thought they were about to seize her, decimate the crew, and share the cargo. They were mistaken. The cargo is salvaged, the crew hale and hearty, the ship about to take the sea again; henceforth she is called 'the MacMahon.'" *

And the Comte de Chambord! The National Assembly met the following day; still there was no news from Frohsdorf.

The Comte
de Chambord
is silent

The *Union* and *Univers* showed themselves clearly hostile to the prolongation. These papers affirmed that the majority was by no means in a state of dissolution, and that the King's letter had not been understood. It was difficult to divine what they were aiming at.

¹ E. Daudet, p. 258.

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M. de La Rochette, in a letter which he wrote later, November 20th, to his constituents, explained his conduct by these simple words : " The Monarchy had become impossible in the Assembly. I do not pass judgment on the fact, I merely state it." *

That was true; but, the parliamentary restoration having failed, did no other resource remain for the monarchical cause ? This question does not even seem to have suggested itself to the minds of those members of the Assembly who were most devoted to the Comte de Chambord.

II

The
Assembly
re-opens
Nov. 5th

We have now come to the end of the parliamentary vacation. The Assembly met on November 5th.

Under the representative system, in which words take the place of deeds, that complex system, in which resolutions are taken in the somewhat restricted circles by which " public opinion " is propagated, things do not come into the broad light of debate until they have been already decided, and only require a justification and a sanction.

Thus, on this exceedingly serious question of the form of government, the sovereign Assembly, at the moment when it resumed its session at Versailles, found itself faced with results which had been arrived at in its absence.

" All is lost," said M. Martial Delpit.

Yes; but all was saved, if the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier's address to the Right Centre was to be

¹ Marquis de Dampierre, p. 292.

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believed. So ingeniously fertile had been the activity of the last few days.

Some time was required to enable the deputies arriving from their provinces to understand the situation and to take their bearings : " My first care on arriving at Versailles," writes the Baron de Vinols in his *Memoirs*, was to find out the cause of the failure of the monarchical negotiations. I applied to Combier, deputy for the Ardeche, who represented the Extreme Right on the Committee of Nine, and to M. de La Rochette. Both qualified the letter of the Comte de Chambord as disappointing, painful, inexplicable. La Rochette said to me with indescribable emotion : ' I am thunderstruck ; how I wish I were at home, and had never troubled myself about anything ! '

" On an observation made to Combier that the flag might have been but a pretext to withdraw from a burden which the constitutional shackles would make it impossible for him to bear, Combier answered peremptorily : ' No: the King had certainly accepted our programme.' He went over its principal clauses to me, and I did not indeed see anything in it seriously restrictive to the royal power."¹

Thus nobody, even among the most faithful, understood the policy of the Comte de Chambord, nobody entered into his views. The Legitimist party was disconnected.

The Right Centre was not in much better condition. The authors of the abortive Restoration had on the whole put themselves in an awkward position. Disagreeable rumours were spreading as to their sincerity and capacity. M. Chesnelong went from

¹ Baron de Vinols, p. 152.

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one to another giving explanations. He was listened to in silence. Many regretted their zeal.

On the Left, naturally, satisfaction reigned. The monarchy being impossible and the Empire having, as M. Ranc said, " to let its young man grow up," the Republic must profit by the crisis. M. Thiers thought that his hour had returned. He guided the battle, his hand was felt everywhere. What a delight it was for him to fall upon the Monarchists in full rout, and to turn their own weapons upon them ! They had declared " the urgency of a final solution " : well then, let them abandon the provisional arrangements now ! They could only do so in fact by organising the Republic.

But they reckoned without the presence of mind of the Due de Broglie, who, as on the 24th of May, showed himself a strong player on this difficult ground.

Ordinarily, the first sitting of the Assembly, especially after the long vacation, is given up to some insignificant formalities. Men meet again, chat, give and receive information ; the officials are elected; serious business is put off till the next day.

Tactics of
the Due de
Broglie

The order of the day published in the *Journal Officiel* simply stood : " Drawing for the ' bureaux.' " Amidst the noise of the entrance of the deputies, M. Buffet, after having announced that the public prayers prescribed by the Assembly on the occasion of the opening of the session would take place on the following Sunday, called on the Due de Broglie to speak.

There was a movement of surprise, which was soon changed to silence and attention when the Vice-President of the Council was heard to read a Message from the President of the Republic.

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The Message stated that order had been maintained, and that peace had reigned during the vacation. A short passage was given to the liberation of the territory. Then came the burning question, " the question, always reserved hitherto, of the definitive form of government " :—

The Marshal's Message It is not surprising that this grave problem should have been raised in anticipation by the different parties, and eagerly treated by each of them in the sense which harmonised with their wishes. I had no qualification to intervene in the discussion, nor to anticipate the sentence of your sovereign authority : the action of my Government has been obliged to limit itself to confining the discussion within legal limits, and to ensuring, under every hypothesis, absolute respect for your decisions.

Your power is absolute, and nothing can hamper the exercise of it. Perhaps, however, you will think that the excitement caused by such lively discussions is a proof that, in the present state of men's minds, and of facts, the establishment of a form of Government, whatever its nature, indefinitely pledging the future, presents some grave difficulties. Perhaps you will think it more prudent to preserve for your institutions the character which permits them, as it does to-day, to rally around the public powers all the friends of order without distinction of party.

If you are of this opinion, permit him, whom you have elected without any seeking after this honour on his part, to tell you his opinion frankly. To give the public repose a safe guarantee, the present system wants two essential conditions, of which you cannot allow it to be deprived any longer without danger: it has neither sufficient stability nor authority.

The rest of the Message developed the meaning which the Marshal attached to the words, stability and authority. The Government, not sufficiently armed by the laws to discourage factions, or even to secure the obedience of its own agents, would ask for fresh laws against the press, and the restoration to the executive power of the

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right of nominating the mayors in all the communes. The Assembly would not refuse " to present the country with a durable and strong executive power, which should take care of its future and be able to defend it with energy."

Even for the Rights, this was a surprise. So the Government did not abandon them! It was taking the necessary initiative at a time when it might have been feared that it would shun action from* motives of prudence.

There was an increasing salvo of applause from the Right as the Vice-president of the Council went on to unfold the system of government. On the benches of the astonished Left, the leaders were in consultation.

M. de Broglie had hardly descended from the tribune when M. Buffet read to the Assembly the motion prepared by General Changarnier and signed by 237 deputies, the natural sequel to the message:—

The	The Executive power is entrusted for ten years
Changarnier	to Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, to date
Motion	from the promulgation of the present law.

This power will continue to be exercised under the present conditions until any modifications which may be introduced by the constitutional laws.

A Commission of thirty members will be appointed without delay, in public session and by ballot, for the examination of the constitutional laws.

When the excitement had abated, the positions for the battle were immediately taken up by the party leaders. Baron Eschasseriaux, president of the group of " Appeal to the people," brought in a motion to the effect that the French people should be summoned in its electoral bodies on Sunday, **January**

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4th, 1874, to pronounce on the form of government. Each elector to put in an urn a voting paper bearing one of the following pronouncements : Royalty : Republic: Empire.

Baron Eschasseriaux demanded that this motion should follow the lot of the Changarnier motion.

The most liberal fraction of the Right Centre, that which had remained in touch with M. Thiers, was greatly embarrassed. It took up a conciliatory attitude; by the formulas which it uttered, it prepared resolutions which at first satisfied both parties, but which were to turn the balance later on.

M. de Goulard, a former Minister of M. Thiers, in demanding urgency for the Changarnier motion, made a shrewd distinction. The majority was not concerned to evade the pledge which it had taken to vote the constitutional laws. All that was wanted was that there should be detached from those laws a portion of the heading given to the executive powers, that relative to its duration. " Brought forward at the tribune such a question is judged from the point of view of urgency. . . . France cannot afford to wait ! . . . " The orator recognised, nevertheless, that the examination of the whole body of constitutional laws would be " more regular." These insinuating words opened the real debate.

M. Dufaure was at the tribune. He did not *finesse* ; he hit out in his ordinary style. He cruelly jeered at the Right. He reminded the deputies that he had put the Assembly in possession of Bills on the organisation of the public powers on the 19th of May ; that at the end of the last session they had refused to place them on the order of the

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day ; that to-day their extreme urgency was proclaimed, but that they confined themselves to detaching a portion.

This vigorous athlete demolished the house of cards. He said what he thought, and what was thought of the attempt at the restoration of the monarchy. " Whence comes," he asked, " the agitation which is spoken of, if not from an unexpected visit paid to Frohsdorf, and the political projects which were so hastily fastened on to it ?" " From the height of the tribune," said M. Dufaure, with crushing irony, " I thank the Comte de Chambord for having already supplied a motive for pacification by the letter which he wrote on October 27th.

" And now what is wanted of us ? The prolongation of the provisional government. Well ! I ask them for my part to return to the truth, that is to say, to the situation anterior to May 24th, and to organise the Republic definitely, as M. Thiers wished."

The sanction of this course was to remit the Changarnier motion to the Committee which was to be appointed for the examination of the bills on constitutional laws.

Urgency was voted for the Changarnier proposal; it was rejected for that of Baron Eschassériaux.

The Government, through the voice of the Due de Broglie, opposed the remission of the Changarnier proposal to the Constitutional Committee, and demanded the appointment of a special Committee. Here were the two systems face to face.

M. Thiers, on the Left, led the battle. The Guard engaged. M. Jules Grevy supported M. Dufaure :

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" It is proposed," said he," that the Assembly should delegate the executive power for a period which is. to last longer than its own existence, doubtless even beyond the longest expectations of any of its members. If you do this, if you institute a power so irregular, you will be proceeding as men proceed in a time of revolution ; *this power will be in itself null*, . . . It will not be respected, either by the nation or by your successors. . . . With the laws which are announced, it will be nothing but a dictatorship."

These words were pronounced like a sentence without appeal by the former President of the Assembly. They cast a chill upon the enthusiasm of the Right.

M. de Goulard, always conciliatory, declared that his friends were ready, as a pledge of their sincerity, to demand the immediate nomination of the Committee for examining constitutional laws.

The Left was gaining ground. M. Dufaure took note of the situation, and insisted on the precarious character of the pretended stability which was to be created by the decennate.

The division was taken. M. Dufaure's motion was rejected by 362 to 348, a majority of 14. " The majority of the 24th of May," said M. de Barante. That was true. But this same majority, retracing its steps, now declared for the maintenance of the provisional government. Thus it was traveling, self-deceived and unintentionally, in the direction of the definite organisation of the Republic.

The Changarnier proposal was therefore referred to a special Committee.

On the day following the division, M. Buffet was re-elected President of the National Assembly by 384

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votes, while he had only obtained 355 on May 24th. The Left in a body abstained from voting.

Thirteen seats were vacant. If the Assembly **had** been complete, perhaps these thirteen votes would have meant success for M. Dufaure and his friends. Accordingly, M. Leon Say, President of the Left Centre, insisted that the bye-elections should take place without further delay.

On November 7th, the voting in the " bureaux " for the appointment of the Committee to examine the Changarnier proposals gave a majority to the Left.

The Right had believed itself to be sure of success ; this was a hard trial. A little more and they would have despaired : " Our retreat, well begun," wrote M. Martial Delpit, " threatens to turn into a rout. Our chiefs have not manoeuvred well. . . . You saw our defeat in the ' bureaux.' It is serious. We are *beaten* men, *powerless* men : France does not like that, and the winds bring us nothing. We had all jumped into the water to persuade this country that it required a permanent government, and here we are condemned to make it a fresh offer of a provisional arrangement! Logic and common-sense are on the side of our adversaries," M. Martial Delpit defined the origin of this situation with singular clearness: " Everything would have come to us, if we had created the monarchy. God did not will it so. The pilot called to steer the ship flung the crew into the water; the future will weigh the responsibilities ; that which the Prince has undertaken is a very great one: we had reached our end, he had only to stretch out his hand to seize the crown, and he turned back. He did not reflect that he was compromising all the

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honourable men in his country; *that there was no longer any foundation in France for the Conservative party.* Here anger is deep against the Comte de Chambord."¹

Naturally the satisfaction of the Left equalled the confusion of the Right. "Now I have the Marshal" is a speech attributed to M. Thiers.

But the Left Centre in its turn was afraid that too complete a success would turn the current, and restore union to the monarchical party. By a slight evolution in the direction of M. Goulard, it gave its adhesion to the Marshal, and published the following resolution: "We declare ourselves ready to prolong the presidency of Marshal MacMahon, while closely uniting the law for prolongation with the prompt organisation of the public powers."

These were the ideas which prevailed in the Committee; it met and appointed M. de Remusat chairman, and M. Laboulaye *rapporteur*.²

What would the Extreme Right do? Would it give its support to this provisional government, which was organising itself without the King and consequently against the King, by voting the prolongation of powers for ten years, and consenting to a debate on the Constitution?

The Comte de Chambord after the letter of Oct. 27th

Still nothing was known of the Comte de Chambord. He had returned to Frohsdorf, awaiting the effect of the letter of October 27th. He had thought that the Right, placed between two alternatives

¹ Martial Delpit, *Journal*, p. 279.

² The *rapporteur* practically organises all the work of a "bureau,"¹ and thus becomes its most important member.—
TRANSLATOR.

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—either the immediate Republic or the monarchy —would accept the Monarchy of the white flag, rather than put up with the Republic.

He was surprised on receiving the news from Versailles ; the attitude of the Government, Marshal MacMahon's message, the proposal for the prolongation accepted by the whole Right : these were so many mortifications. He was, then, abandoned ! He measured the danger.

Then it was that, hurrying on a decision which he had long matured, he decided to go to France, to the very scene of political life, and to try, by a supreme effort, " to snatch his people from the hands of the Revolution." *

The Marshal was now the arbiter of events, and application must therefore be made to him. Would " the Bayard of modern times " close his door to the descendant of Kings ?

The Comte de Chambord left Frohsdorf, accompanied by MM. de Blacas, de Chevigne, and de Monti; he arrived in Paris by the Basle line in the course of the night, between November 8th and 9th. He had believed himself to be recognised on the Swiss frontier ; but the supervision exercised for a moment had been withdrawn or baffled.

Received at the *Gare de l'Est* by the Comte de Sainte-Suzanne, he had himself driven in front of the ruins of the Tuileries, as if at this supreme moment, he wished to invoke the counsels of the past which he represented; then he took the train for Versailles, where he arrived at about eleven o'clock in the morning.

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 149.

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The Prince had multiplied his precautions against being seen. At Versailles he only met one person who might have recognised him, M. Chesnelong, who was on his way to the station. The Prince leaned back quickly in his carriage. M. Chesnelong did not perceive him.¹

The Prince took up his quarters in the Rue de Saiht-Louis—No. 5. An extremely modest suite of rooms had been arranged for him in the house inhabited by M. de Vanssay: "A little door opening on the street, a dark hall, a wooden staircase, four or five rooms on the first floor, that was all."^a

Here, then, we see "the King" some hundred paces from the palace of his ancestors.

What were his plans? His circle obeyed, but knew nothing. "We went at random. The Comte de Chambord," says a witness, "abandoned himself to his star with a spirit that his faithful companions had never yet seen." The Prince had a plan, but he said nothing.

M. Chesnelong, at the moment when he was perceived by the Comte de Chambord, was on his way to Paris to take part in a conference, to which he had been invited by the Marquis de Dreux-Breze. He there found the Legitimist Headquarter Staff assembled: the Comte de Blacas, head of the king's household; MM. Lucien Brun, de Carayon-Latour,

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 140.

² *Souvenirs inedits* of M. de Vanssay, collected by the Marquis de Beauregard. M. le Marquis Costa de Beauregard has been so good as to communicate to me the reminiscences which he gathered from the lips of M. de Vanssay. I cannot thank my eminent colleague sufficiently for his perfect courtesy. The reader will appreciate the value of this precious document.

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and de Cazenove de Pradine. "The representatives of His Highness asked us if the monarchical campaign seemed to be abandoned, or if there remained any chance of resuming it. They told us that His Highness was not very far from France, and that he was at the disposal of the country if he was recalled on terms compatible with his principle and his honour."ⁱ

M. Chesnelong replied that the "ground," which had been taken up before the 27th of October, "would no longer be found sufficient." And he added: "If, however, the King thought he could accept on the one side the former plan of the committee of Nine, so far as the constitutional questions were concerned, a thing which I do not doubt; if on the other side, while reserving to himself to propose as to the flags, after his elevation to the throne, the solution which meets his wishes, he trusted himself to the generosity of the Assembly, if he consented to give the assurance that the question would be solved by an amicable arrangement, and would not in any case give occasion to the emergency of a conflict . . . in my opinion, under such conditions, the monarchy could resume all its chances."

M. Chesnelong had no doubts, and no suspicions. His state of mind reflected that of the majority. The meeting could have no results. MM. de Blacas and de Dreux-Breze returned to Versailles, and once again laid before the Comte de Chambord the insurmountable difficulties of a parliamentary restoration.

Then it was that the Comte de Chambord

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 467.

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disclosed his thoughts. In the presence of the Marquis de Dreux-Breze he charged M. de Blacas " to go in his name to Marshal MacMahon, and to inform him of his desire to have a conference with him in the most absolute secrecy/"¹

M. de Dreux-Breze uttered a cry of protest; he strongly affirmed his slender confidence in the success of such a step. " But nothing shook the resolutions of the Master, convinced as he was that the Due de Magenta would surrender to his first appeal."

In his *Souvenirs*, General du Barail says that he holds the following story " from the only person informed at first hand, one who, under the circumstances, was first interested" ; evidently Marshal MacMahon is intended.

It was November 10th, in the morning : M. de Blacas first saw the Duchess of Magenta and said to her, without any other preface :

" ' The King is at Versailles and wishes to see the Marshal.'

" Very much moved by this unexpected and extraordinary piece of news, the Duchess, who had been educated in the most absolute loyalty, replied with great presence of mind :

" ' I cannot know what my husband is going to do, but I doubt whether it will be possible for him to accede to the wishes and appeal of His Highness.'

" ' And why so ?'

" ' Because after what has just happened, after his message to the Assembly, at a time when a law is being elaborated which he asked for, and which is intended to prolong his powers, by going to His

¹ Marquis de Dreux-Breze, p. 156.

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Highness he would appear to lend himself to an intrigue of which the very appearance is incompatible with the dignity of his character.'

" * But what, then, are we to do ? The King has come to Versailles precisely with the intention of seeing the Marshal.'

" 'Then I only see one way. Let His Highness come to the Presidency accompanied by you if you think it useful. The ushers at the Marshal's study do not know him. They have received no instructions. Let him go in to my husband, who will be absolutely obliged to receive him and pay his respects to him/

" (What, madam ? You wish the King to come to the Marshal ! ' " ¹

General du Barail adds : " The Comte de Blacas then went in to the Marshal's room, who, without having had the opportunity of consulting with his wife, made the same answer as she did, so strongly was this answer imposed by the situation." *

The Marquis Costa de Beauregard tells the story of the interview between the Marshal and M. de Blacas on the authority of information derived from M. de Vanssay.³

" The astonishment and emotion of the Marshal at the first words of M. de Blacas may be surmised. . . . The Marshal immediately concerned himself with the Prince's safety.

" ⁱ On the least alarm,' he said, ' apply to me/

" **Blacas** reassured him, . . . and returning to his commission, he plainly begged the Marshal to fix

¹ du Barail, vol. iii, p. 436.

² du Barail, p. 437.

ⁱ See the *Gatdois* of November 13, 1903.

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the hour at which he proposed to comply with the King's invitation.

" There was a moment of keen-edged silence."

Now let us see the actual text of the *MSmoires* of Marshal MacMahon : " I was surprised by this proceeding, which I was far from expecting, and replied that, devoted as I was to the Comte de Chambord, I should be happy to sacrifice my life to him, **but** that I could not sacrifice *my honour*.

" When the National Assembly had turned out M. Thiers, it wished to reconstitute the monarchy with the Comte de Chambord. As a sovereign Assembly, it had the right to do so, to express the fact with authority, and there could have been no hesitation on my part in proclaiming its decision.

" In consequence of the manifestoes of the Comte de Chambord the situation had completely changed ; now, only a small minority in the Assembly was willing to recall him in spite of them. The majority thought his return impossible under the present conditions.

" After the fruitless efforts to constitute a Regency, the Assembly had thought that the only means of one day restoring the monarchy was to prolong and confirm my powers, with the certainty that I should never be an obstacle in the way of the restoration.

" I shared this view, and decided to retain the Presidency of the Republic; this imposed new duties upon me which I could not betray ; for me, it was a question of honour ; I did not wish that it should be possible even to suppose me capable of it, **and** secret conferences with the Comte de **Chambord** seemed **to** me of a nature **to** give **room for this supposition**.

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" Such were the considerations which brought me to refuse the interview asked for. I begged M. de Blacas to bring them to the knowledge of His Highness, hoping that he, himself so firm in his principles, would be willing to understand me.

" I further asked him to bring to His Highness's notice, how imperious this sentiment of duty must have been to me, since it dictated a refusal to me, which would henceforth remain the most painful reminiscence in my life." *

According to the recollections of M. de Vanssay, M. de Blacas insisted: " He affirmed to the Marshal that His Highness had not the barest thought of proposing any action to him contrary to his conscience, that he only wished to get enlightenment as to the real attitude of the army. . . . Blacas even went so far as to hint to the Marshal that the conversation asked for might modify his master's ideas on the subject of the flag.

But he made no way; evidently it was too late.

" ' But after all, sir,' said Blacas yet again, doubtless to clear his conscience, ' I swear to you on my honour that nobody will know anything of the step which I ask of you.'

" And with these words he drew from his pocket the key to the rooms in which the Comte de Chambord lodged, and held it out to the Marshal.

" ' You will not even find Monti there, your old classmate at Saint-Cyr,' he added. ' The King alone will await you.'

" The Marshal smiled, and did not take the key."

¹ I owe this important fragment of the *Memoires inedits* of the Marshal to an obliging communication from the present Due de Magenta, who will allow me to express my thanks on this occasion.

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At the end of his arguments M. de Blacas is said to have asked the Marshal:

"And if it was the Empress who asked for an interview, would you refuse it to her?" This singular question remained unanswered.¹

"The Comte de Chambord was not merely surprised, but absolutely amazed on hearing of the refusal which M. de Blacas had just encountered. He remained more than two hours without uttering a word." "Never during the thirty years that I have lived in attendance on him," says M. de Vanssay, "have I seen him so low-spirited or so disheartened,"

M. de Dreux-Breze, on his side, states that "the immediate and absolute refusal of the Marshal created an insuperable obstacle to the wishes of the Comte de Chambord."²

What were these wishes? What did the Prince expect from the Marshal-President? M. de Dreux-Breze explains as follows, in his involved style:—

"The Prince wished at this solemn hour to find

¹ Mme. de La Ferronnays, in her *Mémoires*, tells the story of the interview of M. de Blacas with the Marshal as follows: "At night, M. de Blacas presented himself at the Marshal's and said to him: 'I bring you news of His Highness.'—'Yes, I know, he is at Bruges.'—'No, Marshal, he is at Versailles, Rue Saint-Louis.'—'I answer for his safety; he will be guarded there.'—* I have not come to talk with you in order to protect him against any danger.'—* Then what does he want? '—'That you should ride by his side and proclaim him at the Satory camp; he is waiting for you in the Rue Saint-Louis.'—'It is impossible for me to go and see him there: that would compromise me.'—'It is a dark night: I alone have the key to open the door to you: you will be seen by nobody.' But nothing could overcome the Marshal's resistance (p. 266).

² *Notes et Souvenirs*, p. 156.

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himself alone, face to face, with Marshal MacMahon, the head of the executive power, and in virtue of that office, the holder of the best position, the person most obviously pointed out, to confer with him on the needs of France, her sufferings, and her future. He knew the deep love of the Marshal for his country. He could not doubt that, in proportion as the internal situation of France was more completely known to him, he shared in a higher degree the anxieties and alarms which this situation universally inspired.

" His Highness wished, in short, to examine that situation with the Marshal in all its details, to study the state of public opinion with him, the difficulties which one or another attitude on the part of the parliamentary world offered to the realisation of his views upon France, or the resources which such attitude might afford.

" This information acquired, His Highness would have directed the attention of the Marshal and his own to the measures to be taken *on the spot*, if the proclamation of the monarchy was a thing immediately within the range of hope, or to the course to be followed in order to arrive, within a certain fixed time, at a cessation of a provisional arrangement full of dangers.

" In appealing to the Marshal, the Comte de Chambord had determined, in the first hypothesis, and with the concurrence of the respected holder of the executive power, *to place himself directly face to face with his people and its representatives.*

" In the second eventuality, he was disposed to admit of a delay, in consideration of the formation of a plan calculated to ensure, by the aid of effective co-operation, the external manifestation of the

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monarchical feeling, so diversely attacked for more than two years, and holding a very real existence in the Assembly, as at that time in the nation,"¹

In more simple language, the plan of the Comte de Chambord seems to have been as follows:—

Deriving his inspiration from the precedent of 1814, he wished to avoid a parliamentary vote which would subject the rights of the King to the rights of the nation. So he applied directly to the Marshal, who, disposing as he did of the effective power, was in some sort Lieutenant-General of the kingdom in the absence of the King. The Marshal himself would surely bow before a wish expressed by the Sovereign in the course of a conversation, in which all the King's hereditary and personal ascendancy would be brought into play, and make himself the instrument of the restoration.

Then, either, as in 1814, the Assembly, summoned to the palace of the Presidency, would come to hail the King, or, better still,—if the Marshal consented,—the King and the illustrious soldier would go together to the palace and enter the hall of session, Henri V, again in imitation of Louis XVIII., leaning on the arm of the Marshal.

Such a sight,—the surprise, the shouts of the Right, the rush of the majority crowding around the Sovereign, such a scene, calling up the heroic beginnings of the dynasty and the acclamation of the faithful, would suppress all parliamentary procedure. The Prince, merely by his presence, was again "King."

Nothing further would remain to be done except to draw up a constitution, in which the opinions of his counsellors and the sentiments of the

¹ Dreux-Breze, p. 156.

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country would naturally be taken into consideration, and to secure the adoption of this Constitution.

Thus the new restoration would be effected on the model of the first.

But France was no longer in 1814. A sovereign authority, or one believing itself to be such, was in existence: the Assembly. The nation which had appointed this Assembly had lost the habit of implicit obedience. Lastly, Marshal MacMahon, elected by the Assembly, had no intention of imitating the marshals of the empire.

It is said that Marshal MacMahon, really taken by surprise, had no time to consult anybody ; his ministers being ignorant of the presence of the Comte de Chambord at Versailles. So he decided for himself, following the inclination of his soldierly spirit.

He declined the interview, he made his choice. Tricolor or white, he remained tricolor. His instinct, his conscience, the state of mind determined in him by his surroundings and the circumstances, decided the fate of the dynasty.

The Prince, on his side, acted alone. He had caused a Lieutenant-General's uniform to be conveyed to Versailles, to the house of M. de Vanssay. He was ready, his mind was made up, but he said nothing. At a time when every action speaks, he held his tongue. He distrusted parliamentary men, even his own supporters among them. Father Marcel, a Capuchin, who saw him at close quarters during these days of anguish, told me : "He had no confidence in all those people." He mistrusted ; he kept his own counsel ; race, education, misfortune, exile, had made him what he was.

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He failed. The two situations collided. In supreme crises, the dominant personality, and in each of the opposing personalities, the dominant faculty cuts the knot.

This drama, this encounter, this decision, complete the history of ancient France : a step taken by a faithful servant : a few minutes' waiting in a drawing-room : a conversation in low tones : a gesture : a key offered and refused : a smile—and destiny was accomplished.

The Comte de Chambord tore himself from his long meditation by an act of faith. Men had failed him, God remained. " Recognising the omnipotence of God over events," he had no longer any wish except " to profit by a manifestation of Providence in favour of his cause,"¹

One hope yet remained to him : perhaps this manifestation of the Divine will would take place at the decisive moment of the debate on the prolongation of the powers of the Marshal. If this prolongation were rejected, the crisis which would ensue could have no other issue but the unconditional proclamation of the Monarchy. A last hope, and a last illusion ! The Prince remained some days longer at Versailles, awaiting without impatience " the hour of God."

Every morning, he attended mass, which was celebrated for him by Father Marcel in a room of M. de Vanssay's house, transformed into a chapel.

The Capuchin met M. Chesnelong two days after the interview with the Marshal, and announced to him, under the seal of secrecy, the presence of the Comte de Chambord at Versailles.

¹ Dreux-Breze, p. 153.

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M. Chesnelong, in amazement, questioned **the** monk.

" Did he speak to you of his plans ? "

" He told me nothing about them, and I took care not to put questions which might have seemed to him to be indiscreet." replied Father Marcel.

" He appeared to me saddened rather than disappointed ; he is, for the rest, very calm, very dignified, very smiling, and very kindly."¹

In the evening, before dinner, the Prince gave an audience to M. de Dreux-Breze. The latter reported to the royal guest of M. de Vanssay " the facts and sayings which had come to his knowledge, the different impressions as to attitudes of mind, the decisions in preparation both in Paris and in parliamentary quarters, or in the bosom of the Government, the most generally accepted forecasts of the immediate future."^a

Beside the director of his cabinet, his secretaries, and the Marquis de Dreux-Breze, the Comte de Chambord saw nobody. He made an exception for General Ducrot alone.

III

Examination
of the
Changarnier
Proposal A parallel drama was being played in public in the theatre of the palace of Versailles, while the son of Kings was waiting in an obscure lodging.

The special committee charged with the examination of the Changarnier proposal was in deliberation. It worked slowly and maturely. It was, on the whole, guided by its reporter, a member of the Left

¹ Chesnelong, p. 470.

² Dreux-Breze, p. 151.

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Centre, who was one of the most active workers in the cause of the new order, M. Laboulaye.

M. Laboulaye was a philosopher, a pupil of Victor Cousin, a Lyncurgus. He had learned liberty, like Montesquieu, at the school of England, and democracy, like Tocqueville, at the school of America.

A former moulder of characters, vaguely Saint-Simonian, he had had a various and somewhat agitated career, seeking his vocation, which was, on the whole, to give a constitution to France : he was one of those average minds, which reflect the features of an epoch, and sometimes fix them on their own discreet physiognomies.

He had fought the Empire, for he detested despotism, but he had rallied to the liberal Empire, discovering all of a sudden that " the best constitution is that in possession, provided one makes use of it." The youth of the schools had offered the enemy of the Empire an ink-pot, which it had noisily demanded back from the partisan of M. Emile Ollivier. In a book which appeared in 1864, M. Laboulaye had formulated, or, rather, vulgarised the programme of the Liberal party.

All the problems of religion, politics, and political economy were solved by this one word : liberty. The writer, confusing in one general hatred the inquisition, despotism, administrative interference, centralisation, and protectionism, said : " Through absolute liberty, happiness will reign on earth." We were far from collectivism at that time ! For the rest, an excellent man, somewhat solemn, with a distinguished mind, at once solid and ingenious ; of pleasing countenance, with the eloquence of his countenance : ' He has long hair like his phrases, the soft collars of his paragraphs, the frock-

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coat, both loose and buttoned, of his convictions." ¹ He was not a master, but a professor singularly in harmony with the epoch, a professor of constitutions.

M. Laboulaye guided this committee, so annoying to the Cabinet, which, in the ambiguous plan submitted to its deliberations, was only looking for a means of drawing all the advantages to the side of the Republic. The majority of the committee rallied to the plan of prolongation, but instead of ten years, it demanded five, and put forward as a formal condition that the clause prolonging the powers of the Marshal should not have a constitutional character, until after the vote on the constitution as a whole. That meant to say, that the intention was to make the Marshal President of the Republic, not only in name, but in fact.

The Due de Broglie, on being heard before the Committee, protested, and supported the text of the Changarnier proposal in its entirety. Long deliberations followed, and long delay. The Committee referred to the Marshal himself; but the latter referred to his ministers. The Right lost patience; it demanded, with some insistence, the report which, according to M. Baragnon's witticism, "remains in M. Laboulaye's ink-pot."

On the 15th, the Assembly suspended its sittings, to "await" the report and the bill. M. Laboulaye yielded. The text of the Bill was as follows:—

Clause I.—The powers of Marshal MacMahon, President of the Republic, are continued to him for a period of five years beyond the day of the meeting of the next legislature.

Clause II.—These powers will be exercised under the present conditions until the vote on the constitutional laws.

¹ *Portraits de Kel-kun* (E. Texier), p. 8.

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Clause III.—The arrangement set forth in the first clause will take its place in the organic laws, and will not have a constitutional character till after the vote on those laws.

Clause IV.—In the course of the three days following the promulgation of the present laws, a committee of thirty members will be nominated in the " bureaux " to examine the constitutional laws presented to the National Assembly on May 19th and 20th, 1873.

M. Laboulaye at the same time announced that the minority of the Committee—that is to say, those who represented the opinion of the Government—had decided to return to the original proposal, amended as follows :—

Clause I.—The executive power is entrusted for seven years to Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, beginning from the promulgation of the present law. This power will continue to be exercised under the title of President of the Republic, and under the present conditions, until the modifications which might be introduced by the constitutional laws.

Clause II.—In the course of the three days following on the promulgation of the present law, a committee of thirty members will be appointed in public session, and by ballot, for the examination of the constitutional laws.¹

The first text was only a clause detached from an embryonic constitution. The second was less definite ; it reserved up to a certain point the eventuality of a monarchical solution.

¹ In order to understand the parliamentary incidents set forth in this second volume and which determined the Republican constitution of France, it is necessary that the organisation of the Assembly should be explained. The Chamber is divided by lot into a certain number of " bureaux ; " these " bureaux," somewhat similar to our Committees, prepare the work which is produced in public on the day of the debate. When a question is put directly before the Parliament, it is usually referred to the " bureaux." These " bureaux " elect from among their own members, by secret ballot, a " commission " or sub-committee

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The concessions obtained by the tactics of the Left, and granted before any deliberation, were already considerable. The prolongation was fixed for seven years, instead of ten years. The Right complied with the wish expressed by the Left to bring together a committee charged with the examination of the constitutional laws. Lastly, and above all, the name of the Republic having been omitted in the Government bill, "somewhat clumsily," according to the remark of M. Martial Delpit,¹ the minority of the Committee had been obliged to consent to its introduction, in order to spare itself the absurdity of refusing to give any name whatever to the Government of France.

Thus the constitution-making went on, slowly and against the grain; but it went on, however, and to the profit of the Republic.

The Republic kept possession of the State; the monarchists pledged themselves to maintain it up to the day, more and more uncertain, when a com-

which examines the technical aspects of the question, and put it in the hands of a "rapporteur," who lays it before the Assembly in public debate, and undertakes to support the opinion of the sub-committee. Owing to this arrangement, it may, and does, often happen that the sub-committees are not of the same opinion as the majority which they are supposed to represent, especially when the majority is not a considerable one, as was the case in the Assemblée Nationale after 1875. It will, therefore, often be seen that decisions suggested by technical sub-committees were rejected at public sittings, the majority having veered round since the committee was appointed. It is well not to confuse these "bureaux" with the "bureau" of the Chamber, which includes the Chairman, Vice-chairman and other officers. There is also a "bureau" at the head of each political group, which is equally distinct from the "bureaux" and from **the** "bureau" of the Chamber.

¹ *Journal*, p. 277.

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bination, difficult to foresee, would unite all the monarchists and permit the recall either of the Comte de Chambord, or the Comte de Paris.

The Report of M. Laboulaye M. Laboulaye's report, which preceded the bill, contained some sage advice addressed to the Right:—

In the state of division which at present reigns in the Assembly, after the excitement of the last months, and the recent disappointments, we now have but one opportunity of organising a government; it is the opportunity which has come upon us somewhat sooner than we expected. If the Conservative party has the courage to renounce hopes which it had long nourished, but which have just faded away, if it takes counsel only of its patriotism, we can march together, and give the country the government which it expects of us.

You were unwilling to renounce the national flag, and the free institutions symbolised by it: those institutions, that flag, are equally dear to us.

You wished to obtain a constitutional government by means of a Monarchy. The Monarchy has collapsed, but we believe that you can have the government which you desire, no less securely under the form of a Republic. There is now no other solution, if we wish to give France the shelter she needs.

In these words there was both counsel and a warning. But the Right did not even hear them. It began from that time to apply those tactics which were to lead it insensibly to a gradual and complete bankruptcy of all the principles and all the interests which it defended; driving things from bad to worse, always fuming, always sour, but always beaten, incorrigible, it was to remain always "a year and an idea too late."

Republican Elections. The debate was fixed for Monday, November 17th. The day before, two bye-elections had taken place. The Departments of the Aube and Seine-Infeieure sent two Republicans to sit in the National Assembly: Generals Saussier

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and Letellier-Valazé. Elected by 82,935 votes against 48,780 given to the candidate of the Right, General Letellier-Valazé took the place of M. Vitet, a Conservative ; he had been Under Secretary of State for War during the Presidency of M. Thiers. General Saussier was elected in the Aube under the auspices of M. Casimir-Perier by 42,294 votes against 17,844 given to M. Argence, a former Bonapartist deputy.

These elections attracted lively comment. The country was intervening in the debate and giving its opinion at the moment when the parliamentary battle was being engaged, by which the series of great constitutional struggles was opened.

The debate was, properly speaking, a battle of the Centres : the Extremes held aloof. The Assembly had to pronounce between the two texts, that of the committee, and that of the minority. The consequences of the failure of the monarchical restoration were such that the Right was already reduced to defending, no longer the decennate, but the septennate, no longer a Lieutenant-General or stat-holder, but the prolongation of the powers of the Marshal for some years.

The Left, on the contrary, continued its offensive strategy. Having yielded on the one point of the prolongation of the Marshal's powers, it shook in anticipation the provisional government to which it consented, and, in the name of Logic, confident of the will of the country, it exerted great pressure on the Right in order to snatch from it a first consent to the organisation of the Republic.

We should not understand the progressive successes of the Left, and the **gradual** retreats of the Right, if we did not feel at the bottom of all these discus-

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sions, an apprehension which was shared by all men of Liberal opinions : that of a restoration of the Bonapartes. The fear of Bonapartism was the beginning and the end of wisdom in the eyes of this Assembly.

A letter from the Comte de Paris will further define the state of mind which prevailed in the majority on this point. He wrote on November 11th to M. Adrien Leon, deputy for the Gironde:—

" I regret nothing of what we have done. We have reconstituted the party of the constitutional monarchy after having put all personal preferences on one side. The Liberal Conservative party was formed on the day when its programme was torn up by the man who was to be called to apply it. . . .

" We must take our stand to-day on the real ground of the public interest. We must give France a guarantee of stability. It cannot be found to-day in the Constitutional Monarchy ; the Lieutenant-general idea was only an expedient, which would not have succeeded, because it was not clear, and because it claimed after the 27th of October to reconcile the irreconcilable, that is, the manner in which the Comte de Chambord intends to return to France and to receive the crown, and the manner in which the Conservative majority intended to recall him.

" Not being able to restore the Monarchy, we must do what comes nearest to it ; we must organise a Constitutional government with an executive power placed, from this day onwards, above party struggles, above the chances of a parliamentary debate. I cannot understand why there should be any fears of giving this government the name of Republic, so long as the word is retained on the currency and elsewhere. And I see no other means of getting rid of it except by putting in its place a

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King or . . . an Emperor. Now this last solution is that which I wish to avoid at any cost. I consider then that to-day nothing separates the Right Centre from the Left Centre in the matter of principle. . . ." ¹

Thus everything was cleared up in the respective situation of the two Centres, which met and opposed one another on the ridge dividing the great Liberal party. Between them there was no conflict of principle, but only a difference in orientation. The Royalist Monarchy having been rejected, the sole question was to know whether a monarchical Republic should be created or a Republican Monarchy. The extremes held aloof as we have remarked : it is easy now to understand why.

The struggle was none the less keen. A still recent past had to be liquidated; the rents between persons were painful; already it was possible to foresee unavoidable excesses, and inevitable eliminations. The under-currents and distant consequences of these battles gave a peculiar animation to the combatants.

M. Thiers and the Due de Broglie found themselves face to face once again.

Skilful
Tactics of
the Duc de
Broglie

The Due de Broglie opened the day with one of those surprises which were customary with him. He went to the tribune and read a fresh message from the Marshal. This clever feint allowed him to throw overboard what was already lost. The Marshal no longer asked for the decennate, but the septennate. On the constitutional question he admitted that " the conditions of the exercise of the public powers should be debated at an early date." If he still insisted on an imme-

¹ Unpublished private paper.

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diate vote for the prolongation, the reason was that he would see in that decision a high mark of confidence on the part of the Assembly :—

" To refer to the constitutional laws either the starting point of the prolongation, or the final efforts of the vote of the Assembly, would be to say in advance, that a few days hence all that was settled to-day would again be put in question."

The manoeuvre was skilful. The Marshal's name rallied everybody : thus it was possible to make what was really a defeat pass off as a victory.

From that moment the result of the day was settled. This explains the excitement of the Left. M. Laboulaye said that the Committee wished to ask the Government for explanations which would facilitate the conciliation desired by all. The debate was adjourned till the next day, Tuesday.

At the opening of the sitting of the 18th M. Laboulaye announced that the majority of the Committee, after having weighed the terms of the message, and heard the declaration of the ministers, " resolutely " maintained its conclusions. The reporter incidentally indicated that the Committee attached little importance to the duration of the powers.

Thus the question was clearly circumscribed: would the prolongation of the Marshal's powers bear a constitutional character, or would it result from a simple law ? Would it be irrevocable or susceptible of modification ? In the first case the end of the provisional government was close at hand—it meant the Republic immediately ; in the second case, there was, if such an expression can be used, a kind of permanence of the provisional, and the Monarchy was still possible—later on.

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M. Bertauld, a deputy on the Left Centre, set forth his views with considerable bluntness:—

"The seven years' Presidency, such as you propose," he said to the Right, "is not an institution: it is the preface to the Monarchy." "There is," he added, "an existence in the way; there is an intractable historical right, which it has been impossible to soften or to bend: to that right, to that existence, you gave first ten years, and to-day seven years, to allow of its extinction."

As these words roused protests from the Right and Right Centre, M. Bertauld became insistent: "I address myself to the loyalty and good faith of all the Right: is there a firm resolve not to think of the re-establishment of the monarchy for seven years?"

M. Dahirel replied ingenuously: "No!" M. Bertauld triumphed and said: "If there is no thought of maintaining the septennial Presidency to the profit of the glorious Marshal de MacMahon, if this is not our firm will, the country is being deceived. It would be a matter of will, not of right." And his conclusion was, that there was only one way of remaining loyal and faithful to principles, and that was to return to the Dufaure proposals and "organise the public powers as a whole."

Jules Simon After a reply from the Marquis de Castellane, M. Jules Simon came to the tribune.

M. Jules Simon was M. Thiers; M. Jules Simon was the revenge of the 24th of May. That skilful orator was never more supple, more insinuating, more formidable. He began in a low, faint, feeble voice. He might have come there to confess and to draw his last breath; but he was there to extort the confession of his adversaries, and he wanted their last breaths. His voice rose; the rumble of invectives, recriminations, hatred, was heard. The speech, through **all**

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the meanderings of a captious argumentation, never lost sight of its aim. M. Jules Simon had picked out two figure heads, Marshal MacMahon and M. Chesnelong. Upon these attractive personalities he advanced, suddenly raining upon them terrible mallet strokes, barely deadened by a padding of Sorbonne rhetoric.

First parallel: between Marshal MacMahon and M. Thiers. The latter used to speak in person to the Assembly, and, by the law of the Thirty, the majority of the 24th of May merely proscribed "his incomparable oratorical ability," Now we have a President who writes :—

The President who sent us a message on Saturday, who sent us another on Monday, might send us one to-day, to-morrow, and during the whole course of the debate ; the Vice-president of the Council might come and read us a little letter, and the President would thus exchange conversation with the Assembly. Thus you would have a colleague with a certain authority upon which you had not reckoned. . . . When you are making the constitutional laws, you will hear the President very often ; he will impart his demands to you. . . . This is the personal government which you are inaugurating !

Another parallel : between Marshal MacMahon and Napoleon I . : —

Duration is not a force. This is not the first time that a man has asked for ten years of power for himself without saying what power : it is the second time. The first time was the 18th of Brumaire. However, a force was created on that day : the ten years were no force, the man was.

That man, he too—I borrow an expression from the report of M. Laboulaye—sprang from "our glorious army" ; I do not borrow another passage from the report, that in which it is said : "he had his share in our successes and our reverses,"

No, he had not had his share in any of our reverses, **and** the successes which we owed him were such that to find **a parallel to them, it** was necessary to go back to Turenne.

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That is what you had on the 18th of Brumaire, and that is why on that occasion there was a force. Nor was it **only for that** reason that the force existed—there was another : it was because, by an unexpected and almost incredible chance, the same man who was a great captain was also a great organiser, a great politician.

Gentlemen, if you had succeeded in restoring the legitimate monarchy by a majority of three or four votes, the King **would** not have been as weak as those three or four votes might have made him seem to be, for he would have been the King, he would have come with tradition and history at his back.

If you succeeded at the present moment in doing what I believe you wish to do, that is, to restore the constitutional King instead of the legitimate King, Louis Philippe II would also come, not saying merely : " I am going to reign by three or four votes," No ! He would say : "I am the Charta which perished in February," and you would immediately have something to give him over and above your votes.

But I come back to General Changarnier and his proposal, and I assume that you still have four, five, ten votes, to pass it. The man who will come out triumphant on this division will not be the man of the 18th of Brumaire, for he will not have the victories of the first Bonaparte ; he will not have the past of the Bourbons ; he will not have the Constitution ! He will say to the country : "I am a Sovereign instituted for seven years by a majority of ten votes," That is what he will be and nothing else whatever. . . . He has just exactly the force, which the few votes, that you give him, will be able to lend to him ; that he will have ; but except that, he will have nothing !

This " nothing " was terrible. By its very vehemence it injured M. Jules Simon more than it served the cause defended by him.

Now for M. Chesnelong. M. Jules Simon had taken upon himself to say what he and his friends thought of the failure of the fusion. The orator had too easy a task. He drew a lively picture of the weeks which preceded the letter of October 27th. He showed France reduced to listening " at the door of a study or a drawing-room to the discussion of her future. . . ." :—

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One day it was said: "We agree!" **and** there was not even a word of what they agreed about. . . , Then they wanted to anticipate the return of the Assembly. They would have come and told us what had been agreed upon ; they would have said, for example, that the Prince granted to the country the retention of its flag. And the next day France would have learned that her ambassador had made a mistake, and that France had been deceived!

M. Chesnelong rose to speak, but the speaker went on :—

On seeing this we thought that you were trying to reconcile persons, not doctrines : at that moment it was very difficult for an attentive observer to say where the Legitimist ended, and the Orleanist began. . . . You were then already coming to prefer the person to the constitution. And it was when you had failed in the complete fashion, which everybody remembers—then it was that, persevering in that contempt for political doctrines, and in that persuasion that France must be thrown, cost what it may, into the arms of a man, that you came and told us to give the power to somebody.

Such is the origin of the plan of prolongation.

In consequence of your fruitless efforts to found the Monarchy, it is stated by the Head of the State himself in his message of Saturday, that you " are incapable of finality." . . . You do not want to sanction the Republic : you cannot restore the monarchy. That is why I say that, even though the President of the Republic had not declared your impotence, you declared it yourselves a month ago by your failure, and you declare it to-day by your refusal. . . . Then if you are not forming a constitution, I ask you what you are doing ? If you are not doing one of these two things, voting for the monarchy, or voting for the Republic, I tell you that you are here solely to do in seven years what you could not do in three months. . . .

M. Jules Simon had exasperated every passion ; the Left supported him : the Right abhorred him. M. Chesnelong wished to make an explanation ; he went to the tribune and read a document which he held ready for any emergency : " I deceived nobody, and nobody deceived the country," he said. He protested his rectitude: " We were honourable men,

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honourably pursuing an honourable enterprise," These words were drowned in applause by the whole Right. Everybody rendered homage to the honesty of the negotiator of Salzburg. The Due Decazes himself, who, as a skilled diplomatist, had at first recommended silence, was among the first to applaud. M. G. de Belcastel alone, playing the part of the *enfant terrible*, made a reservation : " Your declaration," he said to M. Chesnelong, " was very noble and very moving. It produced a very deep impression. I applauded it heartily, and I congratulate you on it with all my heart. One thing only is wanting : you should have said that, fundamentally, the declarations which the Prince authorised you to make, and the letter which he wrote to you on October 27th were identical. That is a lacuna ; you should return to the tribune to fill it." ¹

The invitation of M. de Belcastel was more cruel than the direct onslaught of M. Jules Simon. M. Chesnelong said nothing.

After a reply from M. Ernoul, the closure of the general discussion was declared. The debate was adjourned to the next day, the 17th, for the examination of amendments and counter-proposals.

The Bonapartists and M. Rouher

At the opening of the sitting of the 19th, M. Rouher defended the principle of an appeal to the people. The situation of the Bonapartist party was improving. In the collapse of the monarchist parties, attention turned in its direction. Anarchy has always opened the way to Caesarism, and there was a kind of mental anarchy. The former Prime Minister of the Emperor had recovered all his assurance. He spoke with that

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 493.

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somewhat ponderous strength which characterised his special talent, and also with the brutal frankness of a man who has no reason for mincing matters. He delivered his blows on the representative system : " To make a constitution without the people," said he," is to encroach on the rights of the people. An Assembly which seizes those rights is guilty of an act of usurpation. Either the *plebiscite* or dissolution."

It is impossible to deny the bearing of a line of argument, which was followed even at the expense of the Imperial cause, when the orator exclaimed :—

For forty years, you have had nothing but governments tainted with an original vice. It would be a great lesson in public morality to constitute in this country, so disturbed* by the Revolution, a government pure in its origin from every agitation, whether that agitation is called a revolution or a *coup d'etat*. . . .

We must also recognise the clear foresight of M. Rouher, when he pictured in advance the consequences of the vote establishing the septennate, and showed the Moderate Right gradually travelling towards the Republic :—

The arrangement which is being submitted to the vote of the Assembly is neither legislative nor constitutional. It is not even a dictatorship. You say that it is the first clause in a constitution to be born. . . . I believe that the constitutional laws will be produced. But—I crave your pardon for what I am about to say, and I say it with trembling—I do not think that you will pass them. You will deliberate on them, you will discuss them, you will examine them, and the moment you come to the division,' the majority will stop short, for on that day it would be voting for the Republic, which it does not want. There is no doubt on this point. M. Laboulaye has told you so : the constitutional laws are a vote for the Republic. That is not the solemn proclamation of the Republic, brought about in a series of amendments which have passed before your

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eyes, but it is a constituted, organised Republic. The day after to-morrow there will be a President of the Republic, Republican Chambers : they will be, the one higher, the other lower; they will have different origins, . . . the Republic will exist. . . . Thus the proposal of the honourable General Changarnier, passing from circuit to circuit through the parliamentary mills, will end in completely losing its nature, in being destroyed, and the Monarchists will have been the founders of the Republic.

The frankness of M. Rouher unveiled the background of the situation, and perhaps what was the secret thought of every heart. But he was in his turn to hear some sincere words. He asked the Assembly to prolong, only for two or three years, the provisional organisation, such as it was, without making any change in it : " Then," he added, " you will be able to tell this Assembly that it has accomplished its task. . . ."

M. Depeyre interrupted him: " Eighteen and three make twenty-one! " he cried out. This allusion to the majority of the Prince Imperial was at once understood. M. Rouher defended himself from the charge of having had this in his mind, while M. de Valon replied, for the benefit of the Monarchists : " In any case it is better to wait for a majority than for a death."

In these two phrases, as rapid as the flash of two swords, the two parties brought their respective impotence and hatred into collision. Both were in an attitude of expectation : the Royalists until the death of the Comte de Chambord, the Bonapartists until the majority of the Prince Imperial.

M. Naquet defended the thesis of the Appeal to the people. M. Laboulaye replied, M. Raoul Duval answered, and a division was taken on the Appeal to the people. The proposal of MM. Eschass&iaux

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and Rouher was rejected by 492 to 88. The latter figure caused some astonishment. The 88 included, besides the members of the group of appeal to the people, a certain number of deputies of the Left Centre and Left. This was an indication for the future.

M. Depeyre supported the counter-proposal presented by the minority of the Committee, which was no other than the Changarnier proposal amended, and had thus become the Government bill.

M. Depeyre's speech was welcomed with favour by the Right. M. Laboulaye answered him. He put his finger on the weak spot in the system imagined by the disconcerted Royalists :—

You give us a power which has no name in any language. . . . It will be an interim power, a provisional power. And, in the name of public security, we are asked to give the country seven years of uncertainty ! Thus : the powers of the Marshal are provisional; the constitutional laws are provisional; the Government is provisional. Well! gentlemen, why not then make a provisional nation ? We are uniting on a negation. We used to say, in our good faith: "The Marshal and the Republic!" The answer we get is : "The Marshal without the Republic !" Well *I* you can be in no doubt about our answer: whatever may be our respect for a noble character, we will never put a man above the laws and above the country.

The words of the Government were awaited with impatience. It was half-past six : the Due de Broglie asked for a night-sitting. This was voted. The Chamber re-assembled at a quarter to nine. On both sides, this was to be the final effort.

The Due de Broglie took all his advantages from the very width of the discussion. He rapidly passed over criticisms and, like a good tactician, sure of his majority, he no longer debated, he affirmed.

He did not deny the failure of the restoration enterprise ; but that was no concern of the Cabinet,

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which had been faithful " to its duty of neutrality," while each of its members " had been faithful to his hereditary convictions and the belief of his whole life." Now, what was concerned, was the public safety. " It is necessary to suspend every other business, even at the expense of some theories and some principles, and to think of the safety of the country in the presence of imminent danger. . . . Tfy proclamation of any one form of government would be vain in a country which has seen so many constitutions and governments pass away, that one more or less hardly interests it." The septennate is reproached with being a transitory system ; granted. " The Assembly in its wisdom will judge whether the state of opinion permits a definitive government." It is a personal government: certainly. And what person deserves such a mark of confidence more highly than Marshal MacMahon ? Is he one of those against whom it is necessary to take pledges ? What does one fear from such a man ? And then came this thundering answer to M. Jules Simon, and, over his head, to M. Thiers :—

The President of the Republic has made a promise, directly to the Committee, and publicly by his message, to aid in the constitutional laws as much as is in his power. Would the Assembly doubt his word ? It would then be the first Assembly in France, I might even say, the first person in France, to conceive such a suspicion. You know the epithet which is never separated from his name, you know the reputation which surrounds him in spite of the dark shadow which fell on the halo of his military glory in the midst of our misfortunes ; you know that he is a loyal soldier above and beyond all ; you know that even in the rank to which you raise him, the first of his titles is moral greatness, and I should be sorry for those who did not esteem France fortunate in possessing such greatness, and did not think that she honoured herself in paying homage to it.

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This eulogy of the Marshal in direct reply to M. Jules Simon raised the enthusiasm of the Right. Then the Due de Broglie reminded the Chamber that the Marshal had placed the question of confidence on the vote on Clause 3, which gave "suspensive conditions" to the prolongation, and he ended by a pressing appeal to the majority of the Assembly: "Defenders of social order, do not abandon your leader; do not diminish his strength, when you increase his burden; do not destroy your work before beginning it."

The Right replied by a shout of joy. From that moment the Government held the victory. So far from being impaired, the majority rallied, more numerous than ever, to the words of the leader, who, after having awakened its anxiety, suddenly restored to it confidence and the glow of victory.

While he was thus handling his majority, the Due de Broglie, it seems, did not know that the Comte de Chambord was at Versailles. He has himself said that "if during the speech which decided the debate he had suspected what an auditor, invisible but present, hung on his words, he would have been confused by it, and would not perhaps have steered over the reefs as he was obliged to do." *

The brilliant intervention of the Due de Broglie in reply to M. Jules Simon smelled of powder. The Left waited for a serener speech, which delivered sentence at the moment when the debate was closing: M. Grevy was to speak.

Jules Grevy M. Jules Grevy had been president of the Assembly six months ago. He still retained authority

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over it. His cool common sense, his full and firm language, his commanding tone, and something of a middle class and austere morality, lent character to his physiognomy even beside M. Thiers and the brilliant orators of the Left. As an orator he was well known, chiefly by his deliberate silence; as a parliamentarian he was known especially by the proposal, which, in 1848, tended to suppress the presidency of the Republic. He was a very shrewd *Franc-Comtois* with the manners of a Methodist pastor. His toneless voice never warmed, his pale face never relaxed; "his thoughts were minted in formulas, adages and sentences. He was the oracle of *fas* and *nefas*; in listening to his so to speak lapidary utterances, one might have believed oneself to be listening to the laws of the XII Tables."^x

M. Grevy disapproved of organising, at that particular moment, powers of too long duration. Since M. Thiers could not very well protest against the prolongation of the Marshal's powers, M. Grevy felt that this part was incumbent on himself, and that this task devolved upon him. For some time he had been moving, a thing which in a man so immovable resembled agitation. Already, on the day of the debate on urgency, he had risen from his seat, and his words had produced a great effect; recently he had published a pamphlet on "the necessary Government," which had been read and praised, because it was short and peremptory. He now came forward to reply to the Due de Broglie.

His harangue was celebrated at the time. The Assembly was under his rod. Nowadays, this speech seems a little abstract and cold. The audience of

¹ Camille Pelletan, *Le theatre de Versailles*, p. 72.

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those days had a taste for that form of eloquence, the last echo of that of Royer-Collard. The form once admitted, we must admire the clearness and power of the reasoning, the nervous and sinewy style, the pressing force of the argumentation : not a flower, not an ornament; eloquence thus **handled becomes** a weapon.

Denouncing what was incoherent and illegal in the expedient of the septennate, he did not hesitate to foresee and forecast the conflicts of the future. His peroration was in a way prophetic:—

I am convinced that it is no good thing that you are doing and your resolution will not have the consequences which many people expect from it. This institution, as created by you, may one day find itself face to face with new powers, which will not recognise its lawfulness, and thereby may constitute a great danger ; it may bring on conflicts : that is the only result which it can produce, . . . and conflicts bring on revolutions.

Thus, gentlemen, your proposal is the prolongation of the provisional system, with its dangers, its sufferings, and, on the horizon, conflict and revolution.

M. Jules Simon had avenged the 24th of May. M. Jules Gr6vy now predicted the 16th of May.

The official report states that the sitting was actually suspended after this masterly harangue. M. Thiers did not conceal his admiration : " It is the finest and strongest speech," he said, " that I have heard in the forty years that I have been in Assemblies." *

M. Grevy always spoke with authority when he treated of the Presidency of the Republic.

There was nothing further to be done but to divide. It was already eleven o'clock at night. The voting was opened upon the alternative bill presented by

¹ Lucien Delabrousse, *Discours de Jules Grevy*, vol. ii, p. 375.

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the minority of the Committee. At 11.40 the result of the voting was verified and announced in deep silence. By 383 to 317, that is to say by a majority of 66, the National Assembly adopted the first clause of the alternative bill.

M. Waddington, of the Left Centre, brought up in the form of an amendment the third clause of the Bill of the Committee, specifying that the prolongation should not have a constitutional character till after the voting of the organic laws. This was the exact point on which the battle was fought. But the majority had taken its stand. The Government won all along the line. The Waddington amendment was rejected by 386 to 321, with practically the same majority, 65.

M. Leon Say demanded that the Committee charged with the consideration of the constitutional laws, provided in the text of the alternative bill, should be elected in the "bureaux," while the Bocher-Depeyre amendment proposed the election by voting on the list in public session. This last manner of nomination was carried by 369 to 324.

Finally, the whole bill was adopted by 378 to 310 ; a majority of 68.

It was then two o'clock in the morning.

The powers of the President of the Republic were prolonged by seven years, that is to say, till November 10th, 1880. Pending the vote on the constitutional laws which were to determine finally the nature and extent of the powers of the President, he was to exercise them in conformity with the laws of February 18th, April 28th, June 17th, and August 31st, 1871, and of March 13th, 1873.

In consequence of the rejection of the Wadding-

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ton amendment, the law of November 20th had clearly a constitutional character, that is to say that the conditions of exercise of the executive power might be modified, but it was irrevocable as to its duration.¹

IV

This was a great success for the Government, for the members of the Right Centre, for the Orleanists, for all those who had an interest in gaining time.

The Republicans themselves might be satisfied. They had asked for much, and much had been granted them ; the name of the system of government, the possession of the State, the promise of a Constitution shortly. The presence of the Marshal at the Presidency was a guarantee for them, and without knowing the singular service which he had just rendered to their cause, they knew well that he was not a man of adventures. However, they had not voted for the alternative bill, of which they were the immediate beneficiaries, and thus in spite of everything they were free.

But what had been the part of the Extreme Right, what its situation, while the Comte de Chambord, the King, was waiting for the end of these debates, in which the representatives of the nation had passed in review, all systems, all solutions, except the Monarchical solution ?

The Extreme Right had remained silent, and it had voted.

It had voted with death in its soul, knowing that

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the King was there. It only asked for an order, a word, the authorisation to approach the Sovereign, and to beg for instructions. The word had not been said : nobody had been admitted into those **small** lodgings ; and yet it was known that the Prince was there.

" On November 12th, Cazenove, so gloriously crippled at Loigny, who had lived so long at Frohsdorf, was going up the Avenue des Reservoirs with some deputies, when we saw him stop all of a sudden.

" ^c Why ! why ! ' he said, in a choking voice, ' the King is here ! ' . . .

" ' The King ! ' said his colleagues.

" And he went on, breathless, aghast: ' I am sure of it. I recognised Charlemagne there, in that carriage which has just passed.'

" We looked at one another in amazement. Was he going mad ?

" ^c Yes, Charlemagne, his Highness's valet, his confidential servant who never leaves him. If Charlemagne is here, the King is here too.'"

The news flew from mouth to mouth among the faithful: the King is at Versailles !

" All of us knew that the King was at Versailles, and nobody had seen him. What did he want of us ? I have even preserved a very definite recollection of the meeting in the morning between some deputies and M. de Blacas in a friendly drawing-room. We implored him to tell us where the King was. And he answered vaguely that the King might be at Versailles in twenty-four hours. We begged him at least to give us some indications. And M. de Blacas went on answering, always more vaguely, that he had none. . . . What was to be done ? I can still see La Rochette, Carayon, Lucien

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Brun, Cazenove, dropping their voting papers finally, into the urn,"¹

Among the Light-horse, one alone, M. Dahirel, who, however, had signed the Changarnier proposal, voted against the septennate. Seven deputies abstained: MM. d'Aboville, Dezanneau, de Belcastel, de Cornulier-Luciniere, de Francieu, General du Temple, de Freville. They explained their attitude in a note communicated to the papers at the end of the sitting. They had reckoned on reading it before the division, but the Due de Broglie's speech prevented them. Here is their declaration:

Convinced that the National and Christian Monarchy is the only salvation of the country, and that you could restore it, if you would, we cannot make up our minds to tell France by voting for the Bill which you offer her, that it is a necessary and efficacious instrument of social safety. Let those who think so, say so, and vote accordingly; it is their right and duty; we respect it.

We have sounded the bottom of our consciences; for us this action would be insincere.

Now, after the King, but like the King, we have never deceived the country, and never will. We abstain.⁸

The other royalists, without guidance, without any line of conduct, shaken by the skilful arguments of the Due de Broglie, voted for the septennate. They were persuaded that in this way they reserved the future, even for the Comte de Chambord. M. de La Rochette, in a letter dated November 20th, 1873, and published by the *Esprance du peuple*, of Nantes, explains the state of mind of the members

¹ An article in the *Gaulois* of November 13th, 1903, by M. Costa de Beauregard.

² A. de Saint-Albin, p. 417.

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of the group of the Extreme Right of which he was president:

Much obscurity has been thrown on this vote. Some thought they saw the royalists throwing the King overboard for seven years, and have blamed them severely.

Others, more Confident, and permit me to say, more patient and politic, have not been able to believe that men who have passed their whole lives in loyalty and honour were capable of so sad a falling away. And they are right. . . .

It is a mistake on the part of our friends to believe that for seven years we can no longer speak of the King, and restore the monarchy. Until the constitutional laws are passed, the situation does not change, and the Marshal governs under the same conditions as heretofore. We have a guarantee for it in the public speeches of the Vice-president of the Council and the Keeper of the Seals, in the loyalty of the Marshal and the actual text of the law. . . .

So I call upon our friends to take confidence. This delay is independent of our will; but there is no abandonment; and our faith and our hopes in a near future have not weakened.¹

In a circular to the Royalist Committees dated November 22nd, 1873, M. de Dreux-Breze expressed the same opinion :—

The majority of the Chamber has wished, by the creation of a more firmly established power, to oppose a dam to the revolutionary torrent, whose power has been revealed for some months by the result of the bye-elections. In the eyes of all parties this period of rest is not a final solution. We further have as a guarantee for this temporary situation the loyalty and disinterestedness of Marshal MacMahon, who offered himself, but never wished, and never will consent to impose himself.

The circular prescribed a double duty for the loyalists:—

Not to fight, to support at need the government of Marshal MacMahon. Not to give the significance of a final decision to

Marquis de Dampierre, p. 291, and A. de Saint-Albin, p. 418.

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the vote of the Assembly, and to multiply petitions in favour of monarchy.

Petitions in favour of Monarchy! They had come to that!

The cause of the monarchy, shaken and tossed in a last eddy, disputed between two rival parties, neither of which had been willing to yield, was submerged, and whatever the Due d' Audiffret-Pasquier may have said, the *MacMahon* was not the ship to set it afloat again.

Return
to
Exile The Comte de Chambord had anxiously awaited the vote in the Assembly in M. de Vanssay's house, "three hundred yards from the palace." M. de Dreux-Breze kept him informed of the course of the debate.

The division taken in the night ruined his last hopes.

In the course of the morning of November 20th he summoned MM. Lucien Brun, de Carayon, de Cazenove de Pradine, and perhaps also M. de La Rochette. "I have it from my friend M. Lucien Bran," says M. Chesnelong, "that his Highness did not speak to them of their vote of the preceding night; in calling them to him before leaving Versailles, he had only wished to give them a fresh mark of his affectionate sympathy."¹

There was no longer anything for the Prince to do except to leave Versailles, since the Parliament reigned in the palace of Louis XIV.

He went to Paris, and traversed the town; he saw the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, and was moved by the imposing structure of that building; he went to Notre-Dame; in the church of St. Laurent

¹ Ch. Chesnelong, p. 498.

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he was recognised by a woman of the people, who, with her basket under her arm, is said to have said to him : " You ! I recognise you : take care." He had himself driven to the Invalides, where the funeral of Admiral Trehouart had taken place. Hidden in the back of a carriage, he was present at the march of the troops who paid the military honours.¹

This funeral ceremony was his last contact with the army, with Paris, with France.

He went away and returned to the exile which he was never to leave again.

The son of Kings, imprisoned in the conception which he had formed of his right, his principle, and his duty, " without the skill to seize the crown but incapable of renouncing it,"³ had neither been able or willing to reign either for himself or for his heirs.

¹ A. de Saint-Albin, p. 423.

² Vicomte A. de Meaux, p. 219.

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND BROGLIE CABINET

- I.—What was the Septennate ?—Interpellation on the non-convocation of the electoral colleges: vote of the order of the day pure and simple—Resignation of the Cabinet—The Due Decazes—Constitution of the Second Broglie Cabinet—Its precarious position—Election of the Committee of Thirty.
- II.—The Budget of 1874—Financial System of M. Magne—The new taxes.
- III.—The trial and condemnation of Marshal Bazaine—Character of the sentence—Was Bazaine a traitor ?

I

What was
the Sep-
tennate ?

WE may remember that the Due Decazes had said to M. Pernolet: "The foundation of the Republic in France will be dated from the Presidency of Marshal MacMahon." The clear-sighted and shrewd intellect of the Due Decazes did not linger over deliberate illusions; he no longer had any faith. When the leaders doubt, the troops have already wavered. Disorder had begun.

There was a fight over the position selected to cover the retreat, the Septennate,—"a clay rampart." the Due de Broglie had called it.

What exactly was the "Septennate" ? "Personal." or "impersonal." it was the game in vogue. Would the door in front of the monarchy remain open,

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or was it closed by this kind of semi-dictatorship, a mark of confidence and esteem, entrusted to Marshal MacMahon ? or yet again, if the Republic really was founded—without the Republicans—how could the place on which they had a right to hang their colours be refused to them ? Such was the pressing alternative of the double attack, and the ambiguity of the defence, threatened on all sides.

The Due de Broglie intended to give an explanation before Europe and public opinion : in a circular addressed to the diplomatic agents, dated November 25th, he set forth the formula of the new system in these terms :

" By the law of November 20th, Marshal MacMahon receives one of the highest marks of confidence which a nation can bestow on a man. . . . France awaits from him a firm and moderate policy which will win respect for authority and law, restrain the revolutionary spirit, protect Conservative interests, and thereby ensure the peaceful development of the prosperity of the nation,"

On the whole, neither a Republic nor a Monarchy. Men did not even venture to use the word *truce*, which would have seemed too definite, and been too clear a reminder of the Bordeaux compact. The dark room was still there !

The Due de Broglie, who had turned out M. Thiers, who had witnessed the fiasco of the Comte de Chambord as he had foreseen it, who had wished for and obtained the vote on the Septennate, was the first victim of his own laborious victories. He had said some weeks before : " All these people will soon make me responsible for their mistakes." A dislocated majority, a discredited Cabinet, weariness, discouragement, ill-feeling, such was the aftermath

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of a day on which constraint had been exerted on the Assembly to extract from it an *ad interim* Caesar.

The schism in the majority was soon to be accomplished by that group of the Extreme Right which had so much to complain of, and so much with which to reproach itself. It met on November 22nd at the house of the Due de La Rochefoucauld-Bisaccia : "The influence which the Orleanist party seeks to gain over the mind of the Marshal was discussed," says M. de Vinols, and he adds that the group decided to come to the aid of MM. de La Bouillerie and Ernoul, the Legitimist members of the Cabinet.

There were sacrifices to be made, this was felt by everybody ; but the question was to find out whether the Due de Broglie would continue in power : was he to eliminate others or to be eliminated ?

On the day after the division the Assembly had adjourned to November 24th. That day, on resuming its sitting, the Assembly heard a message from Marshal MacMahon in which the word *Republic* was not even mentioned.

Interpella-
tion of M.
Leon Say The question of M. Leon Say with reference to the non-convocation of the electoral colleges in the departments, where seats were vacant, at once came up for discussion. This question was aimed at the special part played by the Ministry in the recent crisis : it was putting the Due de Broglie on the stool of repentance.

M. Leon Say said that the Ministry, by deferring the elections, "had betrayed the confidence reposed in it, that it had wished to falsify the wishes of the country, at the time when a vote of the majority might have settled its destinies." . . . "We are looking on at the last days of the Cabinet of May

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25th," observed M. Leon Say. " **That is true,**" interrupted the Due de Broglie. But it was obvious that he meant to show fight.

After a debate in which M. Beul6 displayed his last feat of arms, the Due de Broglie rallied the majority once again by one of those offensive manoeuvres which were habitual with him : " The Republicans, in playing with such words as these," he said, in reply to M. Leon Say, " are playing with fire and petroleum," The order of the day pure and simple accepted by the Government was carried by 360 to 311.

The Due de Broglie kept his feet; but M. Beul6 was obliged to confess, in the course of the debate that, for himself at any rate, the Cabinet was down.

The *Journal Officiel* of November 25th inserted the following note : " The Ministers have placed their resignations in the hands of the Marshal-President, who has accepted them,"

The negotiations for the formation of the new Cabinet were already opened.

The Due Decazes was the man of the day. Up to now he had been able to appear without compromising himself, and to impose his will without running any risks. He was a very able man, and perhaps the shrewdest of all the high personages whom the course of events called successively to the front of the stage. In his skilful fencing, with his ever-ready smile, in his touch, adroit, supple and light, in his air of doing nothing, he retained as much of Talleyrand's manner as could be tolerated by modern times. He was a politician by birth, and to the marrow of his bones.

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The Decazes were Girondins. They served **the** Bonapartes, they served the Bourbons, they served the Orleans family, always, however, keeping up their ties with the Liberal party; they were parliamentary men, and from father to son possessed those average minds, which are above all suited, as Richelieu says, to "balance" great things.

The whites, the purists, hold in horror these charming and well-balanced men who are on the fringe of parties, and whose suppleness is at times very dangerous to the causes which they serve. Ennobled by Henri IV, overwhelmed with favours by the affectionate friendship of Louis XVIII, raised by King Frederick of Denmark to the Duchy of Glucksberg, the family had, in the course of fifty years, taken its place in the highest social circles without entirely losing its connection with the bar and the world of business. The old Duke, Elie Decazes, the favourite of Louis XVIII, had founded and managed, up to his death in 1860, the important establishments of Decazeville.

His son, Duke Louis, was born at Paris in 1819. Before the fall of Louis-Philippe he had belonged to the diplomatic corps and had been successively Secretary of an Embassy and Plenipotentiary Minister. In retirement in 1848, member of the General Council of the Gironde under the Empire, he had waged a very keen opposition to the Government of Napoleon III, and had been among those who invaded the Chamber on September 4th in the uniform of National Guards. A deputy for the Gironde in the National Assembly, a personal friend of the Comte de Paris and the Due d'Aumale, he occupied a prominent position in the parliament. There he shone discreetly, with his fine manners, his serious

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air, moderate and shrewd, his regular features, with whiskers already white and shaggy eyebrows, his piercing, anxious look, and an indescribable air of quickness, revealing vivacity of understanding and wit if not stability and safety. The perfect man of the world sometimes revealed just the ear-tip of the Gascon.

He had activity, judgment, coolness, free and expensive habits, great needs, with a general manner of life very skilfully combined, full of wit and tact; sarcastic and circumspect, he was, with his dangerous smile, one of those whom orators look at when they speak. Not altogether suited to the battles of the tribune, and, in this, inferior to the Due de Broglie, and the Due Pasquier, he was at his best in councils and private meetings. His authority was supported by his silence ; his reserve had brought about his fortune; he installed himself noiselessly in the favour of the Assembly and in that of the new President.

When the Due de Broglie had formed his first ministry on May 25th, he had not thought it necessary to confer a portfolio on the Due Decazes : just as M. Thiers had sent the Due de Broglie himself to the Embassy in London, he had appointed to London his own future successor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. London is not so very far from Paris, and the Due Decazes, not without requiring some pressure, consented at last to enter the new Broglie Cabinet; but he imposed conditions.

He demanded a rupture with the Extreme Right, and that the new policy should be directed towards the union of the Centres : as a pledge, he demanded that the Ministers compromised in the enterprise of the restoration of the monarchy should be put aside;

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that the Government should accept all the consequences of the Septennate vote, and in particular refuse to tolerate any manifestation against the powers of the Marshal, whether it came from the Royalists, the Bonapartists, or the Radicals ; lastly that the Cabinet should be clear from any suspicion of ultramontane views.

The Due de Broglie, if he wished to remain in the Cabinet, was to leave the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to his new colleague ; consequently he found himself transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs. He hesitated considerably, but the Conservatives appealed to his devotion. They felt what they would have lost in losing him. The Marshal declared that he could not do without him. The Due de Broglie resigned himself, and took the portfolio of **M. Beute**.¹

The two Legitimist members of the Cabinet, MM. de la Bouillerie and Ernoul, had also to surrender—the latter not without temper; and this temper was further exasperated when he saw himself replaced as Keeper of the Seals by an intimate friend, an *alter ego*, M. Depeyre.²

The New Cabinet M. de la Bouillerie handed over the ministry of Commerce to M. Deseilligny, who left the Ministry of Public Works to the excellent M. de Larcy. Finally, another member of the Cabinet, M. Batbie, whose proverbial good-nature had not always atoned for his no less legendary heaviness, was succeeded at the Ministry of Public Instruction by M. Fourtou.

¹ See the account of the Due de Broglie in the *Memoires de Gontaut Biron*, and the letter of the Due Decazes quoted below,

² Vicomte de Meaux, p. 616.

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This latter was no more favourable or dear to the Extreme Right than the Due Decazes. As the Vicomte de Meaux observes, he was a " Blue." It was to be seen in the sequel that in this man from P6rigord, so confident in his fortune, there was a minister with a strong hand, and with Bonapartist tendencies. He brought reinforcements to M. Magne, who remained at the Finance department, and to General du Barail, who, like Admiral Dompierre d'Hornoy, kept his portfolio. On the whole, the movement in a leftward direction was marked: there was even a slight Bonapartist tincture in the new mixture.

Satisfaction was increased and complications were at the same time multiplied by the appointment of four Under Secretaries of State : M. Baragnon, the impetuous member of the Right, went to the Home Office; M. Lefebure to the Finances; M. Vente to Justice ; M. Albert Desjardins to Public Instruction.

The hand of the Due de Broglie was required to drive such an ill-assorted team through incessantly recurring obstacles.

The ministry was formed on November 26th. On the 28th, M. de Dreux-Breze informed the Royalist committees that the resignation of M. Ernoul and de la Bouillierie brought them " face to face with a more than probable struggle " ; he added only that " it was not for these committees to be the first to enter the lists." Here we already have the vengeance for November 19th impending: the Comte de Chambord held the sword in suspense.

The existence of a ministry formed with so much difficulty, and so badly balanced, could be but precarious. The chief of the Cabinet, deliberately

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bound to an impossible task, abandoned by his friends, distracted between the different influences which divided his ministry, the majority and the Conservative parties, was about to witness the rapid ruin of his authority and his hopes. The Left, emboldened by success, was about to hunt him from one contradiction to another, from one failure to another, till the day came when his lofty physiognomy was to encounter upon all the benches of the Assembly that cruel indifference which he had not spared his adversaries.

New Law
as to the
Mayors The Due de Broglie had been the *rapporteur* of one of the most liberal laws passed by the Assembly, the law of April 14th, 1871, on the nomination of mayors, and municipal police. He had demanded in the name of the Committee, and had, in part, at least, obtained, in spite of the opposition of M. Thiers, the election of mayors by municipal councils. Now the same Due de Broglie, Vice-president of the Council and Minister of the Interior thought it his duty to bring in, on November 28th, a bill demanding, provisionally, the nomination of mayors by the central Government, and the Prefects. This was the exact reverse of the liberal system which he had defended, and of which he had secured the adoption.

Three interruptions hailed the reading of this bill, and of the reasons for it: "It is the beginning of decentralisation!" cried M. Tolain. "It is the municipal system of the Empire!" observed M. Arago. "There is the Nancy programme I" finished M. de La Serve.

Soon a Liberal Catholic, a Conservative, delivered the first and roughest blows upon the Cabinet. M. Lamy, a young and brilliant deputy on the

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Left, acting, it was said, under the influence of Gambetta, inaugurated at this period the policy long afterwards approved by Leo XIII : he rallied to the Republic. M. Lamy was a man of painstaking mind, a laborious orator with rare talents; his intellect was penetrating, if not always just; he had faith and ardour.

On December 4th, he questioned the Government on the more or less legal maintenance of the state of siege in thirty-nine departments. His first word was one of astonishment at seeing the Due de Broglie at the head of the new ministry. He protested against these "authoritative and arbitrary measures," represented as being indispensable. In half the country there was neither liberty of meeting, nor liberty of the press; universal suffrage was held suspect. And yet the country was tranquil. "The best proof of that tranquillity is that the country has put up with the present Government for six months." M. Buffet was obliged to intervene.

The Due de Broglie, in his answer, was forced to shelter himself behind the authority of M. Thiers. He reminded the Chamber that it was the latter who had imposed the state of siege in a certain number of Departments: "In acting thus," said he, "I believe that he held views at once politic and wise, and I am far from blaming him on that account."

How could the Left resist the temptation to put the head of the Government in contradiction with himself once more? M. Jules Ferry took this task upon his shoulders, and acquitted himself boldly, and with severity: "Here we have," said he, "those statesmen who spend fifteen years in the Opposition demanding liberty, and, when

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once they have arrived at power, no longer know, admire, or dream of anything but force. Your laws, those laws which you announce as laws for the defence of society, are nothing but laws for the defence of elections."

The Cabinet was obliged to accept the order of the day pure and simple.

Caught between two fires and two contradictory prejudices, it dragged on a miserable life, while the Right, according to the prediction of M. Rouher, was digging its own grave by nominating the Committee charged with the examination of the constitutional laws, the Committee of Thirty.

Election
of the
Committee
of Thirty

The election lasted from November 26th to December 4th : no less than ten ballots were necessary to complete the list. The

Right was divided between its wish to secure the majority, and the danger of driving the Left to abstain from voting, if it did not obtain its proper proportion of the Committee. So the voting went on by slow admixtures, and lastly the Right thought it had won its case, because it had allowed only five members of the Left Centre, MM. Dufaure, Laboulaye, Waddington, Cezanne and Vacherot, to get on to the Committee. The Extreme Right, similarly reduced to its proportionate contribution, did not conceal its disgust.

The Moderate[^]Right and Right Centre became the arbiters of the destinies of France. These two groups jealously guarded the instruments of an authority which they did not know how to use.

The Committee was formed on December 5th : it entrusted its presidency to M. Batbie, as a consolation prize : MM. de Talhouet and Audrende Kerdrel, were appointed Vice-presidents, It fixed the pro-

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gramme of its labours, and decided that it would busy itself with the elaboration of a bill on elections, then with laws relative to the organisation of the public powers: first the suffrage, then the body of institutions.

The Committee, these preliminaries once settled, gave itself time. MM. Waddington and Laboulaye were charged to proceed with a theoretical study of European and American constitutions. The Due de Broglie breathed again.

II

The Budget of 1874 The end of the parliamentary year was devoted to the Budget of 1874. The Budget Bill had been brought in by M. Leon Say under the Presidency of M. Thiers on March 17th, 1873. But, in consequence of the delays inherent in the system it did not come before the Chamber until the month of December ; it was not even to be passed in its entirety in the course of the year ; the debates on it were not really finished till March 1874.

M. Magne had succeeded M. Léon Say. The political system being different, the budget could not remain the same. The fluctuations of politics always have their influence upon the financial system of the country. Blind passion takes precedence of interest, which for its part knows its own path.

Economic Differences between M. Thiers and M. Magne M. Thiers, brought up in the school of Baron Louis, had been the declared opponent of feats of economic daring on the part of the Empire. The majority of the Assembly, by confusing in one equal admiration the financial competence of M. Thiers and

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that of M. Magne, was mixing fire and water. M. Thiers was an economist of the old middle class, a friend of the land and a protectionist of the school of Colbert. M. Magne represented rather the modern middle-class, an urban class, taking part in the movements of business with its eyes fixed on the Stock Exchange and international markets; although he was more temperate than the first advisers of the Emperor, declared apostles of free trade, his methods were more supple, and on a broader scale than those of M. Thiers.

The latter had hardly left power when the differences of opinion, which had up to that time been held in abeyance from respect for his character* came to light. M. Thiers had inaugurated a new programme, reserving the liberty of tariffs by the treaty of Frankfurt, denouncing the commercial treaties with England and Belgium (March 15th and 18th, 1872), imposing in some degree upon the Assembly the voting of duties upon the entry of raw materials, re-establishing by the law of January 30th, 1872, the flag dues, which protect the mercantile marine. The produce of these taxes was calculated in the budget Bill brought in by M. Léon Say.

When M. Magne returned to power the system of M. Thiers was recognised to be dangerous from the economic, and barren from the fiscal point of view.

To tell the truth, the country itself was uncertain : in this quarter, as in politics, it was looking for its road. The taxpayer, overwhelmed with an enormous increase of taxes, did not know whom to listen to. In the debates of an Assembly in which the parties represented groups of interests, in the course of the confused discussion of an, so to speak, amorphous budget, we watch the genesis of the financial de-

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bates in which the first outlines of a new social organisation were to be sketched in the future.

M. Magne then brought in a new budget. M. Chesnelong was General Reporter. The prudent and reserved manner of the former, the somewhat vague and superficial talents of the latter, were not of a nature to throw light upon these difficult rities. Specialists alone took a pleasure in , even though they became entangled in fig-

P and contradictory statistics. The Assembly, industrious, serious, anxious to understand, and 'edging with its usual good faith, but also with its prejudices, was determined before all things on facing he engagements taken by France ; it sought, somewhat tentatively, the balance so difficult to secure among so many different oscillations.

M. Magne began by striking out of the budget of M. Leon Say everything connected with the system of M. Thiers.

The tax on raw materials established by the law of July 6th, 1872, was a blow dealt to the activity of our great industry—the incidents to which the proposal had given rise in January 1872 will be remembered. M. Thiers had been obliged to threaten to resign, in order to get the tax voted. It was acknowledged that to maintain this law involved the system of our economic relations abroad; it meant breaking with England, and provoking difficulties with most of the other Powers.

The higher branches of commerce, and banking, joined their complaints to the action of the diplomatists.

The budget had anticipated ninety-three million francs; a receipt of one million eight hundred thousand was before the Chamber. The law

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was obviously inapplicable. Already, on July 17th, 1873, the new Cabinet had demanded its abrogation.

There was the same negative result for the flag-dues. The United States,¹ Austria,² England, and Denmark, protested or retaliated.

These countries made themselves heard. The representatives of the ports complained very loudly of this "artificial dam raised at great expense in front of our rivers and harbours." The Cabinet was not ill-pleased to win this retrospective victory over M. Thiers, and in one short week, July 20th-28th, the Chamber voted simultaneously the abolition of the duties on raw materials, the renewal of the agreements as to commerce and navigation with England and Belgium passed under the Empire, and finally the abolition of the flag-dues.³

¹ As a retaliatory measure the Washington Government had revived an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent, on merchandise imported to the United States by French vessels. This duty was abolished at the same time as the flag-dues.—*Documents diplomatiques*, 1873, p. 197.

² The flag-tax was in contradiction with the first article of the Franco-Austrian agreement of December nth, 1866, an agreement whose benefits extended to Italy, Germany, and indirectly to Great Britain. Austria refused to annul the convention of December nth, 1866.

³ So far as Great Britain was concerned, after the denunciation of the treaty of 1860, which happened on March 15th, 1872, a new treaty had been concluded on November 15th following, but it had not been ratified.

When the London Cabinet was certain that the flag-dues would be abolished, it reopened negotiations, and a treaty was signed, July 23rd, 1873, re-establishing for four years the system of the conventions of 1860.

On the same day, another treaty was signed with Belgium, annulling the act of denunciation of March 28th, 1872, and re-

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Thus a whole economic revolution had taken place at the end of the session, passing almost unperceived in the tumult of the political quarrels.

When some other modifications in the table of receipts were taken into account, a deficit of 134 million francs was shown in the budget. On the other hand, mistakes in calculation under the head of expenses amounted to 43,800,000 francs. It was, therefore, necessary to find 175,000,000 francs to secure the balance of the new budget.

These 175,000,000 francs could only be raised by the creation of new taxes. Here M. Magne drew nearer to M. Thiers. The Conservative majority would not allow him to draw on the land, acquired wealth, funded property, or more or less declared income. There only remained one resource, indirect contributions, and taxes on food. This is the direction in which the efforts of M. Magne and the budget committee were to travel. M. Magne's budget, sparing alike landed property, and great industries, inherited fortunes, savings, and financial transactions, hitting above all consumption,—which by its very diffusion is ignorant of the burden, and incidentally multiplies the receipts,—was peculiarly the budget of the new middle class.

The war of skirmishes between the different interests was continued during the whole month of December, but could not end in decisive results within so short a period. For form's sake only, the law of December 30th, 1873 promulgated the budget of

placing the two countries under the system of the treaty of May 1st, 1861.

These two treaties were to expire on August 10th, 1877, at which period France recovered complete liberty of action in her economic international relations.

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1874. While approving of that budget, the Assembly knew that more than 40 additional millions were required to secure the balance.

By common consent the necessary vote for the supplementary taxes was put off to the first months of 1874. In fact, the new taxes were only adopted after long debates.

Such eminently taxable matters as alcohol, petroleum, salt, sugar, were the subject of very eager discussions, in which the principles of modern financial science were slowly being evolved.

The system of death duties was brought under consideration by a proposal of M. Meline demanding a remodelling of the duties payable on succession according to the following scale : successions in the direct line, 1J per cent. ; between brothers and sisters, etc., 7½ Per cent. ; between great uncles, great-nephews, etc., 9 per cent. ; between heirs to the twelfth degree, 12 per cent.; between persons not related, 15 per cent. This proposal, and that of M. Raoul Duval fixing the succession duty in the direct line at 2 per cent., fractions included, produced a show of bucklers on the part of the defenders of hereditary property. Disciples of Le Play were numerous in the Assembly. Philosophic arguments supported economic arguments. There were some fine passages of arms, but of a theoretical nature, and without immediate result.

The most pressing needs were met, and the shortest path taken. The three laws of December 30th, 1873, February 9th, 1874, March 21st, 1874, characteristic of the budget of M. Magne, and modifying the system of M. Thiers, were chiefly directed to indirect taxation, and bore on articles of general consumption.

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Law of December 30th and 31st, 1873 :—Duties on registration, 16,000,000 francs—*fa* of a franc by indirect taxation, 15,500,000—sugar, 6,600,000; mineral oils, 1,500,000; vegetable oils, 6,200,000; soap, 7,000,000; stearine and candles, 9,000,000 ; increase on customs, 10,000,000, etc.

Law of February 19th, 1874 :—Increase of duties fixed on non-judicial instruments, 5,000,000—proportional stamp on bills of exchange, 13,000,000, etc.

Law of March 21st, 1874 :—Reduction of the allowance to twenty litres of alcohol for private distillation,¹ 2,000,000 ; increase of duty on goods traffic, 21,000,000.

From the time of the reopening of the session till this date the Assembly had voted new taxes to the amount of nearly £28,000,000.

Wise measures prepared the eventual re-casting of the assessment. Sugar and petroleum refineries were placed under inspection. The returns of the taxes on stamps, bills of exchange, and private distilleries were more closely inquired into.

In spite of everything, the sacrifices demanded of the country were too heavy, and the differences between the various interests were too irreconcilable to allow this difficult budget to be made to meet. M. Magne failed to secure the balance sought for by his skilled ingenuity, and the finances of 1874 were started with a deficit of £857,600.

¹ In France a large quantity of spirit is made from fruit; owners of gardens and orchards are allowed to make a certain quantity for private use, duty-free.—TRANSLATOR.

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III

Parliamentary and Judicial Inquiries under the Third Republic These debates scarcely interested what is called " public opinion " ; that remained, as it were, hanging on the drama then in process of development at Trianon. The action against Marshal Bazaine opened the series of those great judicial inquiries which were to leave such a special mark on the features of the history of the third Republic.

Whether it be a taste for scandal, or a yearning for truth, faith in Justice, the supreme sanction, or the satisfaction of Suspicion, an instinct natural to the masses : all these feelings, combined with a perhaps ill-founded faith in judicial procedure, produce the frequent recourse, in political affairs, to public inquiry or the authority of the magistrates.

A nation which reserves the exercise of power to itself wishes to know everything. By publicity of debate it constitutes itself judge. Every public man takes his authority from the people. Inquiry, permanent denunciation, become State services. The people maintains its hold upon those who claim to be its leaders by perpetually passing them through a sieve. The best of them must accept this controlling power, their very goodness rendering them more liable to suspicion.

This jealous superintendence, this permanent state of inquiry, is said to be inherent to State secrecy; certainly,—if there is such a thing as a State secret. But, among the crowd pressing towards the avenues to power, in the noise of publicity, and the hundred thousand voices of the press, in the hustling of the " ten thousand " who claim authority, in the constant and irritating rivalry of clubs, parties, elections, at a

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time when the information of all is the indispensable spring for the action of all, how could any mystery exist, or endure? The modern man of politics must keep his soul bare, and his actions unveiled: openness and rectitude are his paths. He who says public mandate, says public reckonings. In what way are ministers responsible if not to public opinion?

Thus inquiry—judicial or parliamentary—is perhaps but the first embryo of an organism indispensable to the democratic system. Egypt judged her kings; Athens practised ostracism: Aristides, a good citizen, wrote his own name on the shell. An inquisitorial search after truth and responsibility is the last and logical sanction of a system of which light is the only principle, the only safeguard.

After the war, the Assembly, in answer to the wish of the nation, instituted parliamentary committees charged with the discovery of the causes of its political and military disasters. The vast field of the public misfortunes was searched; responsibilities assumed definite shapes.

French military legislation stipulates imperatively that every officer who has lost a fortified place must render an account of his conduct before a council of inquiry.¹

All General and other officers, who had signed capitulations to the enemy, thus passed before the Council of Inquiry formed on November 30th, 1871, under the presidency of Marshal Baraguey d'Hilliers.

The signatories to the capitulation of Metz, and

¹ Proceedings before the council of inquiry are regulated by the decree of October 13th, 1883, on service in fortresses (Art. 264-7).

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the army of the Rhine came under the application of the law. Could so grave an action, which had had such consequences, the disablement and slow annihilation of one of the finest French armies, 160,000 men delivered over to the enemy, the surrender of a frontier fortress of the first rank, be withdrawn from public investigation ?

Further, public opinion was already in possession of information. The war was hardly over before the officers returning from Germany reported in every direction the complaints, doubts, and suspicions which had been, almost inevitably, rife in the ranks of the army, even before the capitulation.

Distinguished officers, Colonel de Villenoisy and Colonel Lewal; others, a certain Valcourt and Colonel d'Andlau,¹ who both ended in the police courts, had made appeals to public vengeance, either through severe reports addressed to the Government, or by fulminating publications, or by petitions directly addressed to the Assembly. The inhabitants of the noble and unhappy town, detached from France by the peace of Frankfort, had denounced with touching indignation the faults, the mistakes, perhaps the designs, of which they had been the victims ;² an article signed by M. A. Mezieres, which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of September 15th, 1871, was one long accusation, from which a public man was to endeavour to clear himself.³ Lastly, Gam-

¹ It was known at the time of the action that the book *Metz, combats et capitulations*, was by Colonel d'Andlau.

² *Le Blocus de Metz*, publication of the Municipal Council, 8vo, Metz.

³ A first article had appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of December 1, 1870. See also the discussion which appeared in the numbers of October and November, 1871.

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betta, when Minister of War, had uttered the famous cry, " Bazaine has been a traitor,"

Could the silence continue ? Was not the gravity of the disaster a legitimate reason for public expectations ? Ought not light to be thrown on certain obscurities which hovered over the decision taken by the Marshal to remain under Metz, and over some peculiar negotiations ? Since the Marshal asked for a trial, should it be refused to him ? •

On May 29th, 1871, the Assembly was discussing the report of Count Rampon on a petition of Colonel Cosson de Villenoisy (of the Engineers) asking for an inquiry into the capitulation of Metz; General Changarnier took upon himself to defend the army of the Rhine from the " unworthy calumnies " published as to its conduct. M. Thiers interrupted, announcing that Marshal Bazaine was formally demanding a trial; * the Minister of War then declared that all the commanders of fortresses who had capitulated would be brought before a Council of Inquiry.

On April 12th, 1872, the Council of Inquiry sent in its opinion on the capitulation of Metz. It blamed Marshal Bazaine in severe terms.

M. Thiers was, it is said, opposed to the plan of bringing the Marshal before a Court Martial. The somewhat timorous wisdom of the illustrious President shrank from the consequences of such a proceeding. However, on May 7th, 1872, General de Cissey, Minister of War, ordered information to be handed in against the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Rhine. At the opening of the col-

¹ Already on November 26, 1870, his companion-in-arms, Marshal Canrobert, wrote to him from Stuttgart, suggesting to him the idea of demanding the formation of a Council of Inquiry.

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lection of evidence entrusted to General Sere de Riviere, Marshal Bazaine put himself under arrest.

The collection of evidence lasted for many months. It was closed at the end of March 1873. By a decision of July 24th, Marshal Bazaine was sent before a Court Martial on the following charges:

1st. Of having treated with the enemy, and surrendered the fortress of Metz, of which he was in chief command, without having exhausted all the means of defence at his disposal, and without having done all that was prescribed to him by duty and honour.

2nd. Of having, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army before Metz, signed in the open field a capitulation, which resulted in causing his troops to lay down their arms.

3rd. Of not having done all that duty and honour required of him before treating verbally and in writing.

Formation of the Court Martial The Minister of War, General du Barail, former Commander of Cavalry at Metz under the orders of Marshal Bazaine, found it a very difficult task to form the Court Martial.

Article 2 of the Army Law of 1857 declared that "to try a General of Division, or a Marshal of France, the Marshals were to be called, according to order of seniority, to sit in the Court Martial." Article 36 specified that "none of the Generals who had been under his orders could take part in the Court Martial."

These two regulations made the formation of the court charged with the trial of Marshal Bazaine an impossibility. At this time there were only four Marshals in the army; two of them, Marshals

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Leboeuf and **Canrobert** had served at **Metz** ; **there** remained Marshals Baraguey d'Hilliers," * and MacMahon. The former having presided over the Council of Inquiry, was excluded by Article 24 of the law. As for Marshal MacMahon, he was the Head of the State.

The National Assembly was obliged to modify the law. On May 16th, 1872, it passed a law permitting Generals who had held chief commands in the presence of the enemy to sit in a Court Martial appointed to try a Marshal of France," ²

It seemed that the Due d'Aumale, one of the highest in seniority of the Generals of Division, former Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Algeria, restored to his rank and honours by a decree of March 1872, alone possessed the necessary position and authority to conduct this difficult business.

The Due d'Aumale hesitated considerably. He said, " I do not want to be the Laubardemont of the Marshal, nor to return to the army through that particular door." He ended, however, by yielding to the necessities of the situation, and the pressure of the Minister of War."³ The friends of Marshal Bazaine, and the Marshal himself, have not thought it beneath them to say that the tribunal under such a president had formed its opinion beforehand, and that the trial was the result of an

¹ " Between Marshal Baraguey d'Hilliers and Marshal Bazaine there were causes of enmity which went back to the Italian War." See d'Herisson, *la Legende de Metz*, p. 212, and E. Daudet, *le due d'Aumale*, p. 276.

² *Souvenirs du General du Barail*, vol. iii. pp. 447, et seq.

³ As to different opinions on the subject of the appointment of the Due d'Aumale, cf. E. Daudet, *le due d'Aumale*, pp. 270 and following ; du Barail, vol. iii. p. 448.

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understanding between the Orleanist Liberals and the Republicans, who were determined to deal a last blow to the Imperial legend.¹

It is sometimes difficult for the most tender conscience to distinguish between political passion and a care for the public good, in the motives by which it is guided.] The weight of opinion^ which at that time bore on the Marshal, created an almost irresistible impulse against him. The trial was necessarily bound to open under this impression. Trials of this kind belong to those which always appeal to history in the end.

The Court Martial was composed as follows : *Generals who had been commanders-in-chief*: the Due d'Aumale (President), de la Motterouge, de Chabaud La Tour, Tripier. *Generals who had commanded a division*: de Martimprey, Princeteau, Martineau. *Government Commissary* : General Pourcet, a former aide-de-camp of General Changarnier. *Reporter*: General Sere de Riviere, who had commanded the Engineers of Bazaine's division in Italy.³

It was decided that the sittings of the Court Martial

¹" Pascal Duprat, a deputy in the National Assembly, wrote (without a date): " You will shortly receive some notes that I shall take from the records of the Council of Inquiry upon capitulations. In connection with all these shameful transactions, you will be content with the manner in which I treat before the committee the cowards and traitors who have ruined us. But forme, Bazaine would not be to-day before a Court Martial. I am working at this moment in getting the capitulation of Sedan referred to a military tribunal, and I expect to succeed. We will show the Bonapartists Caesar's dirty rags."—Toussaint-Nigoul, *Pascal Duprat*, 8vo, p. 145.

² The Marshal's friends said of General Sere de Riviere that he was a friend of Gambetta, and that M. Challemel-Lacour had collaborated in his report.

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should be held in the Palace of Trianon. Under **the** already turning foliage of the park of Versailles, the marble columns of this building witnessed a drama no less moving than those evoked by its royal past.

The First Hearing " On October 6th, at midday, the Court opened its sittings. The Due d'Aumale, President, wearing the broad ribbon of the Legion of Honour, declared the Court opened, and ordered the corporal on duty to fetch Marshal Bazaine.

< (At a quarter past twelve, the Marshal, in full uniform and wearing the broad ribbon of the Legion of Honour, was brought in. He bowed to the members of the Court Martial, and went to the armchair reserved for him. The President said to Marshal Bazaine : ' Marshal, take a seat.' " The decree was read, which referred the case to the Court Martial and appointed the members of whom it was to be composed.

" After this reading the President, addressing the prisoner, said to him, somewhat curtly,—

" ' Prisoner, stand up ! What is your name ?

" ' Henri Achille Bazaine.'

" ' What is your profession ?'

" ' Marshal of France.'

" ' What is your age ? '

" ' Sixty-two.'

" ' What is your birthplace ? '

" ' Versailles.' " ¹

Thus the same town witnessed the two strangely contrasting extremities of this man's career.

The Marshal's professional record was read out: He had enlisted in the 38th of the Line, March 28th, 1831;

¹ " *Proces du marechal Bazaine*, report of the pleadings, Ghio, 8vo, 1874, p. 2.

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had been made a Colonel by Louis-Philippe, General and Marshal of France by the Empire. He had to his credit sixty-seven campaigns, and six wounds. He had thirteen times been mentioned in the orders of the day. He was a Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and held the military medal. He had had forty-two and a half years of service, and of these thirty-five in the field. By adding, according to the regulations, the years of service, and campaigns, he had a hundred and nine and a half years of service.

This soldier was now "the accused."

The Marshal had selected M⁶ Lachaud to conduct his defence. A great concourse of the general public followed the incidents of the trial. In the course of his examination, Marshal Bazaine seemed calm, somewhat dull and apathetic, sometimes half-asleep, and as though indifferent. He never roused himself or showed fight except when there was a question of personal attacks, or of one of those mysterious facts pressed by the prosecution, as for instance the R6gnier episode.

The charge was read by General Sere de Riviere. It was long, minute and harsh. The first part of the report was devoted to the operations preceding the siege of Metz, and notably to the battle of Forbach : Marshal Bazaine was charged with having, from that time onwards, inaugurated the systematically expectant tactics which were to ruin his army by not sending the reinforcements demanded by General Frossard, the "Professor," in time.

The second part of the report followed Marshal Bazaine from August 12th, the day on which the Emperor Napoleon III., under the pressure of public opinion, appointed him Commander-in-chief. From that time he bore the responsibility for all the

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actions which decided the fate of the armies of the East, of Metz, and of Sedan, not only as generalissimo, **but** because his plan for a sortie, formulated on several occasions up to the 23rd in his despatches to the Government and the Emperor, drew Mac-Mahon's army towards him."*

Bazaine clung to Metz; the bloody and almost victorious battles fought by his lieutenants seemed to have no interest for him. At Borny, at Rezonville, at Saint-Privat, the Marshal's chief preoccupation seems to have been not to leave Metz. His orders were always confused and obscure. His will did not show itself clearly. His attitude, his actions, revealed an inexplicable apathy, a cold and silent resignation, hiding either secret designs or hopeless incapacity. If he spoke, it was to complain of his troops, though they fought heroically, or of their officers, though they obeyed him blindly. He was their master.

The "council of war" which he consulted, without being able to shelter his responsibility as Commander-in-Chief behind it, on the whole did nothing but accept the inspiration given by himself. If discontent existed in the army, and it did gradually increase, it caused no serious manifestation, no action. The army allowed itself to be led on, without knowing, without understanding,

¹"The calculation of responsibility in these great military events is so complicated that we cannot be surprised that the highest authorities differ. The recent monograph inspired by the publication of the unpublished documents of the Ministry of War will be read with interest : *La Psychologie militaire de Bazaine pendant la guerre de 1870, et spécialement du 5 au 15 aout*, by General Bonnal. (*Revue des Idées*, February 15, 1904.)

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to the terrible ending; the throbbing of so many brave hearts, bursting with rage in impotence and silence as their eyes gradually began to open, was hardly discernible.

The third part of the indictment was devoted to the rare attempts made by the Marshal to communicate with outside, and to the efforts made from outside to communicate with him ; to the ambiguous position adopted by the Marshal with reference to the Government of National Defence; to relations with the Empress; to the confusion brought by political considerations into the accomplishment of military duty; to the negotiations with the German Headquarters Staff, in which the Marshal was gradually inveigled ; to the part played by Regnier, to General Bourbaki's mission, to that of General Boyer, and practically to the slow capitulation which dragged on from October 7th to the 29th, only to end in catastrophe.

The charge went on in these terms :—

Thus ended the army of the Rhine, a victim to the ambitious intrigues of its chief; thus was the fortress of Metz dragged on to its ruin, which, left to itself, would have been able to oppose prolonged resistance to the enemy in such a way as to wait for the time of the armistice. Thus Lorraine became Prussian.

... At the time when the scarcity of provisions, which could have been anticipated so easily, forced Marshal Bazaine to capitulate, five French army corps were collecting on the Loire between Nevers and Blois. These fresh levies were certainly wanting in cohesion, but they had a considerable effective, and the Germans would only have had forces very inferior in numbers to oppose to them, seeing that they were held back by the necessities of the blockade of Paris. If the army of Prince Frederick Charles, the first battalions of which had already started on October 21st, and which reached Fontainebleau and Pithiviers towards November 25th, had been detained

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under the walls of Metz, the conditions of the struggle before Orleans would have been quite different. Only conjectures are possible on this subject, but the success won at Coulmiers by two French army-corps, which were not even engaged as a whole, allows us to think that, but for the intervention of Prince Frederick Charles, it would have been possible to free Paris. . . . Sedan, Metz, Orleans : the name of Marshal Bazaine will remain for ever connected with these three great disasters of the war of 1870. *

The examination of the Marshal took a whole week from October 13th to 19th. He defended himself with self-control and moderation, not without some contemptuous reserve, accusing nobody, circumspect and sometimes obscure in his answers, as he had been in his orders and his conduct. The-Marshal had already set forth his defence in a book, in which he had made use of the official records, which he kept by him.² He often alluded to the difficulty of remembering all the details of so vast an undertaking.

His point of view was the following : considering the position in which France was, the wisest thing was to preserve for her an army capable of holding out till the conclusion of peace ; by keeping this army intact, pressure could be brought to bear on the immediate negotiations, and, peace once concluded, the means existed to ensure public order and tranquillity. Now the best way of saving this army, in the state in which it was after the first defeat on

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¹ *Compte rendu des dSbats*, pp. 38-40. •

² *L'Armee du Rhin depuis le 12 aodt jusqu' an 29 octobre, 1870*, par le ManSchal Bazaine. Plon, 8vo, 1872. Later on. Marshal Bazaine undertook a new justification, and published in 1883 the book entitled : *episodes de la guerre de 1870, et le Blocus de Metz*, par Tex-marechal Bazaine. Madrid, 8vo. Gaspard, 1883.

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the frontier, was to rest on a fortress like Metz, and thus threaten the enemy's rear and communications. This plan was chiefly inspired by that of Napoleon in the second part of the campaign in France. The army was wanting in the confidence and resources necessary for making a serious attempt to break through, and to move across France with a German army at its heels superior in numbers ; ammunitions would run short on the second day, even if the first encounter had resulted in victory. The wisest course therefore was to guard Metz, to keep the enemy occupied by an incessant and desperate struggle, and, in the words of Marshal Canrobert, to fight " tooth and nail,"

Furthermore, all the Generals who were in command under the Marshal's orders, had known the means of defence, his plans, and his decisions. No serious opposition had been made. They had been well aware of the news, the negotiations, and the conditions of the enemy. Everybody had acted for the best, and if they had been defeated, the reason was that the game was hopeless from the very first day.

By proposing to make the head of the army at Metz the scapegoat for the catastrophe, the very first thing due to the nation was concealed from it, namely, the truth about itself.

The negotiations opened at various times, even by the notorious Regnier,—whether a suspicious agent or a useful go-between,—had only one end, to keep an army intact for France under honourable conditions : " I hoped to obtain advantageous conditions for the army," said the Marshal, "for it, and in the interests of the country. The army would have

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marched out, **and** taken up a position in a fixed neutral zone, where it could have been held at **the** disposal of social order, which was threatened."

**Bazaine
and the
Due
d'Aumale** It was after this remark that that short and famous dialogue took place between the President of the Court Martial, and the Marshal.

" *Bazaine*.—My position was, in a sense, without a precedent. I had no longer a Government; I was, so to say, my own Government.

" *The President*.—Then this preoccupation with the question of negotiations had more influence over your mind at that time than the strict execution of your military duties ?

" *Bazaine*.—Yes ; I fully admit that these duties are strict, when there is a lawful Government, when a man's authority is derived from a power recognised by the country; but not in the face of an insurrectional Government; I do not admit that.

" *The President*.—France still existed." ¹

These quick words touched the very heart of the question.

The hearing of witnesses began on October 20th, and lasted till December 3rd. It disclosed the moral and material condition of the army, the chances of success, the directions, orders, mental condition of those troops on which the salvation of the country depended. It was a cruel dissection ! Respect should be paid to the decencies of the defeated, but all veils were torn away. Points of detail of very diverse importance, sometimes rousing passion, sometimes indifferent or obscure, were lingered over. Exasperated passions further

¹ *Compte rendu des debats*, p. 91.

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aggravated what was already sufficiently **complicated** by the inherent difficulty of the position.

A deposition was read aloud, written by Marshal MacMahon, who now, by a strange contrast, was Head of the State, while his old companion-in-arms, and recent Chief, was appearing before his judges.

Marshal Canrobert's deposition, simple and frank, allowed an estimate to be formed of all that could be expected from the hero of Gravelotte and the troops commanded by him. Other leaders laid before the tribunal the spectacle of their hesitations, their mistakes, their failures and incoherence. Opportunity was given for admiring many hitherto unknown heroic actions.

The audience heard the echoes of the angry feelings which had stirred the Army, and of the complaints which were raised among the most energetic officers by the expectant attitude of the Commander-in-Chief. One name was on the lips of all, that of Rossel. But, on the whole, discipline had had the upper hand, even in that final and terrible transaction left by the Marshal in some measure to the chance of events, the destruction of supplies, and the burning of the flags.

Some incidents were but inadequately cleared up. No opinion could be formed as to a fact so serious as, that a telegram, addressed to Marshal MacMahon, should never have been handed to him, though it reached Colonel Stoffel, who was attached to his person.¹

¹ " A very hot argument in open court between Colonel Stoffel and the Reporter, General S6r6 de Riviere, was followed by inquiry which excluded it from the evidence ; Colonel Stoffel gave an explanation of the whole incident in a pamphlet (*La Depiche du 20 aout, 1870, du marechal Bazaine au*

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Doubt remained as to the part played by one of the orderly officers of Marshal Bazaine, Colonel Magnan, who had been sent, on August 17th, to the Emperor and Marshal MacMahon, and was not able to return to the fortress.

The communications between Marshal Bazaine and the German Head Quarters Staff, the frequent visits of negotiators through the medium of a certain Arnous-Riviere, a commander of *franc-tireurs*, placed on the advanced posts, were not clearly explained. Regnier had refused to appear, and his part remained a mystery.¹

Certain details in the mission confided to General Boyer, the note which General Bazaine had handed to him as the basis of the negotiations to be opened with the German Head Quarters Staff, were overwhelming charges. Was not the plan of the indictment corroborated by the very text of this note ?

At the time when society is threatened by the attitude adopted by a violent party whose tendencies cannot end in such a solution as is desired by right minds, the Marshal in

marechal de MacMahon, par le colonel baron Stoffel, Paris, 8vo Lachaud, 1874). The question was again raised by an article from M. L. N. Baragnon in the *Revue blanche* of November 15th, 1877. M. Baragnon affirmed that Colonel Clappier, who was entrusted with the inquiry, had drawn up a report establishing the fact that the telegram must have been diverted under the orders of the Empress Eugenie. Colonel Stoffel replied by demanding the publication of this report.

¹ See on this subject: *Quel est son nom : M. ou N ? Une Strange histoire devoilee*, par Regnier, Bruxelles, 1870. Further, the letter written to the President of the Court Martial by Regnier in *Prods du marichal Bazaine*, Ghio, p. 28. Reponse au livre *l'Armee du Rhin par l'auteur de Quel est son nom, M. ou N ?* (Regnier) Ghio, 1873, 8vo. *Lettre et piices adressees A M. le due d'Aumale*, par E. V. Regnier, Ghio, 1873, 8vo,

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command of the army of the Rhine, inspired by the desire which he cherishes to save his country, to save it from its own excesses, questions his conscience and asks himself if the army placed under his orders is not destined to become the *palladium* of society. The military question is decided. The German armies are victorious. . . . The intervention of a foreign army, even though victorious, in the affairs of so impressionable a country as France, and so nervous a capital as Paris, might miss its aim, excite the public mind beyond all measure, and bring on incalculable misfortunes. The action of a French army still regularly constituted, possessing a good *morale* . . . might re-establish order, and protect Society, of which the interests are common with those of Europe. It would, by the effect of this very action, give pledges to Prussia, which she might demand at the present moment, and, lastly, it would contribute to the advent of a regular and lawful power, with which relations of every kind could be resumed naturally and without any violent shock.¹

This note, dated from Ban Saint-Martin, October 10th, 1870, and intended to be placed under the eyes of the enemy at a time when Metz could still hold out for three weeks, when France was about to resist for yet three months longer, placed the fate of the army and the country in the hands of the victors. Military considerations then seemed to occupy a very subordinate position in the mind of Marshal Bazaine, as compared with political considerations; at any rate this is the point on which General Pourcet, the Government Commissary, insisted in his indictment.²

The reasons which determined the conduct of Marshal Bazaine were to be found here, according to him. Behind the mistakes of the Commander-in-Chief, in the decision to remain at Metz, in the ill-will towards the new Government, in the deliberate isolation, and in the series of obscure incidents,

¹ *Compte rendu des débats*, p. 87.

² *Ibid.* p. 401.

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he found the proofs of a fixed plan. The Marshal, putting the Emperor at a distance first, refusing to recognise a Government, which had placed another General, Trochu, at its head, receiving through the medium of a suspicious agent, communications from the Empress which had previously passed through the German Head Quarters Staff,—the Marshal, he said, had conceived the design of restoring the authority of the Empress-Regent in France after the signing of the peace, and of becoming master of that Government in return for services rendered.

This plan had failed for a twofold reason; because the Empress had refused to sign the conditions, the "blank cheque," as demanded by Bismarck, and also because France, after the defeat of the Imperial armies, had organised a second defence, and the result of the war had been held in suspense for a longer time than the Marshal had foreseen.

Paris and the provinces, by struggling for nearly four months longer, had deprived Marshal Bazaine of the part of arbiter, which had been the dream of his ambitious designs.

Such, in its broad lines, was the indictment of General Pourcet.

The
Defence of
M^c La-
chaud

The part of the defence was a difficult one. M^c-Lachaud had not, perhaps, the kind of authority demanded by such a case. He lost himself a little in the details.¹ He drew his principal effects from the fine career of Marshal Bazaine, from his moderation, from the unanimous support given by his companions in arms to all the transactions of the

¹ *Cotnpte rendu des debats*, pp. 564, et seq.

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defence, including the capitulation. He vehemently attacked the "undisciplined men," the civil and military conspiracy of those who wished to cut their way through at any price, formed against the Commander-in-Chief ; he praised the heroism of the troops, and the personal courage of their leader, who exposed his life on several occasions; he deplored the jealousies, suspicions, animosities, engendered by defeat and internal discord ; he scoffed at arm-chair Generals, and attacked M. Gambetta for his words : " Marshal Bazaine is a traitor ! "

He quoted the letters which the unfortunate Marshal had received from his colleagues, and subordinates, one from Marshal Canrobert, one from General Trochu ; he even read two letters from Prince Frederick Charles; he pleaded the cause of the Empress, of the Emperor, and of the Army, defeated with honour. He cast a veil over the part played by R6gnier, whom he seemed to spare while sheltering himself behind the words of M. Rouher : " He is an educated man, a skilful man, a man to whom words come easily, who even possesses a certain eloquence (and M. Rouher is a judge of eloquence.) His part remained in the mind of M. Rouher as that of a conciliator."¹

He barely indicated, in consideration of the audience that he was addressing, the thesis which Marshal Bazaine was to maintain later on, to wit, that he was a victim sacrificed in advance to the hatred of the parties opposed to the Empire. He quoted the words of M. Thiers : " Marshal Bazaine, I am convinced, has been cruelly slandered."

¹ *Compte rendu des dibats*, pp. 367 and 594. M. Rouher also said that he had seen " this person accidentally."

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The whole of his pleading was epitomised in these words in which he skilfully recalled the crushing invective of Gambetta : " As for the Marshal, are we to say of him, because he succumbed, that he is a traitor ! No ! If he had an ambition, it was to save his country ! If he had saved Metz, he would have been the saviour of France ! "

After an exchange of replies the President of the Court Martial addressed Marshal Bazaine :—

" Marshal." he said, " have you anything to add in your defence ? "

The Marshal rose quickly, and, with his hand on his military medal, said : " I bear on my breast these words : *Honneur et Patrie*. I have never been false to this noble motto during the two-and-forty years, that I have loyally served my country, neither at Metz, nor elsewhere. I swear it before Christ ! " The President then said in a sharp voice : " The pleadings are closed." and, addressing Commandant Thiriet: " Take away the prisoner ! " It was then thirty-five minutes past four.¹

At thirty-five minutes past eight the
The Sentence Court returned. The President, " in a slow and grave voice." read the sentence, which, referring to Articles 210 and 209 of the code*, of military laws, " sentenced by an unanimous vote Francois Achille Bazaine, Marshal of France, to the penalty of death, with military degradation."

Marshal Bazaine was waiting in an adjacent room. General Pourcet communicated the sentence to him. He listened to it without betraying any sign of emotion ; then when the clerk had finished, he said to General Pourcet: " Is that all ? " On receiving

¹ *Compte rendu des débats*, p. 685.

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a reply in the affirmative, he added: " Shoot me as soon as possible. I am ready ! "

Immediately after the sentence was pronounced, the President and judges had met, and had all signed a letter drawn up by the Due d'Aumale, and addressed to the Minister of War. This letter, recalling the glorious services of the Marshal, and the " unparalleled difficulties " under which he had received the command, begged the President of the Republic not to allow the sentence to be carried into execution.¹

On the following day when the Council of Ministers broke up, the *Journal Officiel* published a note by the terms of which the sentence of death pronounced upon Marshal Bazaine was commuted to twenty years of detention. The formalities of military degradation were dispensed with.

General du Barail had this decision notified to Marshal Bazaine by an orderly officer. " The Marshal on receiving notice* of his arrival, got up, dressed, and went towards him saying calmly: ' Commandant, you come to announce to me the time and place of my execution ? ' ' On the contrary, I come to communicate to you a decree which pronounces a commutation of the penalty.¹ ' Indeed! ' The officer read the decree, and told the Marshal to read it. The latter withdrew without saying a word." ²

It was decided that the former Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Rhine should undergo his punishment in the fort of the Island of Ste. Marguerite, situated opposite Cannes. Permission

¹ See the text of the letter in du Barail, vol. iii. p. 451.

² du Barail, vol. iii. p. 454.

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Bazaine to the Government which he had served, and whose destiny was but imperfectly known to him. He believed in an immediate peace; he thought he perceived a useful part to play; that was perhaps an error of judgment; it was not in itself a sin against duty and honour.

These objections have arisen in many minds in proportion as the passions which surrounded the events of the war, have died away. It might be said that in the perpetual tossing of human opinions, there is a tendency to a reaction in favour of the Marshal. His miserable old age, his lamentable death, have pleaded for him. The disasters, Mexico, the war, despair, rage, everything passes into oblivion. Bazaine, too, must enjoy the favour granted by time and resignation following on protracted wrath.

To form a just estimate of the actions of Bazaine it is well to bear in mind that lofty idea of special duty imposed on the man, who, tearing himself from the ranks of citizens, accepts the honour and responsibilities of the soldier's profession.

The soldier's duty, and the priest's duty, are more rigid by reason of the social authority which is entrusted to them, and the confidence which is reposed in them.

Before the enemy, the soldier's duty is marked out by severe rules ; these rules forbid him to hold any communications, to offer any collusion such as permits the adversary to measure the strength of the moral or physical resistance which he has to meet.¹

¹ See the regulations on active service, Art. 255 of the decree of October 13th, 1863: "... The commander of a fortress must remain deaf to rumours spread with malign intent, and to news which the enemy causes to reach him, must

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In 'what degree should not this prudence and reserve, prescribed by the regulations, be further exaggerated in the case of a Commander, holding in his hands the fate of a numerous army, the last hope of his country, and of a stronghold, the capital of a province coveted by the enemy ?

Military law is formal, but military duty and political duty are no less clear. Bazaine was not ignorant of the famous examples of those fortresses besieged during the wars of Napoleon, which had refused to enter upon negotiations with the enemy up to the very last moment. Not by these examples was he inspired ; from the outset, his attitude and his orders lacked firmness and clearness. In the course of the trial M⁶ Lachaud quoted letters from Prince Frederick Charles, covering the conduct of the vanquished with the esteem of the victor. But there were more definite facts, of greater weight than these letters.

**Bazaine
and the
German
Staff**

On the 5th of September, the very morrow of Sedan, the Prussian Staff, for reasons which escape us, formed a by no means favourable estimate of Bazaine, which was to have its consequences upon the military dispositions adopted with reference to him.

In an order addressed on this date, September 5th, to Major-General von Stiehle, the *alter ego* of Prince Frederick Charles, Marshal von Moltke wrote in these very terms : " A revolution is inevitable since

resist all insinuations, and not permit his own courage, or that of the garrison which he commands, to be shaken by events. . . . Up to the capitulation his communications with the enemy must be as few as possible; he must tolerate none." See Colonel de Savoye, *Reglement sur le service des armies en campagne*, 8vo, 1873, pp. 738 and following.

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the Emperor has left the soil of France* Bazaine is one of his creatures and will perhaps have in view considerations of a more private nature than the interests of France . . ." And these serious words were written by the best authorised and most perspicacious chief of the German armies on September 5th.

On what did the opinion formed by the German staff on the subject of Marshal Bazaine rest ?

This much is certain : that his real inclinations were known ; they determined the plans of the enemy ; the enemy understood that negotiations were more useful than fighting. Since Bazaine and his army inclined towards the Imperial Government, they were to be entertained with the hope of a restoration ; thus France would be divided, and in the course of the negotiations, the two parties, which were disputing for power, would be brought into constant opposition.

Perhaps they had had wind of an interchange of views, which had taken place between the Government of the Empress and Marshal Bazaine, to which the latter alluded in his conversation of September 30th, with the Mayor of Metz: " Be persuaded that the present encampment is not of my choosing ; it was assigned to me with a declaration, that to abandon it was considered to be compromising to the dynasty. I would have preferred, and the General here present (Coffinieres de Nordeck) knows it perfectly, to establish it on the plateau of Haye, in the triangle formed by the two roads from Germany, a position from which one is so easily able to direct troops towards the right and left banks of the Moselle." ¹

¹ *Le Blocus de Metz, en 1870, publication du Conseil Municipal. Entretien de M. le marechal Bazaine avec M. le maire de*

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This mysterious influence, known to, or guessed by, the German Staff since September 5th, is discovered again in the Regnier incident. At Ferrieres on September 19th, the day on which he received M. Jules Favre for the second time, Bismarck held Regnier in reserve; he almost pointed to him ; he said to his interlocutor :—" I am waiting for an envoy from Marshal Bazaine and the Empress, who is ready to accept our conditions." ^x

This was the double game which was to surprise Bazaine and lead him insensibly to the most lamentable issue.

" It was not impossible in our opinion," says another German document, " that the French army could reach Verdun by the 16th. But a firm and well determined will had given room to a puzzling hesitation. Let us consider, on one side, the political situation of France, the weakened position of the Emperor; on the other side the thought which

Metz. Note de M. Marichal, Maire de Metz, p. 249. This definite indication coming from Marshal Bazaine, which reveals in the case of Metz an intervention of the Government analogous to that which decided the march on Sedan, is confirmed by a passage in a speech delivered by General Changarnier in the National Assembly on May 20th, 1871: "A great design had been conceived ; 200,000 men were to be concentrated on the plateau des Haies (*sic*) between Nancy and Tours ; it would have been difficult to drive them from thence. For reasons, *the force of which I do not wish to discuss here*, this plan having been abandoned. . . ."

¹ Prince Bismarck had said to M. Jules Favre the day before : " Since I am speaking of Metz, it is not beside the mark to point out to you that Bazaine does not belong to you. I have strong reasons for believing that he remains faithful to the Emperor, and therefore that he would refuse to obey you." See Jules Favre, *Histoire du Gouvernement de la Defense Nationale*, vol. i. p. 180. Cf. Regnier's pamphlet on his presence at **Ferrieres**.

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might cross Bazaine's mind, that, by preserving the army of which he was the absolute chief, he would be called on to play a considerable part in the midst of the dark destinies of the country, and we shall understand the question propounded in many quarters : ' Did Bazaine, on August 16th, endeavour to conduct himself like a soldier, or like a selfish and ambitious politician ?' He alone can give the answer , . . However that may be, in the eyes of the world, the Marshal will never remain free from reproach for the conduct which he exhibited from the 14th to the 18th of August . . . He never showed a firm wish to fulfil his duty, and he never clearly explained his plans and intentions." *

It is patent that the German Headquarters Staff was informed, by means which have not been divulged up to now, of the Marshal's attitude, since and after September 5th ; it followed him, so to say, step by step, and held out a hand to him.

In accordance with the terms of the communication addressed by General von Moltke to von Stiehle, the Prussian Staff had the following proclamation posted up in the communes under occupation around Metz : " The German governments could enter into negotiations with the Emperor Napoleon, whose Government is alone recognised up to the present time, or with the Regency instituted by him. They could also treat *with Marshal Bazaine, who holds his command from the Emperor.* But it is impossible **to** understand by what right the German Governments could negotiate with a power which, so far, only

¹ A paper on Marshal Bazaine, which appeared in the *Militarische Blätter*, 1872, pp. 30-31. Cf. for the opposite point of view, the pamphlet of General Hanneken, *Opérations militaires autour de Metz*, p. 275 and following.

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represents a part of the Left of the former Legislative Body."¹

Here lay the temptation.

On the 13th, Marshal Bazaine, who probably had knowledge of this communication, sent General Boyer to the staff of Prince Frederick Charles to obtain information "on the significance and importance of events in Paris." We know the answer, at the same time courteous and calculated, sent by Prince Frederick Charles, painting in the blackest colours what was happening in France, and adding, that "the Republic is not recognised everywhere in France."

The letters of General Moltke further inform us, only with a little less precision, as to what was happening at the time. One simple note, however, invites reflection :—

"The Commander-in-Chief of the army of Metz had brought to the knowledge of Marshal Bazaine the complete change which had happened in the situation of France after the events of Sedan. *He hoped thus to be able to bring about negotiations. That did not, however, succeed.* General von Stiehle reported on this by a letter of September 17th."²

General von Stiehle's letter has not been published. But, from this moment, begins the intervention of R6gnier. He had prepared his batteries by diverse conversations with the *entourage* of the Empress. He had seen M. Rouher; perhaps he had even been in relations with the Emperor. He carried a photograph of the Palace of Hastings, with a signature of

¹ **Felix Klein**, *Vie de Mgr. Dupont des Loges, eveque de Metz*, p. 275 et seq.

² **Correspondence militaire du Marshal de Moltke, Guerre de 1870-71. Traduction autorisfe**, 8vo, vol. ii., p. 583.

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the Prince Imperial, which accredited him to Napoleon III. It is puerile to assume that he acted by chance and *proprio motu*.

However that may be, he waited for the opportune moment. "I saw in the *Observer* of Sunday, September 18th," he writes, "that Jules Favre had obtained an interview at Meaux for the following day, Monday, in which he was to treat for an armistice with Bismarck. The moment seemed to me supreme. I returned promptly to my house, embraced my family, and, at nine in the evening, I was in the train for Calais."

On September 20th, at 10 a.m., Regnier was received with singular facility by Prince Bismarck at Ferrieres.¹ He had a long conversation with him, and, on Friday evening, September 23rd, furnished with a German pass, he was with Marshal Bazaine.

The simultaneousness of the negotiations with M. Jules Favre, with the Empress, with Marshal Bazaine, establishes only too clearly the advantage which Bismarck calculated on gaining by his double game, in the course of the negotiations. The interest and designs of Prussia are demonstrated by the perfect connexity between the efforts of the Chancellor and those of the Staff.

On the other hand, what were the sentiments of Marshal Bazaine at this decisive moment? We know them by the most dramatic of all confessions. It is necessary to read in the *Vie de Mgr. Dupont des Loges* the story of a conversation which the **Marshal** had with the Bishop precisely on *September 22nd*. One might have said, that on the eve of the day on

¹ *Quel est son nom—M. ou N?* Par Rdgnier, p. 20.

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which Regnier was to enter Metz, the Marshal sought for a witness, whose words could not be held in suspicion.

He went, *for the first time*, to the Bishop's palace, saw the prelate, and imparted confidences to him, the story of which has been transmitted to us by one of those present:

"To-day," said the Marshal, "everything is expected of me ; it causes great impatience, that the army should remain under the walls of Metz up to this day . . . Doubtless the army can leave Metz, and I shall go out when I please, and by what road I please. That is not the difficulty. All that is wanted is that I should risk the lives of seven or eight thousand men. . . . And once out, what is to become of me ? I shall still have the Prussians on my heels, and in front of me I shall have to fight the enemies of social order who have raised their heads in every direction. . . .¹

"The Government which Paris has imposed on France is without authority either to organise the defence or to treat with the victor. Everywhere there is division and anarchy. My information does not allow me to doubt this. Hardly a day passes when indispensable communications are not exchanged between the headquarters of the two armies. . . . 'For us,' say the Germans, 'the

¹ These indications as to the possibility and conditions of a "break through" agree with those which were given to the Mayor of Metz by Marshal Bazaine on September 30th. *Le Blocus de Metz, publication du Conseil Municipal*, p. 240. The possibility of a victorious "break through" has been debated. The German Staff foresaw it, made arrangements to oppose it, and Marshal von Moltke considered it dangerous, if effected in the direction of Nancy (*Correspondance*, vol. ii., p. 583).

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Marshal, at the head of his army, alone represents France. Let him come to an arrangement then ; his proposals will be welcomed with eagerness, and the two nations will owe him their salvation.' Up to the present," adds the Marshal, " I have acted as if I were not aware of these confidences, but the time will come when I shall make my conditions, and they will certainly be accepted. The army of Metz, after having obtained an honourable peace, will then be alone capable of ensuring to France the liberty and tranquillity necessary to the establishment of a government, which is no less necessary to her than peace . . ." *

Meanwhile, the negotiations attempted by the medium of Regnier, and the journey of General Bourbaki came to nothing; it is easy, by reference to the same authentic documents, to understand why. On one hand, it was desired that the Empress should treat for peace as a whole ; the conditions were submitted to her, which Prussia then considered necessary, that is to say, the dismemberment of France, the cession of Alsace, and part of Lorraine, while Strasburg, Metz, and Paris were still holding out. This is what the Empress herself called the " blank cheque," Neither she, nor the Marshal consented.

The Regnier incident was closed. Bourbaki, in despair at having failed, put his sword at the service of the National Defence. But Marshal Bazaine clung to his idea.

On October 10th, he sent General Boyer to the Headquarters Staff ; he furnished him with the note

¹ The complete account of the conversations, from which the above is only an abstract, should be read carefully in Félix Klein, *Vie de Mgr. Dupont des Loges*, p. 275 et seq.

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quoted above, in which he offered himself to be the *palladium* of society, and guarantor of peace in France. The negotiations were again resumed with the Empress ; General Boyer went to London. Then a fresh check occurred.¹

Documents of a German origin again tell us the reason. On the one hand, the conditions of peace

¹ The story of the Prussian staff is full of light: " When General Boyer came to Versailles furnished with these instructions (liberty to the army of the Rhine to leave Metz in freedom with the honours of war), the headquarters replied by asking him first of all, who, in the actual situation of France, was in a position to contract an engagement binding to the country? General Boyer declared that the army of the Rhine, for its part, had not ceased to consider itself pledged by its oath of fidelity to the Emperor, and that, in consequence, it did not recognise any other power than the Regency established by His Majesty. But considering the first refusal of the Emperor to enter into negotiations, and the absence of any guarantee for the adhesion of France to the conventions which might be stipulated, Count von Bismarck required as a preliminary condition to ulterior negotiations that the Empress should declare herself ready to sign a treaty, and that the army of the Rhine should give evidence, in a definite and formal manner, of its intention to remain faithful to the Regency.

" General Boyer returned to Metz with this answer; then, on the advice of the council of war, which had been again summoned, he went again to England to the Empress. The latter informed His Majesty the King that she wished for an armistice of fifteen days, with liberty to revictual Metz, but that she would never give her signature to a dismemberment of the territory of France. The King replied to these overtures that he was himself animated by a sincere wish to re-establish peace, but that the present uncertainty of the situation not permitting the anticipation, that, in the event of a treaty, France and the army of the Rhine would recognise its validity, he did not think he could continue longer negotiations for the present."—*La Guerre franco-allemande*, edited by the historical section of the Prussian headquarters staff, part ii., vol. hi., pp. 290, et seq.

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were the same, and on the other hand, before treating with Bazaine, a "manifestation" was demanded from him and his army in favour of the Empress-Regent; that is to say, they imposed civil war along with a shameful peace. A restoration attempted under such conditions would have been sheer madness.

The Empress and M. Rouher, who was her adviser, thought, however, that they ought to make a last effort. On October 20th (?), a private friend of M. Rouher's, a former sub-prefect under the Empire, M. Theophile Gautier, the younger, left London with instructions to see Prince Bismarck and to treat with him, in the name of the Regent, as to the conditions of peace. M. Th. Gautier, furnished with a letter for King William from the Empress, was received by Prince Bismarck, on October 24th. There were two interviews. The conversation opened by an examination of the eventual part to be played by the army of Bazaine in the conclusion of peace and restoration of the Empire. Prince Bismarck once again drew attention to the fact, that Germany had not received and could not receive any *guarantee* for the fidelity with which Bazaine and his army would hold to their engagements: there was therefore nothing to be done. Nevertheless, M. Rouher's envoy proposed, according to his instructions, certain conditions of peace ; he spoke of the neutralisation of Alsace, an indemnity of two milliards, and the cession of Cochin China. Prince Bismarck protested :—" If the King and I were to return to Berlin without bringing back Alsace, we should be received with a shower of stones," He alluded in the same terms to a cession of part of Lorraine. It was now October 26th.

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On October 27th the news of the capitulation of the army of Metz was received at Versailles in the course of the night. The envoy sent by the Empress and M. Rouher, ends his story with this sad reminiscence, and adds :—" Nothing was left for me but to withdraw,"*

The army of Bazaine, not having " made the manifestation,"—these are Prince Bismarck's own words,—had not been able to conclude a peace ; and had no issue but capitulation.³

On a review of this evidence, the concentration of facts is so exact that it leaves little room for doubt henceforth.⁸

Bazaine did subordinate military considerations to political considerations, the offence with which he was reproached in the indictment of General Pourcet. Brought up in Algerian offices, having spent several years of his youth in Spain, and played a considerable political part in Mexico, he had adopted a habit of conducting combats and negotiations simultaneously.

A man of no vulgar, but complex, mind, self-

¹ Th. Gautier fils, *Une visite au comte de Bismarck en Octobre 1870*.—*Revue de Paris*, August 15, 1903.

² See the letters of the Emperor William and Prince Bismarck read by M^e- Lachaud, *Compte rendu*, p. 616.

³ Do we not find something like a confession in the very vague explanation given by Marshal Bazaine to the municipal council of Metz when he imparted to them the necessity under which he was placed of capitulating ? " General Coffinieres has been invited to give the municipal council the necessary explanations, so that the town may be in possession of the negotiations, whose aim has always been to improve *the serious condition in which the country is placed*, an aim which, unfortunately, we have not been able to attain."—*Publication du Conseil Municipal*, p. 213.

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centred and cautious, fatalist and obscure, without frankness, and without personal authority, he had faith neither in his army, nor in his own military proficiency, nor in victory. He had recourse to procedures in which he believed himself to be a past master. His calculations came into collision with shrewder and deeper designs.

His mistake sacrificed the finest army of France, decided the fate of a province and the destiny of the country. He would have been wiser, more skilful, more honourable, if he had confined himself strictly to his duty as a soldier.

CHAPTER VIII

ARMED PEACE AND THE INTERNATIONAL KULTURKAMPF.

- I.—Europe and the new German Empire—Prince Bismarck and French domestic politics—The "armed peace" system—The "Kulturkampf" and German unity—Germany and the "white policy."
- II.—Emperor William at St. Petersburg—The Czar at Vienna—Victor-Emmanuel at Vienna and Berlin—Germany and the monarchical campaign—William I at Vienna.
- III.—The Due Decazes, Minister of Foreign Affairs—Rome and the International Kulturkampf—Incident of the Episcopal mandates—A war feared—German military septennate—Reichstag elections in Alsace-Lorraine—Protest against annexation.
- IV.—New apprehensions caused by German armaments—Spanish affairs—The Emperor of Austria at St. Petersburg—Europe and the "armed peace" system.
- V.—Accession of the Disraeli Cabinet—A change in British policy—The Czar's travels in Europe—Germany and the Eastern question—Prince Hohenlohe an ambassador in Paris—The European situation in May 1874.
- VI.—Inauguration of a "world policy"—Russia in Central Asia—Annam and Tonkin incidents—Chinese affairs—The Ashantee war—Great Britain and the Suez Canal—Great international works.

I

THE years 1873, 1874, and 1875 were a time of liquidation and general settling of accounts. Europe became transformed; at home, the masses superseded the classes; abroad, area superseded nationalities. Great empires, only recently con-

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stituted, added up their forces and armed themselves for a powerful defensive and distant adventures. European peace, caparisoned with iron, prepared for the conquest of the world. Such a peace is heavy and onerous, slow to establish and violent at its very birth. The anxious period when it was founded was the time when France was labouring to produce its constitutional organisation. Universal attention was rivetted to the dramatic destiny of this country, in full travail, when it might have been supposed to be slumbering.

In Paris, a few statesmen, antagonistic successors though representatives of the past, last and still great descendants of great aristocrats, worked at transformations and liquidations with supple and dainty hands. Their transitory and transactional policy timidly sought to accommodate their ideas, principles, and prejudices, to new requirements; thus, in spite of themselves, they opened the road for the future. They were unpopular, both on account of their resistance and of their initiative. A sacrificed generation, doomed beforehand to contradictory insults; useful, nevertheless, in its ephemeral anxiety and indecision.

Abroad, France, defeated, rent and weakened, had preserved its renown, if not its place among nations. Neither peoples nor governments had forgotten the services rendered or lost sight of those to come. Situated, as France is, at one end of Europe, such a counterweight could only be ignored if the whole extremity of the continent were to disappear. Besides, it is not in her nature to be forgotten ; only barely recovered from her swoon, she was already watchful.

Things did not take place as in 1815 ; the **victors**

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knew that story. It had been arranged that France should be kept apart from the London Conference. However, the deep modifications which had taken place in its absence on the political and physical face of Europe were still very ill-assured. Russia had indeed obtained the abolition of the clause of the treaty which kept her away from the Black Sea, but this was not a success for English politics nor a security for Eastern peace.

In Italy, in Austria, near Denmark, in Germany itself, recent enterprises remained unfinished and could at any time give scope to diplomacy.¹

In the East, in Asia, the solidarity of European Powers bound them all to the same future.

France necessary So that, even had France wished it, she could neither abstain nor be kept apart. With or without a Congress she was necessary and present among nations. The Shah of Persia, when expressing to M. de Gontaut-Biron his desire to come to Paris, had alluded to the bonds of sympathy which united France to his empire. "These bonds go back," said he, "to the embassies from King Louis XIV. and to the good offices rendered to us by France during the 1856 war." It was not without reason that the crowd had applauded the Asiatic sovereign; with him, History, and perhaps a little influence, were returning to Paris.

Other powers, Russia, England, the United States, even Austria, had watched with sympathetic surprise the prompt recovery of France. People

¹ See in chap. xxi. of Prince Bismarck's *Thoughts and Recollections* the precise details which he gives as to the liquidation of the small States of old Germany.

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remembered the Emperor Alexander's words at Berlin : " Be strong." In England, it was beginning to be thought that the Gladstone Cabinet had applied too strictly the doctrine of " laissez-faire."

The somewhat simple system of diplomatic domination which Bismarck had thought to impose on Europe on the morrow of the war was indeed giving way a little; * the machine was not working ; a latent resistance, which the nervous Chancellor could detect under smiling faces, was alarming him.

He was all the more desirous to make his recent authority felt that he himself did not feel full confidence in it. Intimidation became this conqueror's natural weapon. As long as he held the French Government through the occupation of the territory, he did not trouble himself much about anything but the complete payment of the war indemnity.⁸ After the last payments had been made and the evacuation accomplished—it is known with what difficulty—he allowed other quarrels to come up.

The affair of the credentials had been a serious

¹ Letter from Taine, Oxford, May 23rd, 1870 : " Odo Russell owns that at Versailles, the representatives of the neutral Powers were treated like little boys. Prussia, conscious of its strength, is acting *d la* Napoleon. She could be resisted but by a coalition, and this coalition does not exist even in embryo. . . . As long as the Czar lives, he will be her ally. . . ." (*Unpublished document*).

³ M. de Gontaut-Biron wrote in September 1873 to the Due de Broglie : " The Empress Augusta has said to me a word from which I might conclude that my situation in the future may become more delicate and more difficult than it has been until now, that is, as long as we have been settling accounts with Germany. . . ." (Due de Broghe, *La Mission de M. de Gontaut-Biron*, p. 139).

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anxiety to the Due de Broglie on his appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs ; the prompt submission of the French Cabinet to the Chancellor had not caused all the venom to disappear.

Prince Bismarck did not show himself better disposed towards a monarchical restoration. What he most feared in France was the normal working of regular institutions; the Commune had whetted his taste.

In his polemical correspondence with Count Arnim, he opposed the point of view of the latter, who inclined towards a Bourbon Restoration, and insisted on the advantages which the establishment of the Republic would offer to Germany. " It certainly is not our duty," he wrote, " to render France powerful by consolidating her domestic situation and, by establishing for her a regular monarchy, to make her capable of concluding treaties of alliance with powers which have until now had friendly relations with us." ¹ He further wrote, alluding " to the *experimentum in animd vili* performed by the Commune before the eyes of Europe." ² " France is to us a wholesome warning." ³ He caused his minister, Herr von Balan, to write to Count Arnim : " In no case can we support the Legitimists, considering that they will ever be won to the Pope's cause."

He had perhaps a latent tendency to favour the Bonapartist element: " The Bonapartist party is perhaps that with which it would be most reasonable to hope for the establishment of a tolerable relationship between France and Germany. " ⁴ But at heart

¹ Arnim Trial, p. 79. ² Ibid, p. 68. ³ Ibid, p. 81.

⁴ Taine wrote from London, May 23rd, 1873 : " Lunched with Odo Russell, the English Ambassador in Berlin. According to

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he really was against any stability whatever, fearing monarchical stability more, because he thought it nearer, and because he apprehended an intervention in the struggle with the Catholic Church in which he was engaged. He seized an opportunity of showing premeditated ill-temper towards one of the Orleans Princes, the Due d'Aumale, when the latter, who was President of the Court-Martial which tried Marshal Bazaine, had, through the Due de Broglie, manifested a desire to visit the battle-field near Metz. This request, formulated privately, had been harshly refused and ironically made public.

The new Government, which assumed the mission of restoring monarchy in France, was therefore bound to experience the effects of that singular disposition, to which Bismarck gave vent in those irritable sallies which he had not spared M. Thiers.

These fits of temper on the part of Bismarck proved a veritable nightmare to the French ministers of that period. It was impossible to know what attitude to take towards him ; everything angered him. Ill health left him no rest. He remained confined in his solitude at Varzin, feeling that he was abandoning part of his work.'anxious in consequence and unable to give it more care. His position with the Emperor William seemed to him ill-assured; the attitude of the Empress Augusta troubled him in the way he' describes in his *Recollections*: " She had Catholic, French, *ancien regime* tendencies ; she did not willingly adopt the opinions of another," *

him, M. de Bismarck would have preferred to treat with the Emperor Napoleon, even if asking less than five milliards ; he would have felt sure of his game ; he would have had a policeman, an ally, on the throne of France " (*Unpublished Letters*).

¹ Broglie, *Gontaut-Biron*, p. 118.

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^r He objected to her relations with the Ambassador Gontaut-Biron, to her French circle, and especially to her reader "wily Gerard," whom he regarded as a prying spy.

He had another and more alarming cause of personal irritation, which was the part played or desired by his ambassador in Paris, Count von Arnim. The latter having unmasked his batteries had revealed himself as a rival, and the Chancellor was the more displeased that Count von Arnim's conduct stood in sharp contrast with the coolness, dignity, and tact of the French representative at Berlin. M. de Gontaut-Biron, being perfectly at ease in the difficult atmosphere of the Court, managed men's minds deftly and imperceptibly ; his charming manners and simplicity attracted and grouped together all those who had escaped the authority or the fascination of the Chancellor.

Such troubles of daily life disturbed Prince Bismarck's sleepless nights, while sciatica tortured him with unbearable pains. But nothing could turn him from the double task to which, with the clearness and strength of his genius, he had resolved to devote his untiring activity : (i) to force Europe to accept the new Empire ; (2) to give the Empire a domestic organisation. Not satisfied with having brought this difficult offspring into the world, he wished to assure its future security by giving it healthy organs and some means of existence.

Germany was at that time in such a ferment of exalted patriotism that she willingly afforded one man sufficient time and confidence to conceive **and** to carry out these plans.

In Europe, the German Empire was a somewhat uncomfortable newcomer; by its very presence,

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this "big boy" interfered with everything. The cleverness with which Prince Bismarck had exploited European discontent against Napoleonic policy had allowed him to vanquish France and to conclude the treaty of Frankfort under the distrustful eye of Foreign Cabinets. But he could not delude himself so much as to think that they would not one day recover from their surprise and attempt to make him pay for it. As a fact, all the European Governments had been duped and were now vexed with themselves for allowing it.

Prince
Bismarck's
plan

Prince Bismarck rapidly drew up his plan of conduct towards the Powers.

First of all, he wanted Germany to be strong, the strongest of European nations, and capable to stand, not only against one enemy, but a whole coalition; in order to obtain this, she must not hesitate to continue in time of peace those sacrifices made during the war. "To be master in one's own house, one must sweep one's own front steps."

This was not enough; the lion's skin must be eked out with a piece of the fox's fur: therefore must Germany utilise her activity, influence and the resources afforded by her pre-eminent position in order to give to other Powers such satisfaction as to bind them almost irretrievably to her fortunes. By making herself the "honest broker" of all uneasy or unsatisfied ambitions, she obtained for herself the only satisfaction which she required at the time: consolidation through peace. The art of foreign politics consists in promising and selling at the highest price that which costs you nothing.

Bismarck did not wish for war; he repeats that he has always apprehended wars "of anticipation"

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intended to forestall the more or less probable attack of an adversary. " Never try to guess the intentions of Providence." ¹

Armed
Peace But he was always preparing for war, and, whilst declaring that he had no fear of it, he claims to be the arbiter of peace. This is the system known as " armed peace " ; it would reassure nations if it did not tax them to exhaustion.

To sum up, there is in this system one part of reality and one of manifestation, of *facia feroce*; the realities are the overwhelming sacrifices imposed for long years on the populations; the *facia feroce* is the way in which to use forces thus constituted in order to avoid the terrible, supreme consequences, collision and war. This constitutes the whole of the Bismarckian policy. It has imposed on Europe thirty years of a peace as crushing and as enervating as the mind which conceived it. It would have been simpler, and probably more advantageous to abide by mere equity.

This policy was mainly aimed at France, vanquished but not reduced. The despair of defeat, the sorrow of disruption, the plaint arising from the other side of the Vosges, were not silenced; the word " revenge," if it did not rise to the lips, was engraved on men's hearts; the peace conditions had been submitted to without acquiescence.

France remained an adversary who would rise at the first signal. Her power was reviving, and, even isolated, might prove formidable. The war had proved that the valour of the nation had not been over-estimated. " The bravery of the French soldier, the intensity of national sentiment and

¹ *Souvenirs*, vol. ii. p. no.

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wounded pride, were absolutely what I thought they would be in the case of a German invasion in France. Only I had imagined that discipline, organisation, and general direction, would have been better than they were in 1870. . . . I have never thought that a war against France would be easy, even without taking account of the allies which she might find in the restlessness of Austria or the desire of Russia to maintain European equilibrium."

So vanquished France had to be broken in and mastered while it was yet possible ; she had to feel the victor's hand and bit, and was never to be spared in any way.

Sedan On September 2nd, 1873, anniversary
Day of the battle of Sedan, Germany celebrated her martial glory by a national holiday. Bonfires were lighted throughout the empire. A victory column was inaugurated at Berlin. The *Sedanstag* was made a yearly rejoicing.

For the first time, a complete victory was followed by armaments instead of disarmaments. The German Parliament (of the North German Confederation) had refused to give up its right of an annual vote on the budget, even where military expenses were concerned. The bargain of 1867 which maintained the German forces on the footing which had been theirs during the war, was to expire in December 1871. The Cabinet demanded its renewal for three more years. "The important thing/" said M. Delbruck, speaking in the name of Prince Bismarck, prevented by illness, "is to make it impossible for revenge to be ever attempted."

"Before the three years were over, the Government laid before the now Imperial Parliament a Bill, re-organising the military system from top to

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bottom and of which the chief object was to fix once for all the main lines of a permanent constitution of the Army, the official number of recruits for 1871 being 401,659. As for the expense, the Imperial contracts provided for it by obliging the different Governments to place at the Emperor's disposal an annual and fixed sum per man."¹ In February 1874, the Bill was reintroduced before the Reichstag, elected for the second time since the war, and the Government, looking upon it as the principal business of the session, claimed urgency for "a law imposed by the necessity of increasing the strength of the German Army, indispensable as it is to the independence of the nation."

The firm will to break any resistance on that subject and the resolve to obtain such sacrifices from Germany at any cost, even during a grave financial crisis, remained for many years the main features of Prince Bismarck's domestic policy. He succeeded in frightening every one, even his own friends. He sought out, wherever it could be found in his Parliament, the majority which voted these sums for him, and, in order to keep it satisfied, refused it nothing in his power. The National Liberal party, under Herr von Bennigsen's lofty guidance, made of its attitude on questions of credit its *instrumentum regni*. The policy of the Kultur-campf and that of the military septennate were thus closely bound together; as France carried her burden of her defeat, so did Germany that of her victory. *

¹ Eugene Simon, *Histoire du prince de Bismarck*, p. 365.

¹ The Munich *Vaterland* wrote in September, 1873 : " France has completed the payment of the five milliards and we have revived the money, if we are represented by the insatiable military

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Prince Bismarck became aware that resistance was greater in certain "particularist" circles where it was supported by religious differences. Modern Germany still preserves traces of the sectarian passions which raged during the Thirty Years' War. The Chancellor himself, in spite of his exalted intellect, was slightly tainted with the disease. The unity of the Empire appeared to him

German as Prussian and therefore Protestant;
Unity he dreamt of Moral Unity. Less prudent than Richelieu, with whom he has been compared, he never entirely cured himself of the sixteenth century doctrine which engendered every sort of Inquisition ; *ubi regio ibi religio*. " Considering the dangers to which our wars had given rise . . . the first condition of any policy was to my mind the independence of Germany on the basis of a Unity strong enough to become self-defending. . . . From this point of view, and because of the dangers of possible wars and coalition, I did not, then any more than now, care whether we should be Liberal or Conservative ; but I placed before everything the autonomy of the nation and of its Sovereign." All the questions to be treated were summed up in his mind by that master-conception, " Unity.¹" It may be seen, in his *Recollections*, that a marvellous

budget. . . . The nation has in no way been affected by it, save that speculation has reached tremendous dimensions and that there has been a general increase of prices which has not yet ceased ! . . . There has never been any question of reducing taxation, and we may, on the contrary, expect a further increase at any time." The *Frankfort Gazette* : " Taxes have nowhere been reduced. . . . By far the most considerable portion of the money has been devoted to military purposes. . . . This severe bleeding has not hurt France very much; it is very doubtful that it will prove a benefit to Germany."

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work of co-ordination and subordination of problems spontaneously took place in his powerful brain.

His touchstone was to be the sectarian problem, as it still for a long time will serve for a test of the value of European statesmen. The inclusion by the Empire of the numerous Catholic southern populations, and the exclusion of Austria, left to a Protestant Government the task of settling the many cases which arose between the faithful, the clergy and Rome. Prussian bureaucrats, and even Prince Bismarck, were somewhat heavy-handed for such delicate wire-pulling. The Chancellor had at first tried with the Holy See to find a *convenio* which would associate the latter with his diplomatic intentions, but Pius IX. had eluded him. He had then tried to act on the faithful through the organisation of a German Catholicism, a "Germanism" like the French "Gallicanism"ⁿ :—the faithful had again proved refractory.

Such mistakes had not detracted from the astonishing progress of a powerful Parliamentary party, the Catholic centre, of which the origin dated from 1860. At the time when the Chancellor was opening his campaign for the Unity of the Empire, he found this party and its irritated opposition in his way. He met with this opposition everywhere, in the Parliament, at Court, in the recently annexed provinces, in Bavaria, in Alsace-Lorraine, in Poland, in the Rhenish provinces. He himself said: "When I engaged in the Kulturkampf, I was principally inclined towards it by the Polish side of the question." Indeed, unfinished conquests had to be completed : the diplomat opened the road to the Jurist.

This Kulturkampf policy was in fact doubly connected with Bismarck's foreign and domestic

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pre-occupations ; he feared Catholicism both within the Empire and abroad. Circumstances in Europe might become favourable to a "white policy" which Prince Bismarck considered as likely to become dangerous and contrary to him.

In France, a Bourbon Restoration seemed imminent and, if the Comte de Chambord came to reign, clerical influences would for a long time direct the sovereign and the country.

In Spain Spain was traversing a crisis which was of the gravest and which might have an analogous issue. Since the proclamation of the Republic (Feb. 11th, 1873), the Peninsula was given up to party strife. Federalists in the South and Carlists in the North feared the weak Governments of Pi y Margall, Salmeron and Castelar. On July 2nd, 1873, Don Carlos, a refugee at Bayonne, passed the frontier, made his headquarters at Estelle and progressed rapidly in the north of Spain. The French Cabinet was openly accused of having lent a hand to the Pretender's attempts.

In Italy In Italy, the question of Imperial power remained in suspense ; the Pope appealed to Governments and to nations.

In Austria The nucleus of this possible policy was in Austria. A firm and consistent will on the part of Francis Joseph's ministers would have been sufficient to imperil Germany's still precarious fortunes. Austria, by a *rapprochement* with Russia and by giving up, at least for a time, its Danubian dream, would, in a way, effect a re-entry into Germany. Thus she would, as in the time of Napoleon and Metternich, lead all opposition and

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enrol all discontents. Russia had no interest in the continual growth of Germany: a divided
In Russia Germany would be far more acceptable.

Thus a dangerous storm seemed possible in every direction. Prince Bismarck foresaw it, and described it clearly, later on, when his fears were over. " If, after the treaty of Frankfort, a Catholic party, either Republican or Royalist in its opinions, had remained in power in France, an alliance might have been feared between the two neighbouring Powers which we had fought : Austria and France. . . . It was not easy to foresee whether we on our side could find any allies ; in any case, it would have depended on Russia to transform the alliance between France and Austria into an all-powerful coalition by joining with them, or to keep us in tutelage by the diplomatic pressure which this state of things seemed to encourage.

It would seem that an Austrian minister, Count von Beust, did for a moment conceive the design of such a policy, so dangerous for Germany and so justly feared by the Chancellor.¹ But Prince Bismarck was fortunate enough and clever enough to put this statesman out of the way. After Count von Beust had disappeared, no man remained in Europe, either in Austria or in France, who would have been capable of conceiving or executing it. In any case, we can but admire the art with which Bismarck applied himself to conjure a peril even before it was born.

¹ The Due Decazes wrote to one of his friends, on May 6th, 1874, the following epitome of the situation : " As long as we count for nothing in this world, Austria necessarily will remain the satellite of Russia and Germany. We must be aware of this, and resign ourselves to it (*Private and unpublished document*).

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II

Immediately after the war, Prince Bismarck, in his eager desire to impose on Europe the recognition of the results acquired by the Treaty of Frankfort, had, it will be remembered, sought to find some support through an understanding with Austria and Russia. The meeting at Berlin of the Emperors Alexander and Francis Joseph had enabled him to proclaim the authority of the new "Triple Alliance."

This understanding, somewhat artificially brought about, was represented as an effective success and the Chancellor cleverly played with it in order to weigh on the affairs of France. "This triple understanding" (thus ran an article obviously inspired by an official source), "follows the traces and feeds on the recollections of the alliance contracted in 1813 by the Sovereigns of the three great States. It is as close now as it was at that memorable epoch. . . . The present understanding has a purely defensive object and is but an act of eventual precaution; but it would assume the shape of an offensive alliance if circumstances came to demand it." *

At heart, Prince Bismarck was not so satisfied as he wished to appear. The accord between the three Emperors consisted of pleasant words; diplomats whispered to each other that, in spite of the German Chancellor's desire, nothing had been set down in writing. As Count von Arnim rather cruelly put it, the famous interview between the three Emperors had been but a *fiasco*.

Prince Gortschakoff had preserved his absolute freedom; perhaps even had he been somewhat irri-

¹ *Memorial Diplomatique*, May 17th, 1873, p. 305.

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tated by the coarse jokes and rude boasts of the man whose greatness in Europe he had contributed to establish.

Prince Bismarck himself owns that this indisposition on the part of Gortschakoff was confirmed during the visit which the Emperor William paid to the Czar at St. Petersburg, April 27th, 1873. This visit was intended to seal the accord, but its effect was to widen the rift.

And yet the two Emperors were attracted to each other; they had resolved to remain friends; it was known that, as long as they lived, the bond would not break.¹ But there was now no friendship between the two Chancellors. Gortschakoff, feeling himself surpassed, cherished resentment towards a past which he had not divined and fear of a future which he darkly foresaw. The Emperor William had brought with him Prince Bismarck and Marshal von Moltke; everything was calculated to impress public opinion. The visit of the German Emperor lasted twelve days, a long succession of triumphs and ovations. However, Prince Bismarck felt anxious; he openly laughed at the oratorical mannerisms and servile attention to detail of the other Chancellor, who returned disdain for disdain, mockery for mockery; nations have to suffer for such wars of pin-pricks and wordy fisticuffs between diplomats.

The portrait of Prince Gortschakoff traced by Prince Bismarck's caustic pen reveals the naturally antagonistic spirits of the two men. Gortschakoff was eminently "old style," whilst Bismarck was modern. The manners of one offended the other,

¹ See Louis Schneider, *L'empereur Guillaume* (vol. iii., p. 310).

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and *vice versa*. " Gortschakoff was vain, envious, vexed at the resistance which I had had to oppose to his ideas of universal supremacy. I had found myself obliged to say to him, in the course of a confidential conversation : ' You do not treat me like a friendly Power, but like a servant who does **not** answer the bell fast enough.' Gortschakoff was a brilliant and witty speaker, and enjoyed showing himself as such. . . . What he especially liked was to take an audience of young *charges d'affaires*, with an ' open mind ' ; . . . his exalted position as Minister of Foreign Affairs added to the oratorical impression which he produced on them.

" Gortschakoff occasionally transmitted his wishes to me in a manner which recalled the famous *Roma locuta est*. I complained in a private letter of this system of treating business, and of the tone of his overtures, and I asked him no longer to consider me as the willing diplomatic student whom he had known at St. Petersburg, but to take into account the fact that I was a colleague and responsible for the policy of my Emperor and of a great Empire/'*

If Prince Bismarck had come to St. Petersburg in order to make such kind remarks to the Russian Chancellor, he would have done better to remain in Berlin. This ferment of discord permeated official manifestations, and even the effusions of the Imperial families. However, the parting was a friendly one.

**The Czar
in Vienna** The Emperor Alexander desired to show to the last the best intentions and a sort of condescension towards his respected uncle. He decided to come to Vienna, and to have a personal interview with the Emperor Francis Joseph and his

¹ *Thoughts and Recollections*, vol. ii. p. 205.

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Ministers. This interview was of exceptional importance.

Not for twenty years, not since Austria had "astonished the* world by her ingratitude." had an Emperor of Russia been seen in Vienna. But fresh troubles were already signalled in the Balkans; Bosnia, Herzegovina, Servia, and Bulgaria showed signs of disturbance. In Turkey, nothing but reform was talked of—a sure sign of war; the two Empires might at any moment find themselves in conflict with each other on account of the antagonism of their interests and Eastern relations.

Prince Bismarck once again played the part of an "honest broker"; although, perhaps, without any illusions, he attempted to bring the two Courts closer to each other. Besides, Prince Gortschakoff was not sorry to see for himself what was thought in Vienna of coming events in the Balkans. Each side approached the other with some reserve. "The ruling statesmen of Russia and Austria have not inherited a great liking for each other," wrote the *Neue Freie Presse*. Count Andrassy is in Prince Bismarck's hands; that is all the more reason why he should not be in Prince Gortschakoff's heart.

The interview took place under these conditions, June 1st, 1873.

Austria and Russia in the Balkans After the Czar had departed, the official press docilely registered an optimistic note: "The most complete understanding has been established on Eastern affairs, following on the interviews at Berlin and St. Petersburg, between the Imperial Courts of Germany, Austria and Russia. . . . The interview between the Emperors Francis Joseph and Alexander has definitely sealed this understanding, but not without important and reciprocal con-

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cessions at the expense of the traditional policy both of Austria and Russia relatively to the Ottoman Empire. With the assent of the Berlin Cabinet, the two Imperial Courts will, in the future, act in political and, if need be, military harmony, in all Eastern affairs,"

Prince Bismarck was therefore to be the arbiter and intermediary of this unexpected accord.

Prince Bismarck was probably the last man to be duped by illusions concerning this. Already, he was looking for an alternative.

One Power in Europe had been kept in view by his calculations, namely : Italy. True, King Victor-Emmanuel and the Emperor Napoleon III. had been friends, and Garibaldi had fought for France. But, on account of the occupation of Rome, Italy, still uncertain as to the consequences of her enterprise, required some support. Many things were now common to Italy and Germany; the novelty of the results, recollections of 1866, the fragility of certain realisations, and the disposition of both towards the Holy See.

In June 1873, the Italian Government had promulgated the law on religious corporations, and the Pope had just protested against it in the Consistory of July 25th, 1873. Almost at the same time, August, 7th, 1873, the Pope addressed to the German Emperor a solemn letter in which he appealed to the better-informed Emperor against the treatment of Catholics within the Empire. The pontifical letter, claiming a sort of authority over all Christian Power, had strongly offended the pietist feelings and the Protestant faith of the Emperor.¹

¹ See these incidents and the letters exchanged between the Pope and the Emperor in the *Memorial Diplomatique*, 1873, pp. 509 and 666.

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It was this precise moment that Prince Bismarck seized opportunity. The French Bishops, and others, Cardinal Guibert, Bishop of Paris, and many others, raised their voice in response to this double appeal from the Pope, and having associated themselves with the complaints of the Sovereign Pontiff concerning the "supreme iniquities enacted in Rome against religious institutions."⁹ an invitation from Berlin called King Victor-Emmanuel to visit the German Emperor, thus manifesting, in everybody's sight, the union of the two monarchies.

The invitation was accepted, but one difficulty remained. King Victor-Emmanuel, in order to go to Berlin, had to pass through Vienna, where the events of 1859 and 1866 were not forgotten. Prince Bismarck undertook to arrange matters and to put an end to the quarrel, which dated from the very constitution of the new Italian kingdom.

Austria was at that moment having some difficulties with the Holy See respecting the abrogation of the concordat ; Count Andrassy's policy, strongly influenced by Hungary, abandoned any intentions in connection with Germany; Danubian ambitions already absorbed the faculties of Austro-Hungarian diplomacy, which asked for nothing but peace along its German and Italian frontiers.

Prince Bismarck brought his whole influence to bear; and it was arranged that King Victor-Emmanuel should stay at Vienna on his way to Berlin. This was a master-stroke. Prince Bismarck, by this clever intervention, engaged Austria against the Papacy, bound her to the fate of Italy, and took its best card from the "white policy." He had now succeeded, by compromising everybody, in getting hold of everybody. He was preparing the

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Triple Alliance combination, which, for many years, was to place a yoke upon Europe. Austria, now bound to his fortunes, would follow him henceforth. As for Russia, she could be done without, if necessary. As Bismarck himself has expressed it, he had changed horses in the middle of the *melee*.

King Victor-Emmanuel, accompanied by his Foreign Minister, Signor Visconti Venosta, left Turin on September 16th, and reached Vienna on the 17th. The reception was icy, but marked by no untoward incident. On the 21st, the King left Vienna, arriving at Berlin on the 22nd.

This welcome was very different; hearts were drunk with more enthusiasm. At the gala banquet on September 23rd, the Emperor said: "To my brother and friend, the King of Italy," and King Victor-Emmanuel answered, "To my former ally, His Majesty the Emperor." The review took place on the 24th, and the King of Italy left Berlin on the 26th.

What were the immediate results of this double interview? A semi-official contemporary note runs as follows: "The Vienna and Berlin interviews were specially intended to confirm for King Victor Emmanuel the integrity of the kingdom of Italy in its present limits, against foreign powers and parties which might disturb the external peace of the peninsula. The Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, according to the resolutions formerly come to at their Berlin meeting in favour of the maintenance of treaties, of the *statu quo*, and of the peace of Europe, implicitly adhere to the agreements made in this sense with the Italian Government/'¹

¹ *Memorial Diplomatique*, October 4th, 1873, p. 326.

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Later on, some indiscretions took place. ^{*Times*}
^{allegations} In May 1874, the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, M. de Blowitz, affirmed that the German Chancellor had offered to King Victor-Emmanuel, in case of a conflict with France, Savoy and the county of Nice. King Victor-Emmanuel was said to have declined these overtures. In Italy and in Germany protests arose against these revelations, of which the authenticity was confirmed by M. de Blowitz.

The most accurate point of view seems to have been given by the following passage in some correspondence which appeared in the *Italie* newspaper. " The King's journey is considered necessary in the interest of Italy, which acquires, by this very fact, a greater importance, and, seen in this light, it may also serve as a warning to Reactionaries by proving that not only do we not stand alone, but that we possess powerful friends/'

Such, at least, was the opinion of the
^{Opinion}
^{of the}
^{Due Decazes} principal parties interested ; shortly afterwards, the Due Decazes in a private letter thus summed up the result of his enquiries (December 22nd, 1873) : " As to what is called the convention which has taken place between Russia, Austria, Germany and Italy, it does not disturb us much. I prefer a four-sided convention to a two-sided one. And then, since only the maintenance of peace is intended—and we certainly do not desire anything else—why should we be troubled ? Have those agreements been written down and signed ? Orloff declares that they have not. Nigra, without waiting for my questions, hastened to give the *Due Decazes* his word as a *galant f'uomo* that Italy had signed nothing with Germany. . . . I answered, ' I do not wish to ask you the question, and I own that

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I take no interest in the matter ; written or not, the treaty exists, it stands to reason, considering the respective situations ; but it is merely a *defensive* one. You are too clever to have bound yourselves in any way beyond that.' " *

All this policy of manifestations and interviews was arranged very artfully, and always aimed at France ; sometimes the " *revanche* " was in view, sometimes Ultramontanism, sometimes the monarchical restoration.

The object was to intimidate Paris ; Paris was only partly intimidated. But the situation was a difficult and a delicate one.

Let us remember the coincidence of dates. This game was being played at the time when the monarchical campaign was at its height. A saying was rife in foreign diplomatic circles *d propos* of King Victor-Emmanuel's visit to Berlin : "*Reponse d la Fusion*" The Cabinet of May 25th was directly aimed at. If this had not been known in Paris, the language of the German press would soon have brought general opinion back to a sense of realities.

Very soon, facts themselves assumed a more alarming turn.

On October 16th, Count von Arnim, obeying a formal order from his Government, called on the Due de Broglie and read him a sermon under three heads, concerning, (1) the constant exciting of passions which directly endanger peace; (2) the affectation of the French Government of never reprimanding polemics likely to foster hostile dis-

¹ Private and unpublished document,

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positions against Germany ; and (3) certain manifestations from authorised persons, and in particular a letter from the Bishop of Nancy.¹ Count von Arnim asked the Due de Broglie to " understand the situation once for all." "I invited the Due de Broglie to ask himself whether the dispositions of the ruling parties at the moment answered to the

¹ On July 26th, 1873, Mgr. Foullon, Bishop of Nancy, published in the churches of his diocese (in France and in Alsace-Lorraine, the delimitation of dioceses, provided for by the Treaty of Frankfort, not yet having taken place) a pastoral letter, inviting the faithful to the coronation festival of Notre Dame de Sion (Sept. 9th) and urging them to pray that the " Fatherland might soon see the dawn of better days. . . . The thought of our mutilated land and of the Church in mourning," added the Bishop, " will long deprive us of any feelings of joy ; but, at least, we are now able to accomplish the religious solemnities which until now we were obliged to defer, and to take to Sion our sorrows, our desires, and our hopes. . . . After a formidable war, which has desolated our beloved Lorraine, and a disastrous peace which has mutilated it, on the morrow of the departure of the foreign soldiery, who for three years had tramped on our soil, it will be well to mix with the songs of deliverance the prayers of repentance and to bow down in grief in order to rise again in hope ! . . . By the side of the Nancy banners—cruel recollection !—will be seen those of our unhappy sisters : Metz and Strasbourg " (Valfrey, vol. ii. p. 200 ; Abbi Klein, *Vie de Mgr. Dupont des Loges*, p. 342). This language from the Bishop of Nancy exasperated Prince Bismarck. After the celebration of the Sedan anniversary, in an audience granted to General Manteuffel, he raged against the Bishops, the Pope, the Catholics of Poland, of the Rhine borders and of Alsace-Lorraine, vehemently accusing French Bishops of keeping hatred alive in the annexed provinces, and especially mentioning the Bishop of Nancy, whose " conversations and even sermons, in his recent pastoral tour, had preached a sort of crusade against the conquerors," Prince Bismarck concluded by suggesting that he mistrusted the Versailles Government, and that he suspected it of supporting underhand the resistance of the Catholic clergy of Alsace-Lorraine, through the intermediary of the French Bishops" (Letter from the Comte de Saint Vallier to the Due de Broglie, Sept. 5th, 1873, Doniol, p. 415).

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conditions under which peace was possible between France and Germany. I pointed out that, in reality, the situation was more like an armistice which France intended to renounce at the first favourable opportunity. . . . If France wishes to recall her ancient kings, that is her business," added Count von Arnim. " But if this was not merely a question of a Restoration within France, if the Restoration was intended, on the contrary, to become the signal of a political activity, of which the object should be the downfall of all that had been created during the last ten years—(this referred to Italy as well as to Germany)—then the question became an international one, and France could not be astonished if anxiety became manifest everywhere,"

Count von Arnim adroitly mingled his personal resentment to his official complaint. In setting out to the Due de Broglie the situation created for the German Ambassador by Parisian society, he solicited with haughty disdain " a little more indulgence for the victors,"

In Count von Arnim's narration of this scene, he describes the French Minister as alarmed, eagerly explaining the difficult position of his government and appeasing by his soft words the official resentment of which he was warned. " The Due de Broglie expressed his gratitude for the frankness with which I had called his attention to the gravity of the situation. ' I am profoundly impressed by it, and I shall take it most carefully into account.' were his words." *

The Due de Broglie, who, in a more recent account, has alluded to this conversation, attenuates, on the contrary, the bearing of the words exchanged. He

¹ *Proces d'Arnim*, pp. 106-111.

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relates that he wittily replied to his interlocutor : " But, if the Republic seems to you so perfect, why do you not adopt it in Germany ? " " The Ambassador smiled," adds M. de Broglie, " and did not return to the subject." *

The advantage of such diplomatic fencing is that it generally leaves both adversaries equally satisfied.

The Due de Broglie remained none the less attentive, and, as he writes, " with his eyes open and his soul listening/'

In the message of November 5th, in the circular of the 25th, he seized every occasion to affirm the peaceful disposition of France. " Abroad, the line of conduct followed by Marshal MacMahon since his accession to the Presidency of the Republic is already known, and it will remain unaltered. A scrupulous respect for treaties, a desire to live harmoniously with the different Powers—such are its characteristics, already appreciated by Governments."

Herein is heard an echo of the conversation of October 16th, and almost a discreet appeal to the " governments." But the latter seemed insensible to those words, circumvented as they were by the powerful and pressing diplomacy of the German chancellor.

The Comte de Chambord and Europe It would seem as if Prince Bismarck wished himself to put the finishing touch to the work of " rapprochement " so successfully undertaken between Italy and Austria-Hungary. Perhaps, too, was he not sorry to watch closely what was taking place in Vienna on the subject of the " fusion."

¹ Due de Broglie, *Mission de M. de Gontaut-Biron*, p. 126.

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This is the time when the Comte de Chambord was receiving M. Chesnelong at Salzburg ; the time when the Due de Broglie, in his speech at Bernay, affirmed the Liberal character of the coming restoration. The newspapers had just published the following note: " We learn from a good source that M. le Comte de Chambord has informed the great European cabinets that he has no intention, in case of his recovering the throne, of disturbing the policy of the great Powers, or the territorial *status quo* of Europe. The Prince does not contemplate the re-establishment of the Pope's temporal power any more than restorations in Italy or in Spain, and he peremptorily protests against projects of this kind, unceasingly attributed to him by a portion of the Assembly.¹

This note appeared on the day before the letter of October 27th, at the very time when the Comte de Chambord is said to have had an interview with the Emperor Francis Joseph.²

¹ *Memorial Diplomatique*, October 25th, 1873, p. 674.

² Was an exterior influence exerted, through the intermediary of Austria, on the decisions of the Comte de Chambord ? Until now, the synchronisms we have indicated had not been noticed, notably the presence of the Emperor William and of Prince Bismarck at Vienna, at the time when the Comte de Chambord was writing the letter of October 27th.

This is a very delicate historical point which will be cleared up some day. The Due de Broglie says : " What prevented the Prince, naturally called to the throne of France, from coming to an understanding with the representatives of the parliamentary majority, was in no wise—as I have occasionally heard it suggested—the fear of exposing France to grave diplomatic difficulties, etc. . . ." (*Mission Gontaut-Biron*, p. 149).

I have quoted above, on the other hand, two important testimonies : that of General du Barail, writing, " The Marshal was convinced that the Prince gave way to a patriotic consideration and to the fear of bringing upon his country the animosity and

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Now, precisely at that time, the Emperor William, accompanied by Prince Bismarck, had gone to Vienna (October 17th).

This visit assumed a solemn character. All the most serious European questions were on the tapis. Paris was spoken of, and Rome, the West and the East. The Emperor William remained in Vienna from the 17th to the 23rd. Numerous conferences took place with Count Andrassy and with the ministers of Italy and Russia. The Crown Prince of Denmark arrived. The question of Clause 5 of the Treaty of Prague, the only existing difficulty between Austria and Germany, was discussed.¹

The bases of the understanding between Germany, Italy and Austria were defined.

Other questions were also touched upon ; a note handed to the press alluded to Eastern affairs, and to the Danubian principalities. According to the official press, an accord on the subject had supervened between the four Cabinets of Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg and Rome, " the four allied Cabinets " as they were called.

even the arms of Germany " ; and the allusion made by Marshal MacMahon in his *Unpublished Memoirs* to a conversation having taken place between the Emperor of Austria and the Comte de Chambord.

Prussia and Austria, after the Danish war (August 1864) had seized upon the three duchies of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenbourg.

Austria, vanquished at Sadowa, signed on August 22nd, 1866, the Treaty of Prague, of which Clause 5 specified, according to Napoleon III.'s suggestion, that "if the populations of the northern districts of Schleswig expressed, by a free vote, a desire to be united with Denmark, they should be given up to that kingdom." Prince Bismarck eluded the consultation of the inhabitants of Schleswig. In 1878 Austria gave up demanding the execution of Clause 5 of the Treaty of Prague.

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An expansive warmth characterised the toast exchanged between the two Sovereigns.

Prince Bismarck had accomplished one more success at Vienna!

III

In Paris, the " fusion " failed ; the Comte de Chambord wrote the letter of October 27th. The Cabinet of May 25th was succeeded by the second Broglie Cabinet. It was at that time that the Due de Broglie left the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and entrusted the direction of it to the Due Decazes.

The Due de Broglie himself has recognised that the Due Decazes, less deeply involved than himself in the *mette* of parties, gave him invaluable help through the critical period which was being traversed. He praised M. Decazes, the " supple delicacy of his intelligence, the charm and grace of his manners, and his deftness in handling men." *

¹ The Due Decazes, in a private letter, dated Dec. 1st, 1873, explains what had happened in the following terms : " De Broglie was forced to take the portfolio of the Interior, Bocher being prevented on account of his health,—for where effort is, there is salvation.

" It is in fact necessary, in order to give an energetic and decisive impulse to Prefectoral administration, that the direction should come from above, from a man with a personal authority and a ruling energy and situation.

" De Broglie wished me to accept the Interior; I did not **feel** that I possessed the necessary qualities, and besides, I was paralysed by the decentralisation theories which I have perhaps carried rather too far.

" I had so strongly urged our friend to overcome his hesitations that I could not refuse to give him the help he demanded as a recompense for his sacrifice ; and that is why I find myself, very unwillingly, at the Quai d'Orsay. I regret London more **than** I can say. . . ,"—*Unpublished document.*

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The Due Decazes brought into affairs a system in accordance with his temperament, and which, failing other merits, had at least that of exposing nothing and compromising nothing : that of self-effacement. Much art is required in order to remain dignified though elusive : the Due Decazes brought a refined coquetry in never laying himself open to attack. A saying concerning him soon went the round of diplomatic offices, and was attributed to Prince Bismarck : " Decazes is like a ball,—if pricked, he rolls away; nothing goes in."

Every system has its advantages if consistently persevered in. The moment came when those clever and intentional evasions surprised Prince Bismarck's perpetual offensive *flagrante delicto*, and when the latter, thrown off his guard, was obliged to reveal his feint and to draw back. This discreet play, unnoticed at first, soon began to interest attentive spectators. The Due Decazes addressed, on December 7th, a circular letter to diplomatic agents :—

Though not remaining aloof from the grave questions which are being stirred around her, France is collecting her thoughts and waiting, fully conscious of her strength and greatness, until Order and Labour have healed her wounds, and until Time, which alone can enable historical events to bear their fruit, may have effaced the bitterness of the fatal days which have so profoundly perturbed the world.

Barely a week passed before the new Minister met his first storm. This storm began in Rome, grew in France, and burst in Berlin ; during one moment, the whole of Europe was shadowed by its dangerous darkness. This was the acute crisis of the International Kulturkampf.

The Vatican Council, the proclamation of pontifical

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infallibility, the occupation of Rome, the law on guarantees, all these facts, which had so abruptly modified the situation of the Papacy, had been, so to speak, smothered by the noise of the Franco-German war. As soon as silence began, Rome spoke.

The aged Pope felt that the fate of the Church practically hung on his own precarious life. He was anxious to provide for the future, to utter a solemn protest, if no other resource remained, to appease the anguish of the faithful, and to point to the star still shining in the sky above the apostolic bark, which must not perish. Governments were failing him; some were too weak, or vanquished, others had enrolled themselves behind his triumphant adversaries. The Church could henceforth count but on herself, and on general opinion in this world; faith being an opinion, an appeal to opinion was in fact having recourse to the very principle of the Church.

The Pope
in Rome Pope Pius IX had been on the point of leaving Rome. He had hesitated between several residences which had been offered to him : Pau, Monaco, Corsica, Algiers, Malta, etc. All arrangements had been made ; during several weeks, an English frigate had cruised before Civita-Vecchia, preparatory to a departure for Malta.

The Pope, impatient of confinement, had nevertheless foreseen the eventuality of a sudden vacancy of the Holy See. A rumour had spread that he had edited, in profound secrecy, a Bull authorising the Cardinals either to proceed immediately, before the funeral, *presente cadavere*, to the election of a new Pope, or—if they thought it advisable—to meet and **to hold the conclave outside Rome.** A very eager

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dispute arose on that subject in the International press, and particularly in the German papers.¹

In Germany, Switzerland and Italy, the events which, even in the bosom of the Church, followed the Council of the Vatican, had their consequences in the relationship between the State and the Church. In Italy, the law which abolished religious congregations and disposed of their possessions was issued on June 19th, 1873. The Pope protested in a Consistory held on July 25th; the King of Italy's visit to Berlin was the answer to this protestation.

On November 21st, the Pope published the Encyclical letter *Etsi multa luctuosa*, in which he deplored the recent misfortunes of the Church and the See, and painted in the darkest colours the situation of Catholics in Italy, Switzerland and Germany.

Catholics and adversaries rose at this signal. The question had been put : it had to be solved.

What was henceforth to be the situation of the Holy See, deprived of temporal power, regarding Catholic Powers in particular and Europe in general ? In the secret Consistory held on December 22nd, the Pope nominated twelve Cardinals, six of whom were foreigners and six Italians. The allocution pronounced by the Pope alluded to the reasons which led him to increase the number of foreign Cardinals. He wished, in case of a conclave, to prevent the "enemies of the Church from exerting an illegitimate influence on the choice of his successor in St. Peter's chair." The effort to snatch the Church from Italian influence is here manifest.

¹ See facts and documents collected and published for the first time in Lucius Lector, *Le Conclave*, Paris, 1894, pp. 716, and following.

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Obviously, circumstances were most favourable to Prince Bismarck. He used and abused his advantages.

The Swiss Government suspended its diplomatic relations with the Holy See.

Italian
circular The Italian Government addressed to the Powers (January 1st, 1874) a circular letter in which the Marquis Visconti-Venosta, the Foreign Minister, confirmed and commented on the law of guarantees.

He declared the independence of the Holy See to be absolute ; alluding to the " captivity " of the Pope, he said, " Facts speak louder than any declaration," and, already cleverly facing the policy of compromise which was still desired by the Italian Government, he concluded : " The eventual functions of the Sacred College can be exerted in Rome according to Canonical forms, with the same security, the same dignity, and the same calm, as in preceding conclaves.¹

Bismarck
and the
German
Episcopate Between the Cabinets, an active exchange of views took place concerning the eventuality of a conclave, and the lead in discussions was taken by Austria. In

¹ The Due Decazes had foreseen the attitude of the Italian Government. On December 22nd he wrote: " I do not count any more than you do on precise and complete declarations from Italy ; however, I doubt whether she will categorically refuse to provide any explanation whatever to the Catholic Powers. I believe the Italian Government to have more home influence than is generally supposed. I should feel inclined to say that it exploits Democratic ardour rather than submits to it ; finally, I think that it has, on Catholic questions and concerning the conclave, very different views from those of Prince Bismarck. The time of explanations has evidently not yet come ; but it is prudent to know this and not to forget it."—*Private unpublished document.*

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Germany, the sectarian policy was carried to extreme rigour. The German Episcopate, faithful to the Papacy, became the object of the utmost Bismarckian severity : it was then that Mgr. Micislas Ledochowski, Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, was deprived of his See, condemned to two years' confinement, and incarcerated in the prison of Ostrowo (February 3rd, 1874).¹

On the other hand, in Belgium, in England, and in France, a great many prelates responded to the call of the Holy See. Already the French Bishops, following the example of Mgr. Guibert, Archbishop of Paris, had protested, in August and September, against the Italian law concerning religious congregations. This time, the movement stirred the whole Episcopate. Mandates written "in a bitter and vehement style," arose in favour of the Holy See, incriminating Bismarck's policy.² The French Bishops were said to be preparing a collective letter to their colleagues in Germany, to congratulate them on their attitude. Mgr. Plantier, Bishop of Nimes, wrote : "What is more abject than that hatred of Pontiff-Caesars for all true prelates and ecclesiastics. . . . The Germany of Bismarck has preferred to continue that tradition of baseness and immorality." Those letters were published, paraphrased and envenomed by the Ultramontane press, and in parti-

¹ On March 15th, 1875, Mgr. Ledochowski, still in his prison, was raised by Pope Pius IX to the dignity of Cardinal. The Archbishop of Cologne, the Bishops of Paderborn and Treves, and Mgr. Ledochowski's coadjutor were also imprisoned. The Bishop of Breslau was spared incarceration by reason of his great age. More than 2,500 Catholics were brought before the tribunals in 1874.

² See Vicomte de Meaux, *Correspondent* of May 25th, 1903, pp. 618 and following.

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cular by *l'Univers*. On the other hand, the Republican papers denounced "the clerical faction of which the Marshal's Government is the instrument,"

As usual, polemical violence went beyond the mark, without any care for the welfare of the country.

The Due de Broglie and the Vicomte de Meaux reproached French Liberalism with having provided weapons for the enemies of France. They recognised, however, the imprudence of the campaign led by the Bishops. "One can see," said M. de Broglie, sadly, "that they do not have to bear the brunt of the day."¹

The Cabinet hoped to avoid the probable consequences by throwing itself into the fray ; a circular letter, signed by M. de Fourtou, on December 26th, reminded the Bishops that certain mutual courtesies between States should not be forgotten. This prudent reprimand was intended to cover the responsibility of the French Government.

It was thought for a moment that the incident would have no consequences. M. de Gontaut-Biron handed M. de Fourtou's circular to Count von Biilow, the Prussian Foreign Minister, who allowed the subject to drop.

But Prince Bismarck was too pleased to hold a weapon to abandon it thus. He desired M. de Gontaut-Biron to call on him, and then, with perfect serenity and courtesy, he said to the Ambassador everything which could strike and impress him ; he recapitulated the incident *ab ovo*, like a man sure of his facts ; the circular letter was insufficient, the French Government had more efficacious means of

¹ *La Mission de M. de Gontaut-Biron*, p. 159.

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putting an end to the Episcopal campaign, even if it were necessary to have recourse to prosecutions. If forced to it, the German government would invoke the clause of the French law of 1819, authorising it to direct prosecutions before French tribunals.

War
threats He raised his voice : " This is for us a question of security. Revolt is being fomented within the Empire. Well! we shall be obliged to declare war against you before the clerical party, seizing upon the power, makes war with Germany in the name of the persecuted Catholic Church." He returned to the monarchical campaign, and said that he objected to this combination because he feared the influence which the clerical party would have over the Comte de Chambord. In one word, he affected to transform the Franco-German quarrel into a religious quarrel.

M. de Gontaut-Biron, much alarmed, could only weakly plead the cause of the French Government, and then withdraw in order to inform Paris.

Paris was already informed. The official press had undertaken to spread the alarm. *Die Norddeutsche Zeitung* wrote : " A French Government which could lower itself sufficiently to serve the clerical policy of Rome would be a Government hostile to Germany, and with whom we could not live in peace. That is why the intrigues of the French Bishops contribute to bring about between ourselves and France quarrels which we do not seek. . . . The moment France identifies herself with Rome she becomes our sworn enemy. A France subjected to papal theocracy is irreconcilable with peace in Europe."

What was the object of all this ? There are no more painful times for a Government than those when, caught, between the double pressure of internal

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and external passions, it has no other guiding light than the uncertain interest of the country.

Other occurrences coincided with the affair of the episcopal mandates and complicated it yet further. The English cruiser *Orinoco*, which was awaiting the Pope's convenience at Civita-Vecchia, was in Italian waters. On January 1st, the officers were ordered, as in 1872, to call on King Victor-Emmanuel, on leaving the Vatican. In the recent diplomatic movement, the Marquis de Noailles was appointed Minister at Rome ; this was a step further towards recognising accomplished facts.

The Right and the Cabinet The Right of the Assembly, the Extreme Right newspapers, the clergy, all the partisans of Catholic principles, vied with each other in their exaltation and denounced the weakness of the Cabinet. M. du Temple, a deputy of the Extreme Right, desired to interpellate the Government. And, at this very moment, Bismarck was making to M. de Gontaut-Biron the solemn communication which contained a veiled threat.

Prince Bismarck insisted. In a public speech, he alluded to the coming war with France, the latter led by " Henri, Comte de Chambord." In a circular letter to his diplomatic agents—a confidential communication, known to everybody the next day—he declared that, if the Berlin Cabinet became aware that a collision was inevitable between the two countries, he could not wait and let France choose the time which would suit her best.¹

¹ Ed. Simon, *Hist du prince de Bismarck*, p. 438. To Prince Orloff, Russian Ambassador in Paris, who was making a short stay in Berlin, the Chancellor said, that " if France did not cease her armaments, Germany would be obliged to occupy Nancy as a security against war."—See Ed. Simon, *Vallemagne et la Russie au XIX^eme. Siecle*, p. 262.

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Such persistent ill-will roused the calmest minds. It became known in Paris that the new German rifle, the Mauser, had been secretly distributed to all the regiments of the Guard. Much emotion prevailed, the funds went down ; foreign Governments, even, became alarmed. The French Cabinet, under pressure from Prince Bismarck, who continued to demand a complaint for abuse or a prosecution against the Bishops, knew not how to extricate itself.

The new Reichstag met. The Government desired it, before everything else, to vote urgency for the military law which was to secure pre-eminence for the German army.

On January 10th the *Univers* published a fresh *mandamus* emanating from the Bishop of Sarlat and Périgueux ; this reproduced, in terms of equal acerbity, the former episcopal protestations. It was an act of calculated bravado, in answer to M. de Fourtou's circular letter. An *ultimatum* from Berlin was expected.

The *Univers* Now, this very incident provided the ingenious mind of the Due Decazes with the issue he was seeking. The *Univers* had published the episcopal letter, the *Univers* should pay the price. The state of siege confers authority over the press. A decree from General de Ladmirault suspended for two months the journal of M. Veuillot, which " whether by the articles it contains, or by the documents it publishes, is of a nature likely to create diplomatic complications." *

¹ A few days after the suppression of his paper, M. Louis Veuillot received a letter from the Pope : " Whilst others/" wrote Pius IX, still attacking the Liberal Catholics, " in the fear of a violent storm, inconsiderately bow their heads before the false wisdom of the times, wrongly fancying that they will escape

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Would this satisfaction seem sufficient in Berlin ? The Due Decazes still entertained doubts : " The suspension of the *Univers*, which we have just decided upon, will perhaps simplify the situation. But I would not swear that it will. Prince Bismarck intends nothing less than to drag us—perforce—after him in his crusade against Catholicism ; we will not follow him there. But we must remove every occasion, every pretext for a grievance,"¹

It was in the same spirit that the Due Decazes replied to the interpellation of M. du Temple. In delicate circumstances, Ministers who are sure of being in the right do not fear the light of day ; a public declaration often is the most precious of diplomatic weapons. Therefore the Due Decazes accepted, for the 20th of January, the discussion of the du Temple interpellation. On the chosen day, before the interpellator was called upon, the Foreign Minister ascended the tribune, and proceeded to read, in the name of the Government, a statement concerning the relations between France and Italy ; moreover, he seized this opportunity of giving an explanation as to the episcopal mandates : " France," said he, " will encompass the Sovereign Pontiff with a pious respect and a sympathetic and filial solicitude, whilst extending this protection and solicitude to all those interests which relate to the *spiritual authority*, the independence and dignity of the Holy Father. . . . But she will, without reserve, enter-being overthrown by the violence of the storm, you, my dear son, with a firm, quiet and faithful heart, are awaiting with all that are good, those times which the Heavenly Father, in His power, has ordained. . . ." See A. de Saint Albin, *Hist. de Pie IX.*, vol. iii. p. 449.

¹ Private letter, unpublished.

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tain with Italy, *such as circumstances have made her*, the peaceable and amicable relations, etc. . . . We desire peace. . . . In order to secure it, we will work without ceasing for the cessation of misunderstandings, the prevention of all conflicts, and we will also defend her *against vain declamations*, whatever their origin."

These words were listened to in silence. The Foreign Minister closed by these words : " If the Assembly will consider this explanation, *the only one I can give*, as a sufficient answer to its present preoccupations, I think it could do so with great advantage to the *res publica*. . . . It is, moreover, my duty to repeat that it would be impossible for me to add anything to the explanations which you have just allowed me to offer you."

M. du Temple tried to re-open the debate, insisting that there always is a right of reply to a Minister. But the Assembly refused.

This silence is eloquent enough ; one page of the history of the world had just been turned over.

Prince Bismarck declared himself satisfied with the suspension of the *Univers* and the speech of the Due Decazes. He agreed that the procedure of complaint against abuse would lead to nothing. He promised to " study the question/" M.deGontaut-Biron writes : " Things seem to be calming down." But he immediately adds : " More than ever, the military question is said to be the principal motive for the importance given to the question/"

And, in fact, realities were now discovered. The elections for the Reichstag took place between the 10th and 20th of January, in the very period when this vast rumour was spread.

German
elections

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The fidelity to the Empire of the German electors, soldiers of yesterday, had been counted upon. In spite of everything, the Socialist party gained seven votes, the Ultramontanes, forty.

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The Reichstag "met on February 1st. In the address from the throne, the Emperor demanded the immediate vote of an organic military Bill. The discussion opened on 'February 16th. Marshal von Moltke delivered a rousing speech, claiming a virile education for the nation, and proclaiming the moralising virtue of the army. He mocked at arbitration, and presented a moving picture of the attitude of Europe regarding Germany : " What reaches us from the other side of the Vosges is a savage cry of revenge for a defeat which they brought upon themselves. . . . A militia is not sufficient; we want a professional army. The question of the Army cannot dwindle into a budget question. The life of the nation is at stake. We may be called to face both East and West at the same time."

The
Alsace-
Lorraine
Deputation The deputies from Alsace-Lorraine, who now entered the Reichstag for the first time, brought up their melancholy protest (February 18th) in the form of a motion demanding that the population of the annexed provinces be consulted respecting incorporation into the Empire. The document had been drawn up at Berlin, in the rooms of Mgr. Raes, Bishop of Strasbourg, who had been the first to sign it. M. Teutsch, a barrister, had been charged to produce it at the tribune. M. Teutsch wished to express himself in French, but he was compelled to read in German.

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Having declared that the cession of Alsace-Lorraine had not been legitimate, France not having been free to refuse, that this cession was an act of violence, and that " Germany had failed in the duty of civilised nations," M. Teutsch was called to order. Laughter and shouts covered his voice. At that moment Mgr. Raes thought it his duty to declare that " the Catholics of Alsace-Lorraine had no intention of bringing the Treaty of Frankfort into question."¹

The motion was rejected by the Reichstag, but the debate demanded a sequel. It was resumed (March 3rd) on a motion of the Abbes Guester and

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Winterer, claiming the abolition of the dictatorial *regime* in Alsace-Lorraine.

March
1874

This time, Prince Bismarck himself exposed his inner thoughts. This speech must be read, after thirty years, in order to imagine what must have been the feelings of those that heard it, and those who perceived its echo from the other side of the recent frontier: "These gentlemen of Alsace complain that, during these three years, we have not made them happy, as they no doubt were under French domination; . . . but that was not exactly the object of the annexation. . . . I will beg those gentlemen of Alsace, in order to abate their wrath, to remember also a little the way in which annexation was arrived at. . . . Each of them has his own 30,000,000th share of complicity and responsibility in the war which was declared against us" His mockery went beyond the precincts of the Parliament; it attacked the French Government, the French Parliament: "If such speeches, in case of French victory, had been uttered at the Assembly of Versailles, we may be certain that, if not the majority, at least M. le President Buffet, with the cutting manner which is peculiar to him, would soon have made liberty of speech an illusory privilege for the complainants."

Needless to add that Prince Bismarck concluded in favour of the maintenance of the dictatorial *regime*, as the only practical system towards a population from whom not attachment, but obedience, is required. The motion was therefore rejected, by 196 votes to 138. The Catholic group, the Poles, the Danes, the Socialist Democrats, and a great many Progressives, had voted with the representatives of Alsace-Lorraine, This proportion was not calculated

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to appease the wrath or the anxieties of the Chancellor.

IV

Such was, then, Prince Bismarck's policy, with its two faces, internal and external, and its two modes of expression : at the same time wily and violent, ardent and realistic. Did it obtain as much success as would justify such an output of intelligence and activity ?

At home, the kulturkampf was faced by moral and unexpected resistance. Abroad, the constant perturbations thrown into international relations caused embarrassment and, at the least, surprise.

Besides, what lay at the root of the matter, i.e. the constantly increased armaments of Germany, escaped nobody's notice. These armaments were directed against France; at least, this is the usual theme of official articles and speeches. But they might be used against anybody. Germany was very strong, France very weak. It was not only against her—and Marshal Moltke did not mince his words—that Berlin was taking such precautions.

If such is the case, and if Peace must be armed to the teeth in one direction, why not in another ? The system tended to develop, and at the same time, anxiety spread and became, so to speak, a chronic condition in Europe.

Between diplomats, confidential whispers were exchanged : " All the Princes, all the Royal Personages allied to the Prussian Court allow their secret anxiety to transpire. The impression has thus been created that peace would be disturbed in the spring. People go so far as to say that the Chancellor of the German

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Empire wants to conquer Belgium and the North of France in order to open a road to the Ocean."

These rumours were rife in England, and thence reached universal opinion.

Spanish
Affairs In Spain, grave events followed on each other and gave rise to other rumours, no less alarming.

Germany always meddled a great deal with Spanish affairs. In August 1873, Captain Werner, commanding the German frigate, *Frederic Charles*, seized, in view of Malaga, two ships, the *Almanza* and the *Vittoria*, belonging to the Federalist insurgents, took them to Carthagena, disarmed them, and kept the insurgent General as a hostage. Werner's action was repudiated, it is true ; but the incident seemed suspicious.

From the political point of view, the Peninsula was in a state of complete anarchy, and offered a facile prey to adventurers or ambitious men. On January 2nd, 1874, Castelar was beaten by Salmeron in the Cortes. General Pa via requested the Assembly to dissolve, the deputies were expelled by force, and Marshal Serrano was proclaimed Dictator. Meanwhile, the Cantonalists were still struggling at Carthagena ; they did not surrender until January 12th. In the North, the Carlist army held the field, and besieged Bilbao. Don Carlos soon had to reckon with a vigorous attack from General Concha. Germany was following these events with great attention. Count Hatzfeld came to Madrid, on a most confidential mission ; he was heard in a secret audience by the Council of Ministers (May 22nd, 1874); Prince Frederic Charles was spoken of as a candidate to the throne of Spain. This would seem like the situation in 1870, only worse,

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At Berlin, the Empress Augusta could not conceal her anxiety : " Are they not treating you properly ? " she said to M. de Gontaut-Biron. " I warned you that you had not come to the end of your troubles, and that difficulties were awaiting you, worse even than those which have already come in your way."¹ " I shall not follow him on that road," said the Emperor of Austria to the French Ambassador, speaking of Prince Bismarck.

European
anxiety Queen Victoria wrote directly to the Emperor William, a letter of which the contents were not known, but which became the subject of discussion in all the Chancelleries.

The Emperor of Russia invited remarks from the French Ambassador : " What news have you ? " said he to General Le Flo.

The latter thought himself authorised to answer, alluding to the whole of recent events :

" They are worrying us very much at Berlin ; they are seeking to quarrel with us."

" Oh ! that is over," answered the Czar ; " they have calmed down ! "

" Indeed, no, Sire ! Under pretext of some isolated letters, disapproved by the Government, we are accused of fomenting disturbance in Germany, and of exciting hostility."

" Between ourselves, I think it is a ruse of Prince Bismarck's."

" A very bad ruse, Sire. A counter-irritant, do you think ? "

" Yes, that is it, exactly ; a means of turning away attention in order to escape from home difficulties."

" It is a dangerous game. . . ."

¹ Broglie, *La Mission de Gontaut-Biron*, p. 167,

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" Never fear ; nobody wishes for war,"

"I should like to believe it, Sire. What! Not Prince Bismarck, any more than ourselves ? "

" No, nobody ; there will be no war." ¹

If these words had been heard in Berlin, they might have given room for thought. The decisive incident which took place in 1875, and which was the origin of the Franco-Russian *rapprochement*, is contained in embryo in this conversation.

At that very time the Emperor of Austria was going to St. Petersburg to stay there from the nth to the 25th of February. The echoes of this interview will tell us whether or not Bismarck had won the game.

France had not one, but three attentive observers on the spot : the Ambassador, General Le Flo, held in high esteem by the Emperor Alexander ; M. de Gontaut-Biron, who had been authorised to spend a few days in St. Petersburg ; and M. de Bourgoing, who was negotiating a commercial treaty. Information gathered in various quarters was of a reassuring character. The public words spoken by Alexander II. were interpreted in a favourable sense. The Czar said that " the friendship which unites Queen Victoria and the three Emperors is the surest guarantee for Peace, desired by all and indispensable to all." This formula was translated as follows : " If the St. Petersburg Cabinet is opposed to a war of revenge, it also intends that no other Power shall disturb universal peace,"

M. de Gontaut-Biron reports a phrase of Prince Gortschakoffs : " You have been goaded to a quarrel. . . . Prince Bismarck could not make war, for moral

¹ Private document, unpublished.

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opinion in Europe would be against him." The same Ambassador noticed " kindly dispositions towards France," " The Chancellor has particularly spoken to me of the toast, and told me that it was aimed at Prince Bismarck, whose manners and want of generosity he blames most unmistakably. . . "

General Le Flo is even more emphatic : " My conviction is that Germany has gained nothing by the *rapprochement* which has taken place between Russia and Austria, on the contrary ! and that we have won lively sympathy where she has lost in influence. Recent events in Berlin have produced a very bad impression, and the result has been a reaction in our favour."

The whole aspect of the situation is summed up in a private letter from the Due Decazes : " The interview of St. Petersburg can have left us but an impression of satisfaction, and I may even add that we may draw from it a happy augury for the future. I will not say, like General Le Flo, that a displacement of influence has taken place ; but it is evident that the predominance of Prussia, its sole and exclusive action, have sustained a deep blow and that, if influence is not displaced, *it is, at least, henceforth shared*. So much for the future ! For the present, patience, patience, and yet more patience. I cannot conceal from myself that we are living at the mercy of the smallest incident, the least mistake. Our days **at** without rest and our nights without sleep. . . .*

¹ Private, unpublished document. See Due de Broglie, *La Mission de M. de Gontaut-Biron*, pp. 180 and following. M. de Gontaut-Biron's presence at St. Petersburg and his conversations with Prince Gortschakoff alarmed Prince Bismarck. Traces of his ill-temper are to be found in his *Recollections*, vol. ii. p. 204.

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The nights were indeed sleepless, in Paris as in Berlin. Prince Bismarck was ill. In March, a rumour spread that his sciatica had assumed a dangerous character. He remained confined at Varzin, more solitary than ever, feeling that, in Europe, some "imponderable displacements" were taking place, against which he could do nothing. Appearances were in his favour ; realities were less sure.

On March 22nd, the Emperor, on receiving the deputation from the Army on the occasion of his seventy-eighth birthday, expressed his displeasure with the delay that had occurred in the passing of the military Bill. The Parliament was asked to fix the contingent "until a new law decided otherwise/" Now, the Parliament would not give up what it considered its constitutional right : the annual vote of the budget. This difficulty seemed insurmountable. The Emperor thought of another dissolution, but Prince Bismarck was too ill for such a measure to be resorted to. At last, on April 20th, 1874, M. de Bennigsen suggested a compromise, which was adopted. Instead of remaining established "until a new law decided otherwise/" the number of the contingent was fixed *for seven years*, at 401,659 men. The Bill was passed at its third reading by 214 votes against 123. It was what has been called the Military Septennate.

In order to obtain this result, another personal intervention had been necessary from the other Imperial hero, Marshal Moltke.

Seven years ! 400,000 men ! It meant that the virile population of Germany had to offer up the flower of its youth ; the clearest resources of the country

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were to be devoted to this supreme duty. It also meant, for other nations, the lesson of correlative sacrifices. In a word, it meant, for European civilisation, a voluntary diminution of prosperity and strength, sanctioning the Treaty of Frankfort!

The example was followed everywhere. France was about to complete her military laws, compelled to do so by this fresh necessity. In Italy, the Chamber of Deputies began, on March 3rd, 1874, to discuss a Bill on the defence of the kingdom (armaments and fortifications), brought forward by General Ricotti, the War Minister. The expense was estimated at 152,000,000 francs. This was the first benefit of the Italo-German *rapprochement*.

On January 13th (Russian 1st), 1874, the *Journal de St. Petersbourg* published an *ukase* from the Emperor Alexander, decreeing compulsory service for the whole masculine population, without option of buying out or proxy. Men were to be incorporated for fifteen years, including six years* actual service ; certain partial dispensations were accorded to students. The mobilisation of Russia, whose pacific condition was of such vital interest to Europe, was the inevitable counter-stroke of the ultra-armament policy inaugurated by neighbouring Powers.

Even Belgium and peace-loving Switzerland took their precautions. Following on the events in Italy and Germany, a movement towards union took place in the Helvetic cantons. A new constitution was discussed by the Federal Council on January 31st, 1874, submitted to the "referendum" on April 19th, and adopted by 340,186 votes against 198,182. It was a work of concentration of the Federal power in military, religious and commercial matters. The

Europe
and
Armed
Peace

CONTEMPORARY FRANCE

President of the Confederation, in a manifesto addressed to the people, expressed himself thus : " Our military organisation demands a fundamental Reform, if Switzerland is to be able to defend her liberty, her independence, and to reply victoriously to any unjust or offensive allegation."

Belgium, viewing German ambitions with alarm, and fearing to be made into a battle-field and the prize for future encounters, modified her defensive organisation. The country was divided into two military districts, in order to form, in case of conflict, two armies with which to secure the inviolability of the frontier, as well on the French as on the German side.

Thus did new Europe conform to the example set at Berlin. It became covered with fortifications and bristling with bayonets. The physiognomy of citizens lost its tranquil, *bourgeois* placidity. Whiskers gave way to mustachios, and the toga to arms. The wearing of a uniform became, for long years, the patriotic duty of every adult.

In international politics, there was a marked return to antagonism, distrust and jealous susceptibility.

V

British
Politics Born of the same circumstances, a new spirit of conquest was soon to carry Europe out of her own bounds, and, not content with frontier quarrels, to find scope in the division of large areas. So much force so carefully trained could not remain inactive ; nations were now no longer occupied with merely national aspirations; the birth of Imperialism was at hand.

The most significant fact took place in England;

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the Gladstone Ministry was superseded by a Tory Cabinet, with Disraeli at its head.

The fifteen years which had just elapsed, had been, in England, years of domestic reforms and aloofness from exterior pre-occupations. The English people, busied with the modification of its constitutional system, by the accession of the masses to the suffrage, and with the accumulation of the prodigious material prosperity which it owes to Cobden and his disciples, had, so to speak, unlearnt exterior politics.

According to the law of alternative which rules English history, a period of peace had succeeded the military period of the Crimean and Chinese wars. Even during the War of the Secession, England had remained neutral; she had accepted with resignation such affronts as the solution of the *Alabama* affair, which in other times would have excited national pride to fever height.

Her policy, usually more watchful and more jealous, had allowed the growth of Powers which might one day become mighty rivals : the United States, Russia, Germany. The English people had looked with indifference on the fall of the best friend it had ever had amongst European Sovereigns, Napoleon III.

The
English
Tempera-
ment

However, the *regime* of cold aloofness and strict abstinence to which the last Gladstone cabinet had subjected the United Kingdom, had ended by wearying everybody. Malcontents, moreover, were many. Gladstone had laid a hand on the Church, the Army, the Navy, Education, the Court; he had hunted down wastefulness and sinecures : a watchful corrector of abuse, a rigid censor of political morals, he had diminished the cost of public life, but not with-

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out taking from it much of its grace and ease. A long peace had heaped up tremendous riches and profound boredom.

The energetic temperament of the average Englishman could not long withstand such a state of things. John Bull likes money-making, not so much to hoard as to enjoy, less for the sake of rest than for the love of action. He requires movement. The man of sports that he is soon gets tired of rest, and he is suddenly seized with the desire to find fresh air, and, if we may say so, to shake off the fog.

A new state of feeling coincided with the end of the year 1873. The diminution of France, and the relative aggrandisement of other continental powers were facts which were likely to alarm the watchful genius of a race the most politic and the most imaginative in the world, ever surveying the possibilities of the future. Gladstone was not the man for this current of opinion ; Disraeli personified it.

A serious economic crisis hastened this mental evolution. In English politics, the highest and lowest points of exterior activity correspond exactly with the alternative growth or decline of commerce.¹ When business is good, England thinks all is well with the world, but clamours for a remedy as soon as commercial prosperity is arrested. About 1873, there prevailed *ennui*, discontent, ill-temper, and a certain "greed for new things," all this at the very time when broader horizons were opening out to other European nations. J. A. Froude wittily said that the English sometimes wish for war "because a war amuses them." Without going quite so far,

¹ Chevalley, *Victoria*, p. 264 and following, and J. Bardoux, *Periodicite des crises belliqueuses dans l'Angleterre conlemporaine* (*Revue Bleue*, April and May, 1903).

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Disraeli, a bold, brilliant and adventurous dilettante, had but to follow this movement of opinion and his own temperament in order to take up Lord Palmerston's formula : " a spirited foreign policy."

The
Tory
Cabinet Disraeli formed his Cabinet in February 1874. He was obliged to leave foreign affairs to Lord Derby¹ who was somewhat of a Mentor to him ; yet the world felt that a change had taken place. The policy of intervention superseded that of abstention ; the tip of the *Jingo's* ear was soon to appear. Disraeli was about to add the title of Empire to the traditional titles of British Royalty.

The reappearance of England in European affairs was manifested at the sitting of the House of Lords, on May 4th, 1874.

Earl Russell demanded that the correspondence between Great Britain and the other Powers for the maintenance of Peace in Europe should be read.

The question was put in the following terms, both ambiguous and significant. " If the symptoms of agitation and hostility which are now noticeable are signs of a storm, it would be well to know whether Her Majesty's Government would be ready to take steps to secure the maintenance of peace in Europe."

¹ This is the Due Decazes' appreciation : ⁽ The accession to power of the Tory cabinet has caused us great satisfaction ; not that we believe much in the enterprise and initiative of Lord Derby, not even that we suppose him disposed to react very energetically against the Queen's tendencies ; but because, carried to power as it has been by a current of opinion relatively hostile to the systematic abstention of England in continental affairs, presided over by Mr. Disraeli, who dreams of Palmerstonian fame, this Cabinet must inevitably be influenced by the consequences of the situation which will develop under the pressure of circumstances, . . ."—*Private, unpublished document.*

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Lord Russell thought that " we may depend on Her Majesty's Government to keep strictly all engagements and all treaties by which the British Crown is bound to her allies/'

Lord Derby, who replied, dwelt somewhat heavily on " the existence of some grounds for fear and anxiety/' He meant the possible conflict between France and Germany. He also said : "I do not think it is worth our while to try to prevent a war, for it will come, sooner or later, whatever we may do. . . ." And he added this phrase, no less enigmatical than the question : " If , for some reason, an international treaty or convention becomes inapplicable at the present time, it surely is the duty of the Government to inform the other contracting parties ; but, if you accept the obligations of a treaty and allow the other parties to believe that you consider yourselves bound, honour and good faith make it incumbent upon you that you should respect them/'

What was meant by this ? What
Russia
and
England mysterious treaties were binding England
down ?

It was not so much the possible conflict between France and Germany which was implied, as another difficulty which interested England far more directly : the question of the Balkans.

It was known that the Czar was leaving St. Petersburg on his way to London, where he was coming to see his daughter, recently married to the Duke of Edinburgh, and it was also known that he would stay at Berlin on his way.

On that very day (May 4th) when the discussion was taking place at the House of Lords, Prince Gortschakoff was having a long conference with Prince Bismarck, in the presence of both Emperors ;

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and it was a secret to no one that Eastern affairs were the subject of those protracted deliberations.

The Czar probably intended to take the measure of his eventual adversary, England, on the occasion of his journey, in case circumstances forced him to intervene in the Balkans. It was well that he should be warned, discreetly, beforehand. Such was the meaning of the mysterious phrase, probably aimed at the treaties which proclaimed the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Alexander II. landed in England on May 13th. He was entertained at Windsor by Queen Victoria ; he visited the Empress Eugenie at Chislehurst. At the Woolwich review, he called the Prince Imperial out of the ranks and made him stand by his side. On the other hand, the Comte de Paris, having been officially informed that the Czar desired to meet him, had come to England and had been received at Buckingham Palace by the Czar, who had returned the visit at Claridge's Hotel, thus effacing the memory of the coolness between the Russian Court and the Orleans family, which dated from 1830.

At the Guildhall lunch, the Emperor uttered pacific sentiments. But the public felt that nothing important had been accomplished.

The Czar left London on the 21st, and embarked at Gravesend for Flushing and Antwerp ; he passed through Brussels on his way to Germany. The French Government had tried to prevail upon Alexander to cross *via* Boulogne, but he thought it better not to do so.

From Brussels the Czar proceeded to
The Czar at Ems Ems, where he met several Sovereigns, and
in particular the German Emperor, 6n
May 26th.

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Was he going to find at Ems the satisfaction he had vainly sought in London ? Everyone was on the watch. What attitude would the " three Northern Courts " adopt before the new danger which threatened peace ? The famous understanding between them was now put to the test.

Prince Bismarck was confronted with the grave problem which had for so long weighed on European peace : the Eastern Question.¹ Is it too much to say that he was embarrassed ? The hour of reckoning was at hand. The Chancellor foresaw the rapid downfall of the diplomatic edifice which he had so laboriously erected. It was necessary to choose between Russia and Austria ; and the choice had to be made whilst exasperated France was rising again, half-reconstituted. Was it best to await events, or to hurry them on ? Perhaps there might still be time to engage in the duel with France before she was on her feet again. But were the Powers in the same frame of mind as in 1870 ? What were St. Petersburg's, London's, and even Vienna's, thoughts on the subject ?

Bismarck's
Perplexities Prince Bismarck, deep in infinite reflections, prepared for two issues. On the one hand he turned a gentler countenance towards Paris. The military septennate was strengthened. He was in the midst of his dispute with Count von Arnim ; he made up his mind suddenly, called the Ambassador back, had his house searched, and brought him before the tribunals, accusing him of having concealed some diplomatic papers.

¹ See, in the following volume, an account of the Eastern Question and of the events which brought about the Russo-Turkish war.

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This affair made a great noise in the special, semi-international world of diplomacy. Disraeli said, at a public banquet, amidst much laughter from the gallery, that Englishmen, his compatriots, " had to fear neither political arrests nor searching invasions of their homes," This was a first pin-prick in Bismarck's balloon.

Instead of Count von Arnim, the German Government sent to Paris Prince Hohenlohe, a very exalted personage, with the title of Highness ; his tendencies were unknown, but he afterwards proved himself to be wise, supple and conciliating.

On the whole, there was a distinct relaxation. Yet the problem remained an obscure one, even in the usually clear thought of the Chancellor. His voice, his gestures, were hesitating ; his will was in suspense, and the whole of Europe hung on that will.

Alarm arose and abated ; in Vienna, people were by no means reassured as to the feelings of Germany towards France, and as to what might happen at any moment. In Munich, the impressions of M. Lefebvre de Behaine are " of the most sinister." In Belgium, the number of German agents was particularly noticed. " People fear for Luxembourg." In London, " the whole Royal Family is on the watch " ; Paris friends are warned to be " doubly watchful and prudent."

The Due Decazes kept his eyes fixed on this mystery. He wrote to a familiar friend, on March 23rd, 1874 : "I shall expect anything ; but I consider it is better, seeing how anxious they all are, to double my precautions without showing my apprehension ; my signal of alarm will be better heard if I do not sound it too soon, and if I cannot be accused of mistaking every ditch for an abyss,"

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These words showed an afterthought, beginning to take shape. The Due Decazes, silent, anxious and self-contained, was awaiting his opportunity.

Meanwhile, the Russian and German Emperors were deliberating at Ems, seeking an accord which persistently eluded them. Austria was not present, but the thought of it never left Prince Bismarck's mind. Though faces remained benevolent and smiling, eyes avoided meeting each other's scrutiny.

Austria A gong was then sounded. At the closing
Hungary ing meeting of the Austrian delegations, Count Andrassy thanked the delegates, in the name of the Emperor, for the "patriotic zeal with which they had granted to the Government, in spite of very difficult financial circumstances, the sums which it required to *maintain the existing military footing*"¹ The President of the delegation would have been more sparing of public monies "if the European situation had been less tense than it is at present/'

So Austria, in spite of her usual tardiness, was in her turn entering into the train of "armed peace." She was ready, and let it be known. Events must indeed have been near for Austria to be armed and alarmed !

Things had reached this point, in May 1874, when came the downfall of the second Broglie Cabinet. Obscurity and uncertainty prevailed everywhere. Between France and Germany, ill-defined relations might, from one day to another, precipitate events. Between the Powers, a mask of cordiality concealed violent feelings, suspicions and apprehensions. Political and religious passions were let loose, latent conflicts were threatening in every direction. Nations groaned under the crushing weight of armour; grave complications were imminent, and Europe

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was led by men who, intoxicated with success, would not hesitate to chance a war in order to maintain the work which had been realised by the help of blood and iron.

In Paris, however, expressions of opinion were prudent, lukewarm, almost effaced. A careful watch was being kept, honourable retreats were prepared, and also deft feints with which to suddenly discover the adversary's game.

It seemed, however, everything being taken into account, as if the weight was becoming lighter. Certain pre-occupations were growing in other quarters which acted as a distraction, and somewhat relieved France from the obsession which had been choking her for so long. From West to East, from the Rhine to the Bosphorus, from the Bosphorus to Asia and Africa, problems were taking a different turn ; a general change of front was taking place.

Clear-sighted minds might already have guessed the coming events which would soon impose themselves on the attention of statesmen, and modify the conditions of equilibrium. Europe was soon about to send out rays over all the world. If France could reach that period, she would see new destinies opening out before her.

VI

Russia
in Central
Asia The first signs of the vast movement of conversion which was now about to be accomplished were these.

Russia continued to penetrate into Central Asia. Patiently, methodically, she imposed her domination

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on the nomad **Kirghiz** of the Steppes, and proceeded with the conquest of Turkestan.

In order to secure the submission of the nomads of the desert, from the sea of Aral to the Tien-Chan range, Russia still had to conquer the vast oasis of Khiva, situated at the mouth of the Amou-Daria, commanding the great road from the Caucasus to Bokhara, Tibet and the Upper Indus.

Several former expeditions had failed, on account of the rigour of the climate. In 1873, Russia sent against Khiva an army of 14,000 men, commanded by General Kaufmann. The march of this expeditionary corps, divided into five columns, had been so successfully arranged that the strongest of these arrived before the town on the same day. Khiva was taken on June 10th, 1873. By a treaty signed on August 24th, Said Mohammed Rahim Khan recognised the suzerainty of Russia, and conceded his territories on the right bank of the Amou-Daria ; these were given to the Emir of Bokhara, as a reward for his services during the campaign. A treaty, passed with the latter on October 10th, sanctioned this concession, and opened the Bokhara district, the very centre of Asiatic Islam, to Russian commerce, allowing free passage to Russian caravans.¹

The secular conflict between England and Russia in Central Asia was not re-opened by these events ; the politics of the day were made up of mutual compromises and postponements. A dispatch of October 17th, 1872, addressed by Lord Granville,

¹ See *La Penetration russe en Asie*, by Colonel Comte Yorck de Wartenburg, French translation by Captain Begouen. Paris, 1900, in 8vo, p. 40.

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Foreign Minister, to Lord Augustus Loftus, Ambassador in Russia, and in which Prince Gortschakoff had acquiesced, had established, at least provisionally, the sphere of influence of the two Powers. Afghanistan formed a buffer State between Russian Turkestan and British India.

Annam
and
Tonquin About the same period, at the Eastern extremity of the Asiatic Continent, some serious incidents took place, which were one day to bring about an intervention from France in Annam and Tonkin.

A French merchant, M. Jean Dupuis, who had settled on the Yang-tse-Kiang, had sought for means of access to the Yunnan, and ascertained that the river was navigable. On three occasions he went up from Hanoi to Mang-Hao, a frontier town of the Yunnan, forming friendly relations with the Chinese mandarins and with the Tonkinese.

This success alarmed the Court at Hue, with whom Admiral Dupre, Governor of Cochin-China, was negotiating a commercial treaty. The Annamite mandarins multiplied difficulties in the way of M. Dupuis' enterprise, and insisted, at Saigon, on the removal of the French merchant.

Admiral Dupre sent to Hanoi Commander Francis Gamier, already celebrated by his admirable explorations in Indo-China and Southern China, along the river Mei-Kong, in collaboration with the Doudart de Lagree Mission.

Gamier left Saigon on October 1st, 1873, with two gunboats and 180 men. He took with him MM. Balny d'Avricourt, ensign; Hautefeuille, cadet, and de Trentinian, Lieutenant in the Marines. He had hoped for a peaceful settlement of the difficulties between M. Dupuis and the Annamite man-

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darins, but he was disappointed. The attitude of Marshal Nguyen, commandant of Hanoi, forced him to have recourse to arms. On November 20th, 1873, Gamier stormed the citadel of Hanoi and captured about a thousand Annamites who defended it. In less than a month he and his little band seized the delta of the Yang-tse-Kiang.

The Annamite mandarins called for assistance on the Black Flags, a remnant of the insurgent army of the Tai-Pings, who, since the repression of the rebellion, ravaged the southern provinces of China, living on pillage and plunder.

They attacked Hanoi on December 21st, 1873. Gamier repulsed them and boldly started on their pursuit, accompanied by M. Balny d'Avricourt. The two officers fell into an ambush and were massacred, not far from the town.

At Versailles, the Due de Broglie's Government, on being informed of the difficulties born of M. Dupuis' commercial attempts, had given powers to negotiate to its Minister at the Court of Hue, M. Philastre, who was on familiar terms with King Tu-Duc.

The Gamier expedition had gone to Tonkin "against formal orders from the Due de Broglie."¹ The *Journal Officiel* of January nth, 1874, announced the death of that officer and of M. Balny d'Avricourt, and continued in these terms : " Gamier and Balny had been sent on a Mission to Tonkin, by the Governor of Cochinchina, and at the request of the Court of Hue, in order to demand from a French traveller, M. Dupuis, the strict observance

¹ Due de Broglie, *Histoire et Politique*, p. 133.

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of the clauses inserted in our treaties with King Tu-Duc."

Philastre
Treaty

The instructions given to M. Philastre were conceived in the same spirit. On his arrival at Hanoi, the new Commissioner disavowed Francis Gamier, restored to the Annamites the towns occupied by French marines, and brought the latter back to Hai-Phong. Their departure was a signal for the massacre of the Tonkinese, who had assisted Francis Gamier and his companions; it is said that at least 25,000 of them perished or were forced to flee into the forests.

M. Philastre witnessed these sad events without a protest. After intimating to M. Dupuis an order to leave Tonkin under penalty of being expelled, he returned to Hu6 to resume negotiations. On March 15th, he signed a treaty by which France recognised " the Sovereignty and entire independence of the King of Annam, undertook to give him gratuitously the support necessary to maintain order and tranquillity within his States, to defend him against any attacks and to destroy the pirates who devastated part of the coasts of his kingdom/" France handed over to Tu-Duc five steamers, of the total strength of 500 horse-power, including Francis Gamier's two gunboats 100 guns, 1,000 rifles, 500,000 cartridges, etc. . . .

King Tu-Duc undertook on his side to conform his exterior policy to that of France, to open the Yang-tse-Kiang to navigation, and recognised the sovereignty of France over the colony of Cochinchina. It was a Protectorate treaty, but a Protectorate without either authority or strength, pregnant with complications and difficulties. The eminent situation which the French had for a moment occu-

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pied in Tonquin was abandoned. M. Dupuis went back to France, ruined.¹

In China the consequences of the war of 1860 continued to unfold themselves. On June 29th, 1873, the Emperor received foreign ministers for the first time.

In virtue of the Peking treaties of October 1860, France and England could establish in Peking a permanent diplomatic mission. On January 23rd, 1861, the Tsung-li-Yamen, or Foreign Office, had been created in Peking; on March 22nd the French and English legations were established in Peking, soon followed by those of other powers.

But the interior situation of China prevented the Ministers from presenting their credentials to the Emperor. For on August 22nd, 1861, the Emperor Hien-Foung died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Toungh-Tche, aged five. The Regency was entrusted to the two Dowager-Empresses and to Prince Kong. The representatives of the Powers took the opportunity of the Emperor's coming of age to address, on February 24th, 1872, a collective note to the Tsung-li-Yamen, requesting an Imperial audience.

This audience, in spite of the resistance of the Chinese Government, was fixed for June 29th, and took place with ceremonies which had been minutely settled beforehand. An eye-witness gives the following account:—

¹ See Jean Dupuis, *L'Ouverture du Fleuve Rouge au commerce et les événements du Tonkin* (1872-73); Paul Deschanel, *La question du Tonkin* (1883, 12⁰); Jules Ferry, *Le Tonkin et la Mère patrie*, en 12⁰, 1890; Billot, *L'Affaire du Tonkin*, 8vo; Nolte, *L'Europe Diplomatique et militaire au XIX^{ème} siècle*, vol. iv. pp. 87-148.

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" Across one end of the reception hall, a wooden platform had been erected, about three square metres in area and one metre in height ; it was surrounded by a railing, also wooden, painted in all the colours of the rainbow. On this platform stood a wide chair, of plain black wood, and entirely without any kind of ornament, and, on this chair, his legs crossed, 'squatted' the Emperor of China, the supreme Chief of four hundred million souls. The Emperor is about eighteen years old, but his appearance would scarcely credit him with more than fourteen. His pale and sallow countenance, almost expressionless, is childish and harmless ; his eyes followed this unprecedented ceremony, of which he himself was the principal figure, with a curiosity mingled with anxiety. His costume, as far as we could judge, was simple in the highest degree ; a dark mauve gauze tunic, without any ornament, was the only garment visible, and his head was covered with a cap of pretty plaited straw, topped with a red tassel and the small red silk button which is the only distinctive sign of the Imperial House." ¹

Ashanti
War

In Africa, the English having taken possession of the Gold Coast Colony, which had been conceded to them by the Dutch on November 2nd, 1871, in exchange for British rights in Sumatra, this was the signal for a rising of the Ashantis, natives of the hinterland. The British remained on the defensive for a year ; but the insurrection gained ground, and, in June 1873, the Ashantis besieged the fort of Elmina, defended by 400 men, at the very gates of Cape Coast Castle.

¹ Henri Cordier, *Histoire des relations de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales*, vol. i. pp. 480-481.

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An expedition, 4,000 strong, and commanded by Sir Garnet Wolseley, was sent against them. On his arrival at Cape Coast, in October 1873, General Wolseley had a road laid to Coomassie, his goal, and minutely organised his expeditionary corps.

He only started at the end of December. On the 30th, accompanied by 3,000 men, he reached Agamassie, where the Ashantis, numbering 20,000, were massed. He gave the signal for the attack on the morning of the 31st. The battle lasted until night: the Ashantis, though beaten, continued to stand their ground. After a sanguinary encounter at Ordahsu, on January 4th, 1874, General Wolseley entered Coomassie, the Ashanti capital, which had been abandoned by King Coffee and his troops. The English had 300 men killed or wounded.

As the rainy season was drawing near, Sir Garnet Wolseley returned to the coast. He was joined on the way by some emissaries from King Coffee, demanding peace; a treaty was signed on February 13th, and, on the 19th, the English army made a triumphant entry into Cape Coast Castle.

Thus did Great Britain acquire a new colony in West Africa.

The Suez Canal She also kept her eyes fixed on the road to India, open to international navigation since November 17th, 1869, by the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez.

Now that M. Ferdinand de Lesseps' great project had become an accomplished fact, the English Government was keeping a close watch over this new artery of the world's commerce.

A difficulty arose between the concessionaire Company and the ship-owners over the interpreta-

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tion of the word " tonnage " inscribed in the Act of Concession.

Decisions in favour of the Company's interpretations had been pronounced by the Courts of Appeal in Paris. At the request of Great Britain, a technical international conference met in Constantinople, and imposed a new mode of measurement.

In spite of exhortations from the Due Decazes, M. de Lesseps, Chairman of the Company, tried to resist. But, on April 25th, 1874, he was informed by the Khedive that the Porte had fixed the inauguration of the tariff for April 29th, and had ordered this resolution to be executed by force, if necessary, even if it meant taking possession of the Canal.

On the very next day, military measures were taken. M. de Lesseps gave way, not without protesting against the violence done to him. The polemics which arose from that conflict soon led to international complications, which it was already possible to foresee.

The success of the Suez Canal opened an era of great international undertakings. At the beginning of 1874, an American Mission, led by Major MacFarland, crossed the Isthmus of Darien in order to study the possibility of an inter-oceanic canal by the Nicaragua route.

At the same time, M. de Lesseps issued the project of a railway, which, had it been executed, would have hastened events singularly : the " Asiatic Grand Central." Starting from Orenburg, on the river Ural, this railroad would have gone as far as Peshawar, on the Indian frontier, joining the Russian system to the Anglo-Indian system of railways, across Central Asia.

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M. de Lesscps read a paper on the subject to the Paris Geographical Society and to the Academy of Sciences. It would have been a communication between the Trans-Siberian on the one hand, and the Bagdad railway on the other. The object was to join European railways with Anglo-Indian railways and beyond, with future Chinese railways. M. de Lesseps was met with international difficulties which again prevented his project from being fulfilled. But here again his boldness gave a decisive impulse, and the events which will hereafter decide Asia's fate were in embryo in the remarkable fore-project of which his energetic and far-seeing genius took the first initiative.

French influence was also noticeable
France and Japan in the very extremity of Asia, in Japan. The revolution which brought about the downfall of the Tai-Kouns, and the coincidence of the Franco-German war, had diminished the authority which, in memory of her former services, France still exerted in Japan. However, already, in 1872, the Mikado, of his own accord, dismissed his German instructors and recalled those of French nationality.¹

A mission of engineers and naval officers built the docks, and factories of the arsenal of Yokoska, near Yokohama. French lawyers were also called in to draw up the new legislative jurisprudence of Japan.²

¹ A French military mission directed the execution of several important works in Japan. Colonel Meunier and Captain Jourdan studied the system of fortifications of the Empire ; Captain Lebon founded, in 1872, the military arsenal of Yeddo ; about the same time, Captain Orcel erected an important powder magazine near Yeddo, etc.

² M. Georges Bousquet remained from 1872 to 1876, Legal Adviser of the Mikado's government. See G. Bousquet, *Le Japon de nos jours*, 2 vols. 8vo., 1877.

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Thus, even defeated, France preserved in distant lands some of the renown and long-recognised authority which were soon to open fresh fields to her reviving greatness.

CHAPTER IX

FALL OF THE DUC DE BROGLIE

- I.—The session resumed—Discussion of the Majority of the 24th of May—The Mayors' Act: its application—Explanation of the Marshal concerning the duration of his powers—Resistance—Elections of February 27th and March 1st, 1874—Bonapartist manifestations on the occasion of the Prince Imperial's birthday.
- II.—The Republican Party—The Gambetta - Lepere interpellation ; M. Challemel-Lacour's speech—The Due de Broglie declares the Septennate to be " incommutable"—Rupture with the Extreme Right—M. Thiers—Dissolution proposed—Easter holidays—Elections of March 29th, 1874.
- III.—Laws of re-organisation—The Liquidation accounts—Water-ways—Military administration—The frontier problem—Two Eastern lines of fortifications—Paris fortifications.
- IV.—The summer session—The Due de Broglie's constitutional projects—Representation of " interests "—Universal suffrage " expurgated"—Organisation of Legislative and Executive powers—The Bills on Municipal Electorate and Political Electorate—Bill for the creation of a second Chamber—Fall of the Due de Broglie: Its causes and consequences.

Last
struggle
between
Royalty
and the
Aristocracy

IT is said that dying men see, in a rapid evolution, the panorama of their past life ; thus, in a supreme spasm, the history of ancient France was reproduced at the very moment of its death struggle.

The constant drama of the "*ancien regime*" had been the struggle between Royalty and

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the privileged classes; now, this duel continued until the very last moment ; as long as a breath of life remained, the two adversaries wrestled in a deadly embrace. The destiny of the Due de Broglie was to be a second, and even a principal, in this last combat. Having witnessed, without surprise, the failure of the Comte de Chambord, he recognised that it was Monarchy itself which had failed: " No other royal choice seemed legitimate or possible, nor was for a moment in anybody's thoughts." *

Resigned and clear-sighted, he undertook to consolidate, around the Septennate, institutions in conformity with the ideas which inspired him ; he attempted to organise this " middle-class Government," which had been the faith of his youth and the regret of his middle age.

In this he failed again. He succumbed under a desperate attack from the followers of traditional monarchy, who avenged themselves, in 1873, on the Tricolor *bourgeoisie*, for the blow which the Tricolor *bourgeoisie* had dealt them in 1830.

Thus Monarchy and the last form of aristocracy fought and perished together at the hour when the closest union and strictest discipline would have been required in order to save them.

We have mentioned the qualities of the Due de Broglie, his intelligence, his courage and eloquence ; but we must not forget his faults : his coldness, his reserve, his awkwardness, often so discouraging. This man, born to command, had not the qualities of a Parliamentary leader; he lacked charm and seductive-

¹ Due de Broglie, *Histoire et politique*, 8vo; *La Constitution de 1875*, p. 32.

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ness ; his eloquence was more likely to wound than to disarm.

The majority which had gathered so closely around him against M.Thiers, was falling to pieces now that it was reduced to keeping on the defensive. Looking, on this alternative of human passions with the disillusioned eyes of a psychologist, the Vice-President of the Council saw the disruption of his band, and could only find cold words with which to try to bring it together again. He appeared to keep to himself the secret of instructions to which every one had to conform. Such a haughty attitude is borne with in times of victory, but insupportable when defeated. It was beginning to be said that the Chief chosen with so much enthusiasm had " no luck." This saying came up when his cold countenance appeared. Around him, smiling, cordial, good-natured faces, which he had held at arms' length, were a contrast to him and seemed like a living reproach.

The Assembly being Sovereign, the evolutions which took place in its inner constitution made a success or a failure of the new conceptions of the Premier. Now, he was not kept well-informed of these minute changes. He stood on too high a platform to perceive these details.

The inner life of Assemblies is a secret one ; there majorities are built and rebuilt, influences weighed, reputations made, decisions adopted. Between men who have nothing in common, a mere clasp of the hand one day becomes the first tie ; then glances are exchanged, cigarettes offered, confidences whispered, and finally, bargains concluded.

The Assembly, already an old one, had lost its rigid framework ; a relaxation had come from life in common, travels, contact in committee rooms, in

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lobbies, restaurants, etc. Men saw each other without surprise, and heard each other more willingly. The Duke took no part in this inevitable promiscuity, perched as he was on his doctrine, full of confidence in his cause and in himself, and of a proud conviction that he was doing good.

Besides, the cause was superannuated, exhausted, badly started. The middle class had not known how to prove its capacity by actions. Democracy was coming forward and sweeping everything before it. The Assembly, born of Universal Suffrage, was not qualified to cope with it.¹

The last attempt of the Due de Broglie was, therefore, like the first, fated to be unsuccessful.

There is something pathetic about this end, at once militant and resigned, of a man so remarkable; all the more so that in succumbing, he was struck, when at the post of danger, by the hand of those whom he wished to save.

The Assembly had adjourned from
The Session December 31st, 1873, to January 8th,
Re-opened 1874. When it met again, on January 8th, it gave a first warning to the new Cabinet.

The ministry, on the intervention of an Extreme Right deputy, M. de Franclicu, was defeated on the question of putting the " Mayors' Bill " on the order of the day.

The next day, a notice inserted in the *Officiel* announced that the Ministers had tendered their resignations to the President of the Republic, who

¹ " At the bottom of our hearts, each of us mistrusted universal suffrage, as it had been practised until now. . . . But we owed our existence to it. When France's peril was extreme, we had invoked it with success, etc." Vicomte de Meaux, *Correspondant* of May 25th, 1903, p. 626.

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" replied that he had not at present decided to accept them, and intended to consider the matter."^f

The Assembly adjourned until January 12th, awaiting a solution of the crisis. During that short delay, the Due de Broglie became aware that this was not a simple accident, but a whole system of tactics. The Extreme Right wished him to feel himself at their mercy. The group sent delegates to Marshal MacMahon to ask him for some explanations on the Septennate. The Marshal intervened between the group and the Due de Broglie. Nothing is known of these secret confabulations ; only a note published in the *Union* indicates, by its very exaggerations, the respective positions :

The Right denies the interpretation given by certain leaders 'Of the Right centre to the prolongation of powers. It will support the Due de Broglie, because the latter has consented, in order to keep his portfolio, not to make a new dogma of Septennality.

The Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, supported by the Due Decazes, wished to induce the Cabinet to make a close and categorical declaration in favour of the Republic, entrusted for seven years to the keeping of Marshal MacMahon. The Right, becoming alarmed, sent some delegates to the Marshal, and, as at the time of the prolongation, obtained explanations which gave entire satisfaction.

The majority of the 24th of May was thus patched together again. But very precariously. A moment's grace having been accorded to the Cabinet, the debate which was intended to consecrate the accord began on January 12th, initiated by M. Audren de Kerdrel.

The root of the debate was the question raised by the Extreme Right, and which was one day to decide the Cabinet's fate, that is, the significance and bearing of the " new dogma," the Septennate.

The Due de Broglie, who wanted to act and to

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form a Constitution in spite of everything, was met at every turn by a fundamental objection : " You lack the very essence of all action, of any constitution : a Principle, or, failing a principle, a Force."

It was M. Raoul Duval, the "*enfant terrible*" of the majority, who threw into the Due de Broglie's way this captious argumentation which could be used conversely by the Extreme Right against him : " We created the Marshal's power," said M. Raoul Duval, " we must make it a reality . . ."

"The Broglie Cabinet cannot remain. It will always be accused of activity in a ' party interest' since it has tried to establish the Monarchy. . . . We must have Ministers who are not already compromised, . . . a business Cabinet, taken from outside the Parliament."

The Due de Broglie made public the understanding which had taken place in secret. " By the terms of the Act of November 20th," said he, " the power of Marshal MacMahon is a legal power, invested with every right which legality can confer, and first of all,—I am glad to recognise and to affirm it,—the right of defending itself against those who would misunderstand or attack it." This was aimed at the Left ; now to calm the anxieties of the Right : " The Septennate is a great truce which we have desired to make ; a serious truce ; it is a conciliation of the different parties, not the brutal exclusion of every party, as M. Raoul Duval would have it." This might be made to mean that the door remained ajar for the Comte de Chambord.

M. Audren de Kerdrel celebrated the understanding by an order of the day, declaring that the " Ministry had not lost the confidence of the Assembly." The order of the day was adopted by 366 votes,

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against 305, and the Assembly decided, by a standing vote, that it would, on the next day, discuss the Mayors' Bill.

Thus the Government tackled the first part of its task, which was to govern.

To govern meant to act on the country so as to create a general disposition different to that which it had been manifesting for the last three years. It meant to reply to M. Christophle's witty observation: " All this is due to the fact that elections do not agree with you ! " It meant to prepare, by preventive measures, a new direction of the public mind, permitting an appeal to the future if not to the present.

The Mayors' Bill was the first article on this programme. It was necessary to have in each " commune " an authorised defender of the Cabinet's policy. Decentralisation was indeed a long way off ! Every party which comes into power in France attempts to seize, for its own profit, this powerful weapon of the Napoleonic administration, which seemed to it so heavy when in opposition ; the most energetic partisan of social discipline is always the one who gives the pass-word.

M. Louis Blanc said, in the name of the Left : " The truth is that the proposed law is a party law, a law of circumstance. What they want is to have 72,000 electoral agents wearing the municipal sash."

M. Baragnon, Under-Secretary of State for the Interior, defended the law, or rather supplied the majority with words on which to vote, for the decision was taken. A biting speech was also heard from M. Pascal Duprat, obviously aimed at the Extreme Right. " You want this law for the benefit of an intrigue. The Due de Broglie has been accused

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of being an accomplice in the attempt at Restoration. No ! the Due de Broglie has, at the most, **kindly** helped the Comte de Chambord to commit suicide. The Due de Broglie in Marshal MacMahon's Cabinet is the Minister of the Unknown, or of Orleanism. Here is the intrigue ! I defy the Cabinet to bring forth a law to defend the power of the Marshal against monarchical enterprises or competitions. By conspiring for the Legitimate Monarchy, or the Orleanist Monarchy, both stark dead, you are conspiring for the Empire."

The examination of the Clauses was voted by 371 against 314. The discussion then dragged for several days between amendments and counter proposals. But the majority was resolute. The Due de Broglie intervened on January 17th, to oppose an amendment making it a necessity for the Government to choose its mayors from within the Municipal Council; he wished to choose with full and entire liberty : " There are in the municipal body," he said, " too many mayors, who are unworthy of the dignity with which they are honoured. There is the evil." Such words were not likely to make the Duke popular !

The Law Voted	At the sitting of January 20th, the whole of the Bill was passed by 357 votes against 318.

All the mayors, in the chief towns of departments, *arrondissements*, and *cantons*, were to be appointed by the Government; in other *communes* by the Prefect. Everywhere, failing a Prefect or **Sub**-Prefect, the mayor was to exercise police authority. It was an immense net of authority and surveillance cast over the country.

The Due Decazes wrote, on January 19th, to

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an intimate friend : " We have almost come to the term of our labours over the Mayors' Law ; I think we have come through, and I have no further anxiety on that score. But it would be difficult not to be pre-occupied with the state of feeling that we have met with in the last week, and of its cause. Personalism has invaded the majority, local pre-occupations dominate it entirely. How, under such conditions, can we tackle the electoral law ? And yet we must have it ! We will try : we have no right to stop or to get discouraged," ¹

Having secured his Bill, the Due de Broglie hastened to apply it. A circular of January 22nd, gave to the Prefects the necessary instructions for the choice of the Mayors which were to be designated by the authority. In this document, there are more of those unlucky expressions which now characterised the public manifestos of the Premier. The struggle evidently exasperated him ; his temperament stiffened, he was no longer master of his language, temper was obvious in every sentence :

An unfortunate experience has hopelessly condemned the system of a direct election of Mayors through Municipal Councils. It is sad to add that the choice of the Councils, dictated by party-spirit, has often been cast on individuals who, by their incapacity, their antecedents, or their vices, compromise the dignity with which they are invested.

What language to the revoked mayors ! Now the list of them, which was soon to appear, comprised such names as MM. Lenoel, Fourcand, de Tocqueville, Faye, Deregnaucourt, Rameau, the most moderate members of the Left Centre. This group was not spared, and yet its assistance might soon be required.

¹ *Private document, unpublished.*

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Anyone acquainted with the violence of local passions and quarrels could not but foresee the discord and disorder which was produced throughout France.

The circular was not more felicitous when it attempted to define the Governing Principle in the name of which such pressure was to be exercised on the country. A new definition of the Septennate ! The Due de Broglie, hypnotised by this insoluble problem, exhausted over it the resources of his dialectics :

The Assembly has conferred for seven years the executive power on Marshal MacMahon, whom it had designated on May 25th, to be President of the Republic. The power which has been placed in his hands, and of which the Constitutional Commission must determine the exercise and conditions is, already now, and for the whole duration assigned by the law, raised above every dispute. Around this tutelar authority, all good citizens, of all parties, may, without abandoning their conscientious convictions, continue to unite their efforts in the work of reparation which is to efface the trace of our disasters.

This passage provoked the discussion with which the Cabinet struggled until its fall.

Already, on February 4th, recourse was had to the authority of the Marshal to explain the explanation. The extreme Right newspapers, continuing their perfidious game, protested against the phrase which seemed to acknowledge, not only a legislative but a constitutional character to the Septennate. Marshal MacMahon, speaking on the occasion of a visit to the Tribunal of Commerce of the Seine, alluded to these polemics : " On the 19th of November, the Assembly gave me power for seven years. My first duty is to see to the execution of this sovereign decision. Do not fear, for seven

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years, I shall see that the legally-established order of things is respected by all."

So it was an " independent Septennate." Coming from such quarters, the declaration did not lend itself to equivocation. The newspapers of the Extreme Right, who tried successfully to obtain it, were not likely to forget it.

The Due de Broglie was resolved to pursue the execution of his programme, whatever might happen. He went to the Commission of Thirty, and asked it to hurry on with its labours in order to put an end to suppositions and discussions. The vote of the organic laws was to be the term of this agitation.

In the meanwhile, the Government showed great firmness. It was at that time that the *Univers* was suspended for two months. M. Veuillot was displeased, and accused the Due de Broglie of satisfying his old vindictive feelings as a Liberal-Catholic. M. Veuillot was not a comfortable friend, but he was a most terrible, unsparing adversary.

The Cabinet, interpellated by M. Ricard on the subject of the Press *regime*, maintained its right to make use of rigorous measures towards newspapers, and rejected any modification of the present state of things until an organic Bill, then in preparation, was enacted. The Greek Kalends !

The press, both Right and Left, became vituperative ; the Duke, as he opened his daily papers, spent joyless mornings.

A project from MM. Fresneau and Carron, re-establishing military chaplains, was discussed. It would seem that an accord should be easy between Conservatives and Catholics. But the friends of the Cabinet, by their exigencies, placed it in a great difficulty. Mgr. **Dupanloup** insisted on his chap-

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lains. General du Barail was evasive. It was decided to pass on to a third deliberation.

A decree of February 1st, 1874, re-established the censorship of theatres. M. Charles Blanc, a friend of M. Thiers, was superseded, at the direction of the Fine Arts, by the Marquis de Chennevieres ; the whole artistic and literary world was in a whirl.

Finally, a more general measure aimed at unity of views in the organisation of the Police : a decree of February 17th suppressed the direction of the *Surete*, or rather amalgamated it with the *Prefecture de Police*. The action of the latter thus spread all over France. This recalled, rather unprofitably, the Napoleonic enactments and the dangerous memories of the " Law of General Safety."

The Mayors' Law passed into execution. From February 2nd, the *Journal Officiel* published every day lists of revoked mayors and *adjoints*. The country was in a ferment, down to the smallest commune. Every one of them felt the counter-shock of those Parliamentary quarrels of which, a day before, it was ignorant.

The Assembly pursued the slow discussion of new taxes, again touching on many different interests, and, in spite of M. Magne's fertility of invention, it did not succeed in finding the resources necessary to balance the 1874 budget.

Elections Did this Government trepidation, this agitation and would-be action, produce on the country the effect which was expected ? Two series of legislative elections were fixed, one for Feb. 7th, the other for March 1st.

On February 9th, the department of the Haute Saone elected M. Herisson, Republican, against the

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Due de Marmier, Legitimist; the department of the Pas-de-Calais elected M. Sens, Bonapartist, against M. Brinc, Republican.

The Pas-de-Calais election was an encouragement for the Bonapartists, who, since the Septennate had been voted, had again become constituted as an active party. M. Rouher, by very clever tactics, remained ostentatiously friendly with the Marshal, and thus encouraged a certain distrust in the suspicious minds of the Orleanist party.

The elections of March 1st were not more favourable to the Cabinet : the department of Vaucluse elected Ledru Rollin, against M. Billiotti, a monarchist. The Vienne—Mgr. Pie's department, which, on February 8th, 1871, had elected the Marquis de la Roche-Thulon, M. Merveilleux du Vignaux and M. Ernoul—gave 34,140 votes to M. Lepetit, a Radical, against 31,169 to M. de Beauchamp, a Conservative. M. Thiers had intervened in favour of M. Lepetit.

So the Cabinet met with rebuffs all along the line. The steps it had taken had at the same time exasperated the Opposition from the Left against which they were directed, and, by recalling the days of the Empire, encouraged the Bonapartist leaders, ready as they were to gather, in country districts, the immediate profits of the Conservative campaign.

These dangerous allies were the principal cause of anxiety to the Cabinet. On

^{The}
Bonapartist
Party March 16th, the nineteenth birthday of the Prince Imperial was to be celebrated at Chislehurst in great pomp, this being the time for his coming of age, according to the constitution of the Empire. All the Imperialists in France were busy ; it was intended that a great impression should be pro-

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duced. It was announced that public men, functionaries and officers, were going over to England. A special Committee, presided over by the Duke of Padua, was sending out the invitations.¹

The Government intervened, and its intervention was once again unlucky ; by denouncing the peril, it increased it. A circular from the Minister of the Interior drew attention to a tendency, on the part of the promoters of this manifestation " to see in it an indirect acknowledgment of the Prince Imperial's supposed right to reign over France, and a protest against contrary decisions of the Assembly/' . . . Functionaries were therefore forbidden to go to London. A circular from General du Barail, addressing the same prohibition to officers, was somewhat strangely worded, to say the least of it : "I am informed that *a great many officers of all ranks* intend to go to Chislehurst on March 16th, on the occasion of the Prince Imperial's coming of age. . . . They must understand that, *notwithstanding everything*, they must support the Government and not supply, by their attitude, any pretext of attack by the various parties. . . ."

Ollivier incident Another incident took place, in which the name of Bonaparte was prominent. M. Emile Ollivier, who had on April 26th, 1870, been elected a member of the Academie Franchise, was now about to be publicly installed, after three years delay. A passage of the speech he intended to read contained a particularly warm eulogy of the Emperor Napoleon III. In spite of some restrictions

¹ Concerning the preparation for this movement and M. Rouher's activity, see J. Richard, *Lc Bonapartisme sous la Republique*, 1883 (p. 138).

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expressed by M. Guizot, the " reading Committee " accepted the speech. But the Academy, in a full sitting, held on March 3rd, decided to postpone indefinitely M. Ollivier's reception.¹

On March 16th, the ceremonies for the Prince Imperial's coming of age took place at Chislehurst. Seven thousand guests or delegates were said to have come from various parts of France.²

Chislehurst The Bonapartist dynasty was fully re-
Manifesto presented. The Prince's ease and grace were noticed ; he had a word and a smile for every one. He already showed a princely memory for faces. Like a Pretender, he reviewed the acclaiming crowd, standing by the side of the Empress Eugenie. Speaking in a clear and vibrating voice, he pronounced a speech in answer to the words addressed to him by the Duke of Padua—a real manifesto.

The Prince spoke first of all, of his father, pleading the cause of " his great memory." He exalted the name of Marshal MacMahon, Napoleon III.'s comrade in glory and in misfortune, whose loyalty would protect against party intrigues the trust which had been reposed in him. Then he claimed his " right," the right which he held from Imperial constitutions, and which he was anxious to submit once again to popular ratification.

The audience, much moved, applauded these hopes. But Prince Napoleon was not present, and the Empress Eugenie lacked the political genius of Queen Hortense ; she listened to would-be coun-

¹ See the account of the above incident in Emile Ollivier, *Lamar tine*.

² See J. Richard, *op. cit.* p. 123 ; Fidus, *Journal de dix ans* ; Comte d'Herisson, *le Prince Imperial*, p. 213 ; Andre Martinet, *le Prince Imperial*, 8vo. (1895), p. 229.

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sellors, allowed criticism of the most devoted adherents. . . . Those were the weak points.

After all that had passed, and in spite of the watch which the Prefecture de Police, by the orders of M. Leon Renault (said to be a private friend of the Due Decazes), exercised over the Bonapartists, this party, crushed a few months ago, was now awake and threatening.

II

The
Republican
Party The Republican party felt its strength, conscious of being supported by the impulse of the country ; vigilant leaders conducted it with prudence, allowing none but the wisest and most moderate to take a public part in discussions. The respected name of M. Thiers was constantly put forward ; this was intended to win over and especially to reassure the more timorous portion of that *bourgeoisie* whose co-operation was absolutely indispensable. The more ardent Republicans, however, were becoming impatient : M. Ledru-Rollin's election was a warning to temporisers, to M. Gambetta in particular. Action was imperative. Taciticians should seize the opportunity of plunging a knife between the extreme Right and the Cabinet.

M. Gambetta was preparing a re-appearance. During the six months' crisis which had followed the attempt at Restoration and the establishment of the Septennate, he had held his peace ; now, though strongly urged by his friends, he was silent still. But he wished to make his strength felt by the Cabinet, and to lay the problem definitely before the country.

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Gambetta's
Interpella-
tion An interpellation, originated by **him**,
was put down in the name of the " Radical
group/" M. Lepere formulated it on
January 25th, and it was discussed on March 18th.
The subject was again the Septennate.

This doctrinal debate found, among the Left, an orator perhaps better qualified to deal with it than M. Gambetta ; this was M. Challemel Lacour. The majority, it is true, had not forgiven him the celebrated incident : " Shoot down those people ! (*Fusillez moi ces gens Id /*) " But it respected the orator, the man of letters, and knew that he was not to be ignored ; the Left relied on him.

M.
Challemel
Lacour The orator surpassed the general expectation ; he delivered one of his very finest speeches. The clearness, vehemence, and appropriateness of his words, carried on for two hours an argument which was redoubtable for the majority, but which wrenched from it, amidst cries of anger, occasional signs of involuntary assent.

M. Challemel Lacour took for his text the circular of January 22nd, and the words addressed by Marshal MacMahon to the Tribunal of Commerce :

I wonder how it is that the declarations of the Government, instead of diffusing light, do but thicken the prevailing darkness ; how it is that they always provide a fresh text to grammatical analysis, and to the subtleties and dialectics of parties. I wonder indeed if it is possible to make a clear statement, and if the French language has unfortunately lost its proverbial lucidity.

The power which you created on the 19th of November is a responsible one ; it is elective and temporary. What is it, then, if not Republican, and what are we to understand, if not that while it lasts, the Republic is not merely a right but a fact, and the Government can defend itself, and endure but on condition that it defends the Republic at the same time.

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The speaker dwelt on the ambiguity of this policy, which, " when addressing the country, proclaims the maintenance of existing institutions, that is, of the Republic ; and which, when addressing the Assembly, speaks but of the struggle against the social peril, meaning the accession of the Republic." He denounced this unstable, unprincipled system, this "momentary, transitory " Republic, outwardly and inwardly weak because it had nothing on which to lean.

He recalled M. Grevy's prophecy, that of M. Rouher, and showed how the growing progress of Bonapartism justified the clairvoyance of its chief. Now, he said, " Imperialism takes up the position of a next heir, treating the Presidential Government as an already senile Government, taking pity on its debility, recommending it, in a patronising tone, to the consideration of its friends, by reason of the only merit granted to the Septennate : that of leading France towards the Empire, that is, towards ruin and dishonour," And M. de la Rochejacquelein interrupted—" That is unfortunately true ! "

M. Challemel Lacour concluded : " The country wants the Republic ; the Government wants to lead it to Monarchy." Let explanations be forthcoming. It is impossible to leave the country any longer at the mercy of chance, without a rudder, without a principle—a ready prey to any surprise or attack.

At the end of his peroration, M. Challemel Lacour put a question which revealed the under-currents of the day ; he had written it down and left it on the tribune at the close of his speech :

1st.—Did the Vice-President of the Council intend to declare that every attempt at a monarchical Restoration was henceforth forbidden ?

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2nd.—Does he not propose to see in future that those laws are strictly applied, which punish all acts and manoeuvres of which the object is to change the form of the established Government ?

This speech and this attack, made in an unusual form, occasioned great emotion, and an intervention from the Extreme Right inevitable.

The Due de Broglie stood between two fires. He tried to escape. He derided the importance of the " prolonged " speech which the Assembly had just heard ; he desired to keep the discussion " within a more restricted, more measured form " ; he defended the circular, and the Mayors' Law. But in the end he had to force himself to cross the obstacle so squarely placed in his path. He found more formulas to support his work, the Septennat ! " This law is perfectly clear ; it distinguishes between two things : the duration of the power and the conditions of its exercise. As to the seven years' power, the law has conferred it upon Marshal MacMahon in an *incommutable* fashion. There can be no possible doubt about this. . . . "

This word, *incommutable*, was pregnant with consequences. The Due de Broglie tried in vain to cover it with one of the ambiguous phrases which he had used for so long : " I maintain all that the law has decided ; I reserve everything which it has reserved . . . " The effect had been produced. The " Septennate dogma " was affirmed in quasi-theological language. The clever dialectician was caught in the trap of his own infallibility.

He had hardly left the Tribune when M. de Cazenove de Pradine succeeded him. M. de Cazenove de Pradine was the mouthpiece of the Comte de Chambord. He must, he said, " dispel an equivoca-

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tion which it would be in nobody's interest or honour to allow to stand longer." In consequence, he declared that he too had faith in the Marshal's loyalty, but that this faith had a special bearing :

On the day when the representatives of the country will have recognised the hereditary and traditional monarchy as it is represented by the august chief of the House of Bourbon, Marshal MacMahon will not place delays, even legal delays, in the way of the execution of your wishes and the salvation of the country. I do not fear that he will keep the King of France, acclaimed by you all, at the door of the Septennate, saying, as at Malakoff, "*J'y suis, j'y teste !*"

The Due de Broglie, in consternation, rose and said, " The opinion of the honourable speaker is personal to himself, and does not bind the Government in any way." This meant that the Vice-President of the Council could, or would, change nothing of what he himself had said. Let the worst come to the worst !

Two orders of the day were proposed, one by M. Henri Brisson : " The Assembly has no confidence in the Cabinet." The other, emanating from the Left Centre : " The Assembly, regretting that the acts of the Government should not be in conformity with its declarations ..." No vote of confidence was proposed.

The Cabinet was content with an order of the day pure and simple, which was voted by 370 votes against 310. The Extreme Right voted for the Ministers, *hit with a reservation in favour of M. de Cazenove de Pradine's declaration.*

The end was near.

The Due de Broglie prepared to make, at least, a worthy end ; he intended to say, plainly, all that he wished, all that he meant. The majority, thus en-

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lightened, having the fate of the country in its hands, would be able to choose.

Within the Cabinet, it was agreed, under pressure from the Due Decazes, M. de Fourtou and M. Deseilligny, that the policy of the " independent Septennate " should be affirmed and accentuated. Since the Extreme Right was determined to follow its own course, an attempt would be made to do without it ; if necessary, the new standing-ground of Conservative policy would be looked for in the direction of the Left Centre.

Already, on March 17th, Marshal MacMahon had written to the Due de Broglie : " I have just read the words which you uttered yesterday at the tribune of the National Assembly. They are in conformity with the language that I have myself held to the Presidents of the Tribunal and the Chamber of Commerce of Paris. They have my entire approbation. . . ."

This was an answer to the direct question put by M. de Cazenove de Pradine.

The Rubicon was crossed.

M. de Broglie's Tactics The plan of the Due de Broglie was this : to reach, if possible, the Easter recess (ten days) by taking up the time with the discussion of the budget and by useful and urgent debates. Then, immediately after the vacation, frankly to tackle the constitutional problem : to claim from the Assembly those institutions most likely to consolidate the Septennate and to allow France to wait for better days.

A battle was inevitable. But what a success it would be if the Cabinet won, if it could, by granting a few concessions to the Left Centre, erect such a constitu-

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tional shelter as to leave the middle classes masters of the destinies of the country.

Even before this programme, entailing so short a time, obstacles rose at every step.

M. Thiers made his reappearance, on March 26th, in the debate concerning the Paris fortifications, with a useful and studied speech in which his admirable information, his dialectic, his exalted patriotic solicitude, were, apparent as ever, and his perennial youth triumphant.

He thought the moment had come to point out the blunders of those who had overthrown him, and to overwhelm them by the simple exposure of their powerlessness. He received (March 25th) the delegates of the Gironde, headed by M. Fourcand, the "revoked" Mayor of Bordeaux, who had come to Paris in order to offer him a medal, in token of gratitude from the whole Department. In thanking them, the former President ironically developed what he called the teachings of the 24th of May. "I was overthrown," said he, "because I could not, or would not, lead the country back into the ways of Monarchy. Well, was that possible? Events have answered in the negative.

"The mass of the people are attached to the Republic; those parties who want a Monarchy do not all want the same Monarchy. . . . Therefore, one Government, and *one* only, can re-organise France, and lead her to a better future, and that is a Conservative Republic. . . . Let us respect the Assembly and expect wholesome resolutions from it. But, if it cannot pass such resolutions, if it cannot find a majority within its own ranks, if it can no longer govern, it has no longer any right to pretend to do so.

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This was, indeed, a dismissal of the Assembly.

On March 23rd, M. Henri Brisson gave notice, in his own name and in that of eighty-eight of his colleagues on the Right, of a motion to appeal to the electorate on June 28th, 1874, in order to elect the whole National Assembly afresh.

On March 26th, the Cabinet had a very narrow escape ; only nine votes stood between it and downfall.

On the 27th, M. Dahirel, taking his inspiration from M. Brisson's motion, very unseasonably attempted to replace it by another. " On the 1st of June, 1874, the National Assembly will pronounce on the definite form of Government in France," The Due de Broglie moved the previous question. He lost his temper and treated M. Dahirel's friends and the Extreme Right somewhat harshly. Urgency was rejected by 327 votes against 242 ; forty-nine deputies from the Left, fearing possible consequences, voted for the Cabinet, and saved it.

Finally, on March 28th, the Assembly sat for the last time before the holidays. It was decided that the Due d'Alençon should be definitely admitted into the Army, and the Due de Penthièvre into the Navy.¹

The Assembly also authorised the Government to remove the sequestration placed on the possessions of the former Imperial Civil List by the Government of National Defence.

Before adjourning to May 12th, the Assembly prolonged the powers of the " bureau " and elected a permanent Committee of twenty-five members.

Before allowing the Commission of Thirty to

¹ *Souvenirs of General du Barail*, vol. iii. p. 500.

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separate, the Due de Broglie presented himself before it on the very day fixed for the separation, and informed it of his plans. He intended the Assembly to take its constitutional *role* seriously. The Government was to lay before it, at the re-opening of the session, a project for the creation of a new Chamber, of which he drew the main features. He also described the organisation of the Executive, and went so far as to foresee the possibility of the Marshal's death.

M. Audren de Kerdrel exclaimed, on hearing these fine projects : " Some see in the Septennate the ante-chamber of Monarchy, others see in it the ante-chamber of the Republic ; but nothing can be built in an ante-chamber ! "

It was rumoured that the Due de Broglie had given it to be understood that it would be well to reserve the Chair of the Senate for the Due d'Aumale, as a preliminary step, in case the President of the Republic were to disappear. Whether accurate or not, this saying was repeated until it reached Frohsdorf.'

Republican Elections The majority witnessed at the last moment another disappointment for the Cabinet. On March 29th, some elections took place in the Gironde, and in the Haute-Marne. In the Gironde, M. Roudier, a Radical, was elected by 68,877 votes against General Bertrand, a Bonapartist (45,079), and M. Larrieu, a Conservative (21,598). In the Haute-Marne, M. Danelle-Bernardin, a Radical, had 35,612 votes against 24,142 given to M. de Lesp6rut, a Conservative.

The Due de Broglie certainly " had no luck." ³

¹ Vicomte de Meaux, *loc. cit.*, p. 634.

² It was a fact worthy of note that, since May 24th, all the bye-elections were frankly opposed to the ideas represented by

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III

It seems impossible that the work of reconstitution could have been continued in the midst of those uncertain days and interrupted discussions, under an anxious Government, knowing that its days were numbered. And yet such was the case.

Throughout the country, the Assembly, and the Government, constant thought was being given to the re-organisation of the national forces, to the protection of the soil and the defence of the country. The renewing of pacific and military instruments was being pursued with method and promptitude.

During the last days of the session, certain urgent laws were cleared off: an Act of March 23rd, 1874, closed the liquidation account for war expenses outside the budget for the year 1874.¹

the Marshal's Government. Whenever an election was about to take place, the Premier promised us a victory, and, each time, he had to announce a defeat.—Du Barail, t. iii. p. 514.

¹ The law of March 15th, 1872, had instituted a "war liquidation account" and stipulated for the receipt and expenditure of that extraordinary budget.

But the balance between the receipts and expenditure was soon upset; those expenses which had been put down to the liquidation account were increased, and certain receipts which should have been devoted to it were affected to other purposes.

The law of March 23rd, 1874 (*rapporteur*, M. Gouin) was intended to circumscribe the liquidation account by limiting the expenses and by devoting to their payment certain definite receipts, in order to return as soon as possible to budgetary unity.

The maximum credit was fixed at 773,275,000 francs-; every expense was to be authorised by an Act; annual credits, in conformity with this and out of special resources, were to be granted by law.

For the years 1872 and 1873 the credit on the liquidation account amounted to 370,676,845 francs.

For 1874, the law allowed 209,159,288 francs, covered by the

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One sitting was given up to the law on the reconstruction of water-ways (March 24th, 1874). This law completed the law of June 17th, 1873, which re-constituted the Eastern Railway system, and assured the re-establishment of rapid communications from the Franco-Swiss to the Franco-Belgian frontier. It authorised :

1st.—The canalisation of the Meuse, as far as the frontier, and its junction with the Moselle.

2nd.—The canalisation of the Moselle and its junction with the Saone, in the neighbourhood of Port-sur-Saone.

A syndicate from the departments of the Ardennes, Meuse, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Vosges and Haute-Saone, had been created in order to advance to the State the sum necessary for these works (sixty-five millions for 498 kilometres of canals).

So the western side of the Vosges could now hope to revive the fine industrial establishments of Alsace, and the metallurgic factories on the annexed districts of the lower Moselle might be transferred to the upper Moselle.

But the reconstitution of military forces was the chief subject of anxiety. Marshal MacMahon was the very man for such a task. He devoted himself to it with a competence, energy and patriotic sense which en-

The Marshal and military re-organisation

excess balance of the years 1870 and 1871 (135,860,728 francs) and by a part of the hundred millions taken from the supplement of the three-milliard loan = 73,298,560 francs.

M. Gouin's law stipulated, moreover, that an account would be rendered in 1874 of the expenditure incurred in 1872 and 1873, and, the following year, of the expenditure of 1874, etc. . . . See *Recueil des traites*, etc., vol. iv. p. 584 ; Mathieu Bodet, vol. i. p. 276 ; Amagat, p. 137.

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couraged and invited the co-operation of all. He frankly took all responsibilities on himself, and, as usually happens in such cases, they were left to him. He untiringly presided over the numerous Councils entrusted with military reforms, and with the appropriation of the credits liberally voted by the Assembly. He personally superintended every choice, always seeking out " the right man " for each place ; recommendations had little weight with him, but he justly appreciated claims and past services.

The industry of Parliamentary commissions seconded the zeal of the President. Eminent men were at the head of these, such as the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier, spending in such secret, if not obscure work, the greater part of his remarkable activity, and General de Chabaud La Tour, former President of the Engineers' Committee, who, according to General du Barail's words, " owed to his former functions, as much as to his character, a preponderating authority on such matters in the National Assembly,"¹

General du Barail, War Minister, by his quick intelligence, somewhat brusque manners, and energetic character, was eminently suited to circumstances which required spirit and rapidity for the prompt execution of reforms.

Thanks to common efforts, the years 1873 and 1874 saw a rapid succession of highly important measures : a law concerning the re-enlisting of non-commissioned officers, a law on Army administration, a law on the control of this administration, a law on the re-organisation of Staff corps, etc. . . . ; decrees on the new organisation of the General Army

¹ Souvenirs, vol. iii., p. 476.

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Staff, on that of the Auxiliary Corps (foresters, Customs officers, etc.), of the Superior Council of War, of the different Technical Committees, on the creation of the Superior School of War, on railway, post-office and telegraph services, on aerostation, War Treasury, Army clerks, etc., etc. . . .

The basis of our military state is composed of the whole of these measures. The numerous Army necessitated by national defence claims and disposes of all the necessary wheels, by the use of which alone it can progress.

General du Barail addressed to the President of the Republic, on March 21st, 1874, a report of the execution during the year 1873, of the military law of July 27th, 1872.¹ All arrangements were made for the inauguration of a new *regime* in 1874.

The army was ready, but that was not enough. For years to come, France was at the mercy of any sudden attack. Therefore the defence of the capital and the protection of the frontier had to be seen to. The "armed peace" system now becoming general in Europe, and Prince Bismarck's ever-threatening policy, imposed on France these heavy sacrifices. The frontier was now so near the heart of the nation that both had to be sheltered from sudden aggression.

National Defence Already, in April 1872, M. Thiers had instituted a Higher Committee of Defence, instructed to study a complete scheme. After a year's work, even before the total evacuation of the territory by the German troops, the Committee,

¹ The proxy of conscripts had been forbidden from January 1st, 1873. The *volontariat d'un an* had been in operation since November 1872.

After the Revision Councils had been at work and the divers

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presided over by Marshal MacMahon, and afterwards by Marshal Canrobert, presented to the Government a plan concerning all our land-frontiers, but especially tracing, from the north to the south-east, from Dunkirk to Nice, two lines of defence duplicating each other, with Paris as a centre.

The National Assembly approved, in principle, of this plan in its entirety ; however, taking pressing circumstances into account, it decided that the most urgent works should be proceeded with first. A first Act, passed on March 28th, 1874, authorised the works around Paris : that is, on the north side, the forts of Cormeille, Montlignon and Stains ; on the south side, those of Saint-Cyr, Palaiseau and Châtillon. Seven millions were to be spent in 1874, out of the sixty millions which were judged necessary for the total organisation of the entrenched camp.

Later, on July 17th, in the same year, a second law allowed twenty-nine millions for the most urgent works to be executed on the Eastern frontier, at Verdun, Toul, Epinal, Belfort, Langres, Besançon, Lyons, Grenoble and Briançon. The total expenses for the organisation of the frontier were estimated at 88,500,000 francs.

General Sere de Riviére, Director of Engineers at the War Office, the author and *rapporteur* of the project of the Defence Committee, was chosen to superintend its execution.

The new frontier of Lorraine offered two good lines of defence : From Verdun to Toul, along the Meuse hills, and from Epinal to the Belfort pass, along the

cases of exemption provided for by the law had been eliminated, the recruiting lists for 1873 stood at 303,810 men.

On account of budgetary considerations, the start of the first portion of the land contingent could not be effected in 1873.

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heights on the left bank of the Moselle. Verdun and Toul became two great entrenched camps ; joined together by a line of fortifications, they close the frontier on an area of 90 kilometres. Epinal, the central point of this frontier, is another entrenched camp, also joined to Belfort by a defensive line of no kilometres. After these works, only two openings remain on the north-east military frontier : one 30 kilometres wide, facing Thionville, and the other, 45 kilometres wide, between the fort of Pont Saint Vincent, to the south-east of Toul, and the fort of Dogueville, to the north of Epinal, facing Strasbourg and the Palatinate.

It is probably through these openings that the enemy would attempt to pass and would meet the French armies, unless the mobilisation of the latter were rapid enough to allow them to meet the enemy beyond the frontier.

In case of a reverse, the French army corps entrusted with the defence of the northern pass would fall back on the Argonne line, supported by the Reims entrenched camp; that at the southern opening would retreat directly towards Paris, or rather towards Langres, and, threatened either from the rear or on the flanks by the troops from Verdun, Epinal or Langres, the enemy would be forced, before continuing its march, to send important detachments to watch these various places.

The northern frontier should be protected by the neutrality of Belgium ; however, the violation of this neutrality, as a means to turn the Lorraine frontier, is a possibility which must be kept in sight.

This frontier is supported by the Lille entrenched camp. Towards the south, Maubeuge and the fort of Hirson constitute the central points which, with

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La Fere, Laon and Reims complete the defence of Paris along the Champagne heights.

Reims, standing as it does at the crossing of the roads, is the strategic point *par excellence* of the whole region.

Langres, on the second line, behind Epinal, received an enormous development. This place is also destined to play an important part in case of a victorious march of the enemy through the Toul-Epinal pass. An army concentrated on the Langres plateau could descend at will into Champagne, Lorraine, Franche-Comte, or Burgundy.¹

Dijon, an entrenched camp, completes the action of Langres, defends the Morvan plateau, and, with Besancon, guards the Lyons route along the Saone.

The Eastern frontier, from Belfort to the southern bank of the Lake of Geneva, is covered by the neutrality of Switzerland ; but here again, it is possible that a coalition between Germany and Italy might lead the latter to invade Switzerland.

The fortress of Besancon is the great stronghold in this region.

Opposite the Alps, the valleys of the left-hand tributaries of the Rhone, natural roads for an invasion of France by Italy, have been barred by numerous forts. Briancon is the key to this frontier.

Farther south, Nice is surrounded with forts, intercepting the Corniche road.

The entrenched camp of Grenoble is the strong point of the greater part of the south-eastern region, and Lyons is its centre. Lyons is a second capital;

¹ See Eugene Tenot, *Les nouvelles defenses de la France*,

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the perimeter of its external defence covers 60 kilometres.

The Pyrenees form an excellent natural frontier, with no possible passage for an army except at the two extremities of the range. Toulouse is the strategic centre of the Pyrenean South. The fortress of Perpignan was enlarged, and forms for the Pyrenees-Orientales, behind the forts which dominate the roads, a very solid support.

At the other extremity, the fort of Urdos, the castle of Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, the banks of the Nive, supported by the fortress of Bayonne, would help the defence.

It was decided that the defence of Paris should be entirely revised, the capital being maintained as the central stronghold of national defence.

The proposed plan was the following : to crown with fortifications all the steps of the natural amphitheatre which surrounds Paris, and thus to hold the exterior slope of the line of summits. An army, sallying out, should not have to climb a height, as at Champigny or Buzenval; a French army repulsed towards the capital should be able to start out again after having repaired its losses ; the large area of the new perimeter would prevent a real investment; lastly, the city would be preserved from bombardment.¹

A besieging army, however numerous, would not suffice for the double task of watching the entrenched camps before which it would have to pass at the frontier, and to invest in a complete manner a city of which the total perimeter of defence would be not less than 160 kilometres long.

¹ See Eugene Tenot, *Paris et ses Fortifications*.

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In 1874, when the general plan of the Defence Committee was admitted, so little confidence was felt in the value of the barely re-organised army that some exaggeration was brought into the system of strongholds and lines of defence. Soon afterwards, following on the remarkable improvements brought into military organisation, the point of view altered. The vast plan of General Sere de Riviere was modified several times before it was entirely executed.

In May 1878 the Committee deleted from the original plan works which had been contemplated at Dieuze, Bazeilles, Gondreville, Epernay, Nogent, Montereau and Chagny.

The progress of artillery also made more recent modifications necessary.

Some iron turrets had to be placed in certain forts, whilst others were given up.

The revolution which has taken place since explosives have been used has also diminished the importance of fixed defensive works.

Modern war seems to demand especially vast spaces, rapid mobilisation, a singular capacity for making use of the ground, and an excellent organisation of the commissariat. These data are, so to speak, in contradiction with those which had inspired General Sere de Riviere.

It must be acknowledged, however, that during those years when vanquished France, just beginning to rise again, felt under the threat of a second war, these rapidly-erected fortifications contributed to the reassuring of the country, allowed it to regain its strength, and helped to restore to it that confidence in itself which has ended by earning for it the confidence of others.

Now, obsolete without having been used, like so

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many other manifestations of human activity, these fortifications remain standing, a witness to the patriotic impulse which erected them.

France willed to live, and proved it by the efforts she accomplished.

IV

The Easter recess was a short one (March ^{Easter} Holidays' 29th to May 12th, 1873). The delay was sufficient to enable the Government to rule its line of conduct and to come back to the Assembly with a definite programme and settled plans.

The question was whether the Broglie Cabinet would endow France with more durable institutions, or whether the country would seek for other guides ; or, to speak more accurately, whether the majority would keep at its head men who intend to lead it, perhaps a little roughly, towards the port of salvation, or whether it preferred to float down the stream. A party-cabinet, or a business-cabinet; this was the dilemma posited by M. Raoul Duval on January 12th.

Among the apparently incoherent and contradictory debates which had occupied the first session of the year 1873, a political work had been pursued. The Government and the Assembly sought for the formula of a less precarious Government.

It had not been laid upon the Commission of Thirty to edit a constitution. " Constitutions solemnly promulgated are no longer the fashion," said the Due de Broglie. Perhaps, too, he thought it wiser to act without talking about it ; moreover, this pompous title was not appropriate to the circumstances.

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The competent Committees, and notably **the** Commission of Thirty, were asked " to elaborate the essential organs of a temporary Government."

First, as was indeed right, the electoral system. On March 21st, M. Batbie had laid on the table his report on the Electoral Bill.

Other work was being carried out on parallel lines. The Decentralisation Commission had made little noise during the three years that it had been in existence ; it was now suddenly awakened and anxious to be noticed.

It was conducted by a man who did not intend to be forgotten—M. Ernoul. M. Ernoul thought that France had not realised all that was owing to him, and he wished the debt to be greater still; he wished to endow his country with an electoral law. Is not a commune the molecule of a State ? It was by it that a beginning should logically be made.

Therefore, our " brave decentralisers," as M. de Meaux calls them, set to work, and on March 7th, 1874, M. de Chabrol, *rapporteur* of the Commission, brought forth a supplementary report on the Bill relative to the communal electorate ; it was a veritable municipal charter.

Here were, then, two simultaneous Bills for the organisation of the suffrage. The municipal electoral Bill of the Decentralisation Commission, and a general electoral Bill from the Commission of Thirty. Which of the two was to take precedence over the other ?

At bottom, the two systems were analogous. In tackling, this grave question of the suffrage, both sides had had the same design, which was to " correct the defects of the law of numbers/" to " temper its

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power," by combining with it the "representation of interests,"¹

Let us speak of things as they are : the question was to organise a new representative system in which universal suffrage would be "reduced," "made purer," "filtered"; to "protect conservative ideas" and to insure, as far as possible, the influence of the middle classes.

Note the importance of these Bills. If they had been voted and applied, Universal suffrage would have been but one of the resources of the Government, instead of being its only pivot. The middle classes, by a clever balance of efficacious reservations and apparent concessions, would have kept a preponderating influence over the government of the country.

Followed by the Broglie Bill relative to the Constitution of an Upper Chamber, these Bills formed a constitutional whole which took things back to the point where they were in 1848. French history was brought back twenty-five years, and, so to speak, rectified.

Of the two Bills, the Ernoul-Chabrol Bill and the Batbie Bill, the broader, on the whole, was the first, that which established the municipal electoral system. A double precaution was, however, taken against Universal Suffrage: *the representation of interests* was assured by the adjunction to the elected Councillors of the most highly-taxed individuals; and the *representation of minorities* was guaranteed by the faculty of the *cumulative vote*.

The representation of interests was, in the opinion

¹ M. de Chabrol's first report had been presented on July 21st, 1873.

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of the Commission, the strongest dyke that could be opposed either to Revolution or to a Dictator :

Arm all interests, said the *rapporteur*, give them to understand that they can defend themselves efficaciously with existing institutions ; that no one will legally oppress them: you will dispel the vague anxiety and the uneasy hope of a reaction. If you leave interests uncertain of their future, with no guarantee but the toleration, every day more doubtful, of universal suffrage and the habits of an effacing power, it will not be long before they seek from a *Dictator*, failing the law, that security without which they cannot exist.

As to the representation of minorities, introduced by a proposition from M. de Bethmont, it aims both at equity and stability : equity first. The report quotes this passage from M. Ernest Naville : " A grave confusion of ideas is at the root of a mode of representation which is generally adopted. In a democratic State, the *right of decision* should belong to the majority, but the *right of representation* should belong to all. One idea has been merged into the other, and the right of representation, confused with the right of decision, has been attributed to the majority."¹

Stability too : " In great centres," says the report, " the half, plus one, is the poorest, least experienced, least cultivated part of the population. All those who represent or constitute the tradition, prestige or wealth of the commune may be thrust aside, even tyrannised over. . . . The *regime* of Universal Suffrage as it has been introduced into France, is revenge on the feudal system, it is not justice ! "

The plan was in conformity with this doctrine.

¹ Ernest Naville, *la Democratic representative*, 8vo (1868, Geneva).

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The municipal electoral age chosen was twenty-five, and the residential conditions were extremely strict for every elector who was not a native of the commune.

The representation of interests was assured by the adjunction to the elected councillors of the " most highly-taxed " individuals, in numbers equal to the Municipal Council, and designated by the tax-collector, according to the list of tax-payers. They were to take part in every discussion involving an increase in the taxes or a loan alienating communal property.

In communes of more than 10,000 inhabitants, each elector might " plump " for one candidate, instead of voting for a whole list; balloting should only take place once, but a candidate could only be elected if he obtained half, plus one, of the number of votes. Instead of being drawn up in order of the number of votes obtained, the list of Municipal Councillors was to be arranged in order of age.

The mayors and *adjoints* were to be chosen by the Municipal Council from among the electors and tax-payers in each *commune*. Their appointment was to be confirmed by the President of the Republic in the chief towns of departments or *arrondissements* and in the towns which had more than 20,000 inhabitants ; and by the Prefect in other *communes*. In cases where the Council and the central power disagreed, the mayor and *adjoints* were to be directly appointed by the President. Public-house keepers and managers of places of amusement were not eligible for the dignity of Mayor.

The special laws which ruled the administrative organisation of Paris and Lyons were to be maintained.

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Political
Electoral
Bill The electoral Bill, of which M. Batbie was the *rapporteur*, drew its origin from that which had been deposited in M. Thiers' name by M. Dufaure, on May 19th, 1873. The Commission of Thirty showed even more mistrust and restrictions than the Commission of Decentralisation. The Due de Broglie's direct inspiration was distinctly felt ; he had lately let fall a phrase which had been often quoted : " Universal suffrage lacks the sense of sight; it has but the sense of touch/'

Here, the desire to " protect conservative ideas " led to the following results : the exercise of the suffrage was considered not as a *right*, but as a *function*. Every function pre-supposes authority and aptitudes; it is according to this principle that the system develops which leads to the " representation of interests."

In this Bill, as in the other, the electoral age was fixed at twenty-five ; this *regime* was supposed to be in conformity with " equality," since, at that period of life, the active part of the male population should be under the flag.

The ballot by *arrondissement* was substituted to the ballot of a whole list for a department, the elector being thus better able to know his representative.

In order to weed out the suffrage of nomads, an elector was required to prove a three years' residence except in his native commune. The tax-payers inscribed on the " four contributions" list, figured *ex-officio* on electoral lists, whereas the non-payers had to solicit their inscription and to obtain a special decision. In communes with more than 2,000 inhabitants, the non-payer had to bring proofs of residence, proofs submitted to rules and limita*

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tions. The conclusion of the system was the creation of an "electoral register."

Causes of electoral incapacity were very widely enumerated.

The Commission was not quite consistent in hesitating about a compulsory vote with a penal sanction ; but it feared difficulties in its application.

The age for eligibility was postponed to thirty, and very precise residential conditions were determined. However, the Commission rejected the "eligibility census."

Notwithstanding the protestations of the Report, which accused itself by so many excuses, this was, on the whole, a new law of May 31st, 1850.¹

The "interests," as the new aristocracy called itself, had learnt nothing and had forgotten nothing.

The essential basis of the system to be founded rested on either or both of these two Bills : 1st, a parliamentary electoral law, directly inspired by the Cabinet ; 2nd, a municipal electoral law, more especially agreeable to the Extreme Right.

The organisation of the Legislative power, and that of the Executive, would naturally follow the principles adopted on the question of suffrage. The Government had made it known that it would take all necessary steps at the very beginning of the Session, and that an *ensemble* of wisely combined and co-ordinated measures would complete the system, perhaps a provisional one, but one which, when the

¹ The law of May 31st, 1850, extended from six months to three years the duration of electoral residence. The proofs of residence were most complicated. Almost three millions of urban electors, "Reds," were deprived of the right of vote.

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proper time came, should be crowned by the accession of a constitutional monarchy.

Thus, by this feint, everything which now seemed lost would be saved.

It was for the majority to decide. It could do so, for it only had to choose ; every obstacle had fallen before it, it was master of itself and of the country, and free to cut its own cloth for the present and the future.

It is indeed surprising that, having but to choose, it should not even know what determination to take, and, having but to will, it should prefer to remain motionless and powerless ; that the two fractions of the majority which, when the Monarchical Restoration was in question, had already madly fought, rent and annulled each other, should not be more capable when their own interest or, rather, what they looked upon as the salvation of the country, was at stake.

We shall now see what was the worth of the political capacity and the singular governing aptitude on which this part of the nation prided itself. Had it even enough authority over itself to save itself ? It did not need to take the trouble to be born, but only to remain alive.

During the parliamentary holidays, the chiefs had had time to confer together. As soon as the Assembly met, they should act and vote in a mass ; victory could only be secured at that price.

On the other hand, their adversaries, forewarned, also had time to prepare their batteries. Those whose principles and doctrines were limited to the overthrowing of a Cabinet, were preparing their traps. Attack and defence met at the same time and place.

The Legitimists did not wish the way made smooth

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for an Orleanist Monarchy. They disliked those haughty individuals, who, working for a cause other than the legitimate cause, were, in their eyes, illustrious deserters. They felt their own importance and blushed for it, but they knew not how to remedy it or how to become resigned to it. Anything, rather than submit to the yoke of those time-servers who now placed the majority, as, not long ago, the Pretender, " against the wall."

As to the Republicans and Democrats, they naturally did their utmost to frustrate a system of measures directed against them, and likely to put them for ever on one side. Democracy has the strength of a Hercules ; it would not be easy to bind it down in its cradle. Between the two extreme parties there was a tacit agreement, the adversary being the same : in this consists the whole art of politics.

Newspaper polemics directed converging lights from opposite quarters towards the half-wrecked Cabinet. M. Louis Veuillot's *Univers* reappeared on May 20th ; a terrible bulldog, fastened on the noble Duke's coat-tails. Other auguries were not favourable. Rochefort succeeded in escaping from New Caledonia. M. Beule, suffering from a serious disease, in despair at having failed, committed suicide, like Prevost-Paradol.

The Cabinet was far from being united, and its members brought more zeal into the defence of their own " groups " than into the maintenance of Government solidarity.

The Due Decazes, feeling himself indispensable, took up a haughty tone with his colleagues, and had, for instance, most lively altercations with General du Barail; " Monsieur le Due," said the latter, on one occasion, "I do not know whether you ever

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studied for the Bar, but I do know that you endanger a cause by defending it."

In the Council, there were men who did not speak to each other.

The Due Decazes, who had insinuated himself into **the** Marshal's favour, insisted on the direction of internal politics. He felt convinced that nothing could be done with the Extreme Right; he leant towards an understanding with the Left, and sought a fulcrum in the union between both Centres. His intimate relations with the Orleans Princes were well known. People concluded, not without reason, that the fear of Bonapartism and the disappointments of the " fusion " led the Comte de Paris and his friends towards an expectant policy, even at the risk of consolidating Republican institutions.

The Due de Broglie did not know which way to turn. In the Eure, he was obliged to consider the Bonapartist element; he had a great fear of it, even in the Assembly.¹

¹ See L. Passy, *le Marquis de Blosseville*, p. 422 and following.—I have before me a private letter in which the Due de Broglie explains, a little later, his situation regarding Bonapartism in the Eure. It is a singularly interesting description of the difficulties which were then to be met in governing against Bonapartists. " I hear the projected nomination at Evreux of General Montauban (a son of Marshal de Palikao). . . . I am not suspected. . . . Here, in our own department, I am of opinion that nothing is possible for the elections of senators and deputies without an alliance with the reasonable fraction of the Bonapartist party. But the only way to conclude this alliance is not to give to this party (which is very strong in our department) the idea that it can manage its affairs alone, and to the ardent fraction, led by Janvier and Raoul-Duval, the right to tell the others that they are too timid, and that they compromise a good cause through unnecessary scruples. Now, I assure you that Montauban's nomination, whatever his opinions or his absence

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The Extreme Right roundly led the attack against the Cabinet. It demanded declarations, leaving an open door for an eventual Restoration of the Comte de Chambord. But to make such concessions would be to alienate the Due Decazes and the Right Centre. In either case the majority would split and the Cabinet succumb.

Orders arrived from Frohsdorf. On April 25th a word from the Comte de Chambord's "bureau" ordered the Legitimist papers to prepare general opinion for the struggle about to take place. A rumour spread that the Comte de Chambord was in France, and about to take in hand the direction of the monarchical party. The Due de Broglie had no other effective support than the personal authority of the Marshal. He was anxious to consolidate this authority once for all. At the Council-General banquet, in the Eure, he said : " We all desire that Marshal MacMahon should soon receive by constitutional laws, the means to exert during seven years, for the welfare of France, the power which has been conferred upon him."¹

A short journey by Marshal MacMahon in the of personal opinions may be, will have the effect of exalting the opinions of Bonapartists throughout the department, and to make' them lose all prudence ; and, consequently, to make it impossible for us, and for me in particular, to conclude any sort of alliance with them. To-morrow the Prefect is already obliged to entertain at dinner : 1st, Admiral La Ronciere, Vice-President of the Council-General. 2nd, The Bishop, nominated by M. Segris, and still friendly with the whole party. 3rd, The President of the Tribunal, with whom Janvier always stays when he comes to Evreux. 4th, M. Simon, former Mayor of Bernay, who was at Chislehurst last March. If a single drop is added to this very full tumbler—and what a drop would be the son of the last War Minister of the Empire!—we might as well make a Prefect of Janvier himself! . . . —*Private document.*

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West, at Tours and at Saumur (May 3rd **and** 4th) distracted attention for a while, but did **not** produce the enthusiasm counted upon by the Cabinet.

Even before the re-opening of the session on May 12th, the " groups " were assembled in Paris.

The Constitutional Bills announced by the Due de Broglie were awaited. The plan was to attack the latter as soon as he laid himself open to it, before he had had time to deploy his forces.

The attitude of the Left was most circumspect. It feared to disturb, by too evident haste, the work of decomposition which was taking place among the majority, and by which the Left intended to benefit. At a meeting held on May 10th, M. Duclerc, Chairman of the Republican Left, explained in these words the intentions of the group. " The text of the Bills will show us whether they are the expression of a sincere desire to solve the questions which are now pressing, or but an artifice to elude them once more. Let us wait without pre-judging, determined to accept any clause of these Bills which is of a nature at last to give the country the conditions of security which it demands." There was nothing compromising about this declaration.

The Extreme Right was in great perturbation. This group had no direction, or rather, was without a chief. The Marquis de Dreux-Breze, punctilious and formal, was no better than an inquiry office. He contented himself with transmitting sibylline instructions which his own explanations made darker still.

M. de la Rochette, Chairman of the Group, had no initiative ; he followed the stream, but did not guide it ; M. de Cazenove de Pradine was a good soldier, obedient to orders. There was more material

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in M. Lucien Brun, but he was so involved, so mysterious, so recondite, that it was never known how far he was bound by his own words.

M. Ernoul was full of fire and "go" ; he had not yet got over being kept out of the Cabinet. His turn was now to come.

In order to make history lucid, even such parliamentary minutiae must be explained. A question of priority, as the technical phrase has it, was to decide, not only the fate of the Cabinet, but that of the country.

The principal debate was to bear upon the Constitutional *regime* most suitable to France. At the same time, the famous question of the Septennate was to be solved once for all: should it be a provisional Republic or an expectant Monarchy? Moreover, the Cabinet was attacked. Every kind of anxiety, of opposition, of animosity, was wide-awake. The Due de Broglie would remain Premier for ever if he won this game.

Now, at the decisive moment, a struggle
Question of Priority arose concerning a question of the smallest importance, in fact, of no importance at all—namely, whether the Parliamentary Electoral Bill or the Municipal Electoral Bill should be discussed first. The adversaries of the Cabinet declared with righteous indignation (passion is generally honest) that the communes should be attended to first, as the Commune should come before the State ; besides, the municipal question, not having a " constitutional " character in the same degree, was far less dangerous.

According to M. Thiers' expression, these were the newest " Chinese puzzles."¹

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Meetings of the Extreme Right took place one after another, on May nth, 13th, and 15th; it was necessary to work up some excitement, to practise this new part of members of the Opposition, to take courage and coolness with which to act—or to disappear if required,

M. de Vinols, in his *Memoires*, gives us an interesting picture, drawn from himself, of the hesitations, uncertainties, and anxieties of a sincere "*Cheveau-leger*." He changes his mind from one hour to the other, and only makes it up after it has occurred to him to read the two Bills which are being discussed. He is surprised to find that they are as like as twin-brothers. He goes to the group to warn others, but no one listens to him.

The worst was the way in which the Due de Broglie was treated ; he was overwhelmed with good advice, surrounded by friendly traps. On the 13th, there was a general agreement ; on the 15th, disruption. The Marquis de La Rochejacquelein said, before his colleagues of the Extreme Right, that they must " frustrate the manoeuvre prepared by the Cabinet, which consists in having recourse to dissolution in order to evict the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left and to govern with the Centres," This word " dissolution " is one of those which make parliaments shudder.

M. de Carayon-Latour declared that the projects of the Government were nothing less than a conspiracy against Legitimacy. " I can tell you in confidence," he added, " that the Marshal is tired to death of M. de Broglie, and will be thankful to be rid of him."

The Premier kept silence, seeking for safe ground on which to tread. He was obliged to decide on

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something, being urged to be firm. Finally, he maintained priority for the "most constitutional" Bill, that is to say, the Bill of the Commission of Thirty. Having declared himself, he was now caught.

The session opened on May 12th. An untoward incident concerning M. Piccon, deputy for the Alpes-Maritimes, was briefly settled.¹

On May 13th, the officials were elected. M. Buffet was elected President, but he only obtained 360 votes this time, instead of the 384 which he had had in November. M. Martel, Vice-President of the Left, was elected by 389 votes. This was significant.

The 14th being Ascension day, the Assembly adjourned to the 15th.

On May 15th, after a short address from President Buffet, the Due de Broglie mounted the tribune and introduced a Bill concerning the creation and powers of a second Chamber, and the relations to be established between the public authorities. This was the pivot of that constitution so cleverly introduced bit by bit. With the Parliamentary Electoral Bill

¹ At a banquet offered to the Franco-Italian Railway Syndicate, M. Piccon, who already was deputy for Nice before the annexation, expressed, in Italian, a hope that Nice would soon be restored to Italy. The President of the Council General of the Alpes-Maritimes protested at the opening of the session. In Italy, the official newspapers thought it well to condemn this manifestation, and to declare that the Italian Government had neither incited nor welcomed a separatist movement in Nice. The *Riforma* and the *Diritto*, on the contrary, gave vent on this occasion to their hostile feelings against France. In Germany, the Bismarckian press likened M. Piccon to the Alsace-Lorraine protesters. The *Speener-Gazette*, edited by Herr Maurice Busch, supported this thesis with conspicuous ardour.

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and the Municipal Electoral Bill, it composed a whole which definitely consecrated the Septennate, established the authority of the middle classes, and prepared, if an opportunity should arise, for a Restoration of the Parliamentary monarchy.

If it were voted, it should, within a short time, and only through the institution of new powers, bring about the disappearance of the National Assembly, and set in motion the new governing organisation of the country.

"The Due de Broglie, promptly recognising that he would not obtain an effective reform from Universal Suffrage entrusted with the election of the Chamber of Deputies, resolved to seek in another Chamber a counterweight against the might of numbers." Thus did the Vicomte de Meaux express himself.

In fact, the object really was to secure a supreme refuge, an impregnable citadel for the power of the middle classes, and for the "representation of interests." It was the official consecration of an "elite" and the pre-eminence over modern Democracy of "a mobile and varied aristocracy." An entirely new France lay in embryo in this Bill.

All parties were lying in ambush. The reception given to the Due de Broglie when he mounted the steps of the tribune was most noticeable. M. Thiers was in the room and probably remembered that other May-day when the same Assembly had shown him a similar countenance.

The tables were indeed turned. An attitude of indifference, faces turned the other way, a noisy shutting and opening of desks, obvious ill-will, tense, rigid looks—such was the spectacle presented by the room, whilst

Attitude
of the
Assembly

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M. de Broglie's shrill and lisping voice, his nervously grimacing face, were trying in vain to compel the attention of this Assembly, which paid no heed to him.

The reading seemed very long.

Those clauses which should have excited joy and enthusiasm in the majority passed unheard. The Cabinet was offering a sort of perennial rule to the ideas and interests which this majority represented ; it took not the least notice, merely curious to watch the downfall of the hero of yesterday—the victim of to-day.

First, the Due de Broglie read a statement of motives.

The Bill concerning right of constitution vested in the Assembly had been proposed " by order of the President of the Republic, and according to the wish expressed by the Commission of Thirty." The majority " did not wish to restrict the future of France to Republican institutions." But it had bound itself to " organise the Marshal's powers," A second Chamber would become the " intermediary between the Assembly and the head of the Executive."

This second Chamber, by its mode of formation, was to be opposed to the impulses and mobility of numbers. This formation was to be worked in such a way as to avoid the exclusion or misunderstanding of merit, intelligence, interests, acquired rights or tradition, by the " nervous mistrust " which is usual in democracies.

The Due de Broglie went on to explain the attribution of public powers ; an equal division, between the two Assemblies, of the originating and creation of new laws ; the High Chamber, or Grand Council

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being, moreover, endowed with judicial attributes, such as the trial, in cases of State crimes, of the Head of the State, or of Ministers.

The President was to have no responsibility, the Ministers being entirely responsible. The President was to have, in concert with the Grand Council, the right to dissolve the first Chamber.

Finally, the Due de Broglie ingeniously settled the question of definitive government by proposing that, at the end of Marshal MacMahon's seven years of authority, or in case a " sad event " should take place, the two Assemblies should meet together in a Congress and decide on the course to be adopted.

The Due de Broglie ended his statement by an appeal to the Left Centre. " Our ambition," he said, " would be to re-unite the suffrages of all those who have established this septennate by winning the valuable adhesion of those who, after opposing it in principle, have now loyally recognised it as the legal national authority."

Then followed the text of the Bill :—

By the first clause, " the Executive power, conferred for seven years on Marshal MacMahon, by the Act of November 20th, continues to be exercised with the present attributions, and as under present conditions, save for the modifications and additions contained in the present Law."

Clauses 2 and 3 stated that after the dissolution of the existing Assembly, the Legislative power should be exercised by two Assemblies : the Grand Council and the Chamber of Representatives.

Clauses 4 to 16 dealt with the composition, eligibility and electorate of the Grand Council.

This Assembly was to be composed of : members elected by the departments, members by right,

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and life-members created by a decree of the President of the Republic, promulgated in Cabinet Council.

The Grand Council The electoral college of each department was to comprise the present and former deputies, the sitting magistrates, archbishops, bishops, members of the diocesan chapter, permanent priests, presidents of Protestant and Israelite consistories, members of tribunals and chambers of commerce, present and former *bdtonniers* of the Order of Advocates, presidents of lawyers' societies, Deans and Professors of faculties, Generals of the reserve force, retired Generals and Colonels, civil functionaries, Grand-Cross, Grand Officers, Commanders and Officers of the Legion of Honour ; finally, those taxpayers who paid the heaviest land-taxes, to a number equal to two-sixths of the whole College, and those who paid the heaviest stamp duties to a number equal to one-sixth of the whole college.

For the department of the Seine, the electoral college was also to comprise : the members of the State Council, of the Court of Cassation and the Court of Accounts, of the " Institut," of the Academy of Medicine, of the College de France, of the Natural History Museum, and of the National Library,

Each department to elect one member of the Grand Council when its population numbered 300,000; two, for a population of from 300,000 to 600,000; and three for a population of 600,000 and above.

Members by right were : Cardinals, Admirals, Marshals, and the Presidents of the Court of Cassation and the Court of Accounts.

The members nominated by the Executive might number 150, to be chosen from the following

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categories: high functionaries and members or former members of the Chamber of Representatives and Councils-General; former Ministers, Archbishops and Bishops; the President and Great Rabbi of the Central Consistory of French Israelites; the Presidents of the two Consistories of the Augsburg Confession and the Presidents of those two Consistories of the Reformed Church which number most electors ; finally, the Governor and Managers of the Bank of France.

The President of the Republic might choose ten members from among those citizens who had rendered signal services to the State.

The members designated by the Executive to be life-members; elected members to sit for seven years.

The reader's voice stopped; some rare applause was heard ; then the half-sleepy audience stirred. The *Officiel* notes " animated conversations among the numerous groups in the lobbies,"

These are the only indications which have been preserved to historians concerning the psychology of the Assembly in that memorable hour.

And the minutes state, coldly, that " the Bill was referred to the Commission of Thirty,"

Now came the electoral law, and the famous question of priority. The discussion was, by common agreement, fixed for the next day, the 16th, which was to be a decisive day.

On May 16th, at one o'clock in the afternoon, the Due de Broglie attended a meeting of the Commission of Thirty. The Premier himself decided the time and place for the strife ; he obtained a promise that the Commission should demand from the Assembly

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that the parliamentary electoral law should be **put** on the order of the day.

At half-past two, the Assembly met.

As had been "arranged, M. Batbie, Chairman of the Committee of Thirty, desired the Assembly to fix for Wednesday the 20th the first reading of the Electoral Bill.

It was then that an "obscure member from the Extreme Right," M. TMry, deputy from the Nord, rose and asked that the Municipal Electoral Bill should come first on the list. This decision had been come to by his group, just before the sitting : "The reason for this priority," said M. Thery, timidly, "is that municipal elections must take place before parliamentary elections," The struggle had begun.

M. Raudot, a most worthy man, attempted conciliation ; he proposed that both Bills should be dealt with simultaneously, one being considered as a counter-project of the other. He ingenuously called his motion a "parliamentary finesse," The "finesse" was received with laughter and deprecation ; M. Raudot subsided.

The Due de Broglie now rose. In the name of the Government he supported the Batbie proposition ; he dwelt upon it : "It is an urgent need. . . . The country wants to know where it is going The right of election must be tackled on its broadest side. . . . It is in order to testify to the necessity of voting the whole system of laws which is to provide for the future of the country that we claim priority for the Parliamentary Bill. The Municipal Bill will soon follow, and even—he added, with a slight turn towards the benevolent M. Raudot—

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the two debates might be conducted concurrently : it is a simple question of procedure concerning which the Government is not called upon to pronounce."

So this is what the Due de Broglie had come to!

M. Lucien Brun ascended the tribune—here was subtlety personified. He now came to free himself, whilst entangling the Premier. Never was a trap more carefully laid or more cleverly concealed:

Some of my friends, said he, convinced, like myself, of the utility and urgency of the Municipal Bill, are also absolutely resolved to place on the order of the day and to discuss the Parliamentary Electoral Bill as soon as possible. There is, therefore, on this point no divergence between the Government and ourselves. We do not admit that a different meaning can be given to the vote we are about to record, and I have pleasure in affirming that we desire to pass the Parliamentary Electoral Bill, and that, in the question of priority which has arisen, we in no wise intend to refuse to express confidence in the Cabinet. This being the case, there remains a question of procedure, over which the Assembly has full control. Therefore, nothing serious divides us. I wished to say this before the voting took place, in order to avoid any contrary interpretation.

Was not this admirable in its wily perfidy ?

This time the Due de Broglie lost some of his coolness ; he poured haughty contempt on M. Lucien Brun's subtle intervention whilst putting the question of confidence, as indeed he was forced to do :

The Government is infinitely grateful for the words just uttered by the honourable M. Lucien Brun, but their meaning must not be mistaken so as to minimise the importance of the vote which is about to take place.

There was " a prolonged movement," says the *Journal Officiel*.

Twice a sitting and standing division took place .

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after the first trial, a voice was heard from the Extreme Right : "*Qayest*"¹

The result was declared doubtful, though it was not so. But President Buffet wished that each should assume the responsibility for his vote, and a ballot took place. It was then 3.20, and at four o'clock the counting was finished. The Assembly rejected priority for the Parliamentary Electoral Bill by 381 votes against 317.

Fall
of the
Cabinet The Government was in a minority of 64, of which 45 belonged to the Extreme Right ; the Left Centre, the Left, and the Bonapartists, had voted against the Cabinet. Alone of the Left Centre, MM. Cezanne and Vacherot voted with the Government. M. Thiers voted against it. M. Dufaure, whose embarrassment had been noticed at the time when M. de Broglie held out his arms, so to speak, towards the Left Centre, submitted to the influence of M. Thiers and abstained from voting.

The Due Decazes introduced the Bill, approving the Postal Convention with the United States. This was the Cabinet's last appearance and perhaps an augury for the future. As the Foreign Minister came down from the tribune, the Premier left the Government bench and retired, followed by all his colleagues.

Now that the division had taken place and the Ministry was overthrown, the general constraint relaxed. Men discussed the true causes of the crisis ; calculations were being made, and various combinations proposed.

M. Raudot demanded that the Municipal Bill

¹ Baron de Vinols, p. 196.

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should be discussed. On being told that the end of the crisis must be awaited, he answered : " We may have to wait a long while." . . . And he added, " The Bill is most urgent. . . . I wish a little calm could be brought into such grave questions, for what we require is calm."

M. *Mettetal* (Right Centre).—" And common-sense especially.

M. *Raudot*.—" Yes, common-sense."

M. *Mettetal*.—" And tact! "

M. *Raudot* did not understand ; he insisted that the general discussion should be opened immediately.

Meanwhile, M. *Charreyron*, an important member of the Right Centre, wished to draw the moral of the day's occurrence :

I think, he said, that the actual question is this : Does, or does not, the Assembly wish to organise the powers of the Marshal?

Any party government would, at the present time, be a government of oppression. Salvation lies in the close union of those who, whether their convictions be monarchical or Republican, will now momentarily silence these convictions in order to give the country the rest it so much needs.

Therefore, the first item on the programme of the new Ministry must be the intention to organise the powers of the Marshal resolutely and independently of any party spirit.

Count *Rampon* answered, in the name of the Left Centre :

We opposed the Cabinet because it was a Party Cabinet. . . . I wish to say that, by voting against the Ministry, we did not intend to vote against Marshal *MacMahon*, and that we are ready to follow the new Cabinet in the discussion of constitutional laws. I say it in the name of my friends, if a Cabinet will govern without violence, in a moderate manner, and present laws in accordance with our opinions, which have always been Conservative, we will give our complete support to it and to the Marshal.

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The two Centres embraced each other on the ruins of the Cabinet of May 25th. The Assembly adjourned until Monday, May 18th.

M. Thiers was now avenged.

One year had been enough to bring about the fall of those who had overthrown him. He had fallen on the day when he had presented the plan of a Constitution to the Assembly ; M. de Broglie also fell when he offered a Constitution to the same Assembly. Both desired to emerge from provisional measures : one was preparing for the Republic ; the other was trying to bring about a Monarchy. Both appealed to Conservative ideas. Both had been applauded by a Monarchy. Both were set on one side, relegated among the " properties " of a drama which was being acted before their eyes.

What, then, did this majority want ? It was breaking its toys, contradicting its principles, and neglecting its own interests.

It is said that when Gambetta heard, in the Assembly, the constitutional statement of the Due de Broglie, he said to one of his friends : " If the Right is wise enough to accept this Bill, Democracy is postponed for another fifty years." ¹

The members of the Right refused to see that which the orator of the Left perceived so clearly. They refused the plank of salvation offered to them. It was the last bridge, and they allowed it to be wrecked.

Not often has one single year in French history, in time of peace, seen such a heap of ruins : the old Legitimist Monarchy, the Restoration of which had

¹ Vicomte de Meaux, *loc. cit.*, p. 632.

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seemed unopposed, was abolished for ever ; the July dynasty, losing on the one hand the benefit of legal heredity, and on the other the force of Liberal principles, was annulled and suppressed. A whole social and political order disappeared ; the middle classes lost their hold of the last remnants of influence which had been left to them by public consent. Everything succumbed on a ground undermined by discord.

What should have been the remorse of the majority if they had paused to think ! They had had sovereign control, and they had produced nothing, built nothing, preserved nothing !

Motionless and powerless, they had seen the charge which they had thought to keep so carefully slip through their fingers. Their own life as a party was oozing out with the fluid stream of their will and intentions. Loyally, conscientiously, they were constantly doing the contrary of what their conscientiousness and loyalty prescribed. They were so proud of their sincerity that they were not even surprised at their helplessness.

Step by step, they descended the ladder which led to abdication, but keeping their eyes raised to Heaven, in blind rapture over the fulfilment of Fate.

For Destiny was being accomplished through them, in spite of them, and therein lay their excuse.

The principle to which this majority owed its existence acted within it, but unknown to it : born of universal suffrage, it obeyed it instinctively. It is the inherent logic of the representative system that he who is elected should remain the prisoner of his electors.

When the country, overwhelmed with disaster, had required an incentive to be and to live, it had

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seemed natural to demand this of itself. The **will of** each elector had contributed to rebuild the bases of public order. On each stone of the new monument was inscribed the name of a citizen. Could these names now be deleted ? M. Guizot had said it : " The share of the Democracy cannot be regulated."

Thus Democracy, under cover of noisy parliamentary activity, was quietly working for its own interests. A social selection was taking place. A mysterious Will, stronger than individual wills, was enforcing its authority, arresting speech from moving lips, gestures from upraised arms, and unveiling hesitating aspirations which had lain hidden in men's hearts. Here are words from a witness, an actor in the play : " In effect, it was Universal Suffrage which had saved us in a mortal crisis ; since then, it had brought about none of those catastrophes after which a nation resolutely gives up what it has considered as a fundamental institution. We could abolish the National Guard, because it had originated the Commune ; we could not get rid of universal suffrage, which had been our help against that insurrection."¹

Universal Suffrage stood there, invisible, but present. It was present at each election as it occurred, manifesting its ever-consistent will ; it was present in July 1871, when the Comte de Chambord wrote from Chambord itself his first White-flag manifesto. It inspired in the worthy M. Chesnelong the three declarations to which the Prince could not agree. It stood by Marshal MacMahon when the latter, in spite of all his deference and abnega-

¹ Vicomte de Meaux, p. 627.

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tion, closed his door to the descendant of kings. It stood by the same Marshal when he affirmed **that** the rifles would go off of their own accord. It swelled Gambetta's sonorous voice when the orator said to the Assembly : " The grave-digger awaits you ! " It would have caused the hand to tremble which should attempt to sign the decree for a " *coup d'Eta.*"

France wished to manage her own business. It had been so badly managed for her ! Now that the hour had come to form a Constitution, it intended that this Constitution should be hers. Not yet versed in the art of preparation, she only knew how to put aside obstacles ; but, by an invincible, magnetic power, she wore out resistance and emptied it, as it were, before it was produced.

Majorities and governments were struck with impotence as soon as they attempted to dupe her. Neither by violence nor noise could anyone at that time do what she would not have done. Such were the ultimate consequences of the war. France no longer had confidence in any master. She wished to work out her own destiny.

And that is why she made a clean sweep on the eve of the formation of a constitution. Even for the opening period of transition, she put all party government on one side. She looked upon doctrines with suspicion, and would tolerate but a " business Cabinet," composed of men without enthusiasm, to assist in the mysterious labour which was taking place within her and from which she did not intend to be disturbed.

If any strong will remained hidden in one or other of the combinations of Ministers which were being formed, however cleverly concealed, it was about to be frustrated by the popular will which had frus-

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trated so many others. Through the vigilance of all, the most recondite designs would come to light.

After the Due de Broglie's scientific boldness, no one was likely to impose on the country.

This is indeed unique in the records of history. Here was a nation, witnessing the ruin of all its past, having no faith but in the present, henceforth dictating its will through the very mouth of those who resisted it, deceiving the wily, coercing the rebels, and deciding, in spite of haughty counsels and dark prognostications, to confide its liberty to the rule of the masses !

CHAPTER X

THE RECOVERY—THE ADVENT OF DEMOCRACY

- I.—Optimism of the French people—Impression produced on it by the war of 1870—The soil of France—Patriotism—National unity.
- II.—Prosperous years—Weather conditions—Production—Harvests—Industry — Commerce — Abundance — Wages—Public wealth—Rapid material recovery.
- III.—The Population—The classes in French society : the middle class—The people—The "new strata"—Advent of Democracy.

I

THROUGH the logical sequence of events, the National Assembly was brought to give France a Constitution.

It would be more accurate to say that the country itself "constituted" itself. No initial direction came from the Government. A "business Cabinet," a neutral Cabinet, came into power. As to the Head of the State, his functions were temporary, and he had voluntarily and decisively neutralised himself.

If ever there was a circumstance when the "unconscious mind" operated, this was on the day when, among somewhat slight parliamentary incidents, among apparently fastidious and incoherent debates, the Republic was founded. Founded by a majority of one vote, in an Assembly which was hostile to its advent!

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It was therefore the force of the situation, or rather the national impulse, which imposed this vote and fixed the ulterior destiny of France. The tendencies and ill-defined aspirations of the French people suddenly gathered around that one bulletin, which became a ferment of life and a principle of action.

It would be difficult to precisely state the obscure reasons for the secret and intimate labour which brought forth from the depths of being new organisms to fulfil new functions. Those dispositions, aspirations, and dreams, ill-discerned at the time, can now hardly be recognised except by their results.

A historical account would need to go beyond the Palace of Versailles, where the nation was represented, far into the remotest part of the country, and into the conscience of each citizen, in order to find out origins and causes.

From the ocean to the Alps, from the North Sea to the Pyrenees, a nation lived, felt, thought and hoped. Wonderful material; a murmuring and confused soul. A thousand voices breathed forth those interests, that soul ; those voices should be heard, that soul should be described.

Immediately after the war, from one end of the territory to the other, confidence was re-established, a vitality manifested itself which astonished and warned the world. France had resolved to live ; she was to find in the resources of the soil, and in her genius, the means of her recovery and progress.

French Optimism Vanquished, she remained great by her wealth and her works; she remained great by the magnificent procession of men which pressed to her side, forming a glorious escort ; lastly, she remained great by the intention she formed, first

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among European nations, to constitute the government of the people through the people itself, thus realising, at the very moment when she was suffering from such cruel injustice, a new progress towards the advent of Justice in humanity.

Three years had passed. France had taken up the thread of her regular life. Other nations might have been beaten down by such reverses ; conforming to the decrees of the conqueror, they might have accepted a humiliated and diminished life, dragging out a miserable existence under the weight of their burden.

It was quite otherwise with the French nation. It is not a melancholy people ; no more inclined towards protracted sorrow than towards long reflection, the vivacity of its impressions dries its tears as a ray of sunshine dries the quick shower of its mobile and changeful sky. The people began life again, without pausing to dwell on the misfortunes which had almost dried up the sources of life.

The French, quick to change their minds, are equally quick in making them up ; by reason of their very buoyancy they keep on the surface. Their vanity, which throws them in the way of danger, helps them to raise their heads in misfortune. Their mobility makes their troubles as transitory as their prosperity. This trait of the national character which finds strength in suppleness is expressed in two words by La Fontaine : " I bend, but do not **break.**"

The French have other qualities which are invaluable conditions of survival : a taste for industry, careful thrift. Ingenious and deft-handed, they are far more industrious than they need to be, under such a kindly sky, and on such fertile soil, in order to

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procure the necessities, and even the comforts, of life. The diversity of provinces, the variety of climates, and the complexity of races, cause a multiplicity of industries and resources which insure against complete ruin.

The thrift of the people counts for much. Each garret contains a year's produce in advance, in case the harvest should fail. Each Frenchman works for the future and accumulates for posterity, methodically retrenching from his comfort or his pleasure what will be required for the comfort and pleasure of future generations and heirs whom he will not even know. Thus is established, between successive ages, a continued solidarity which gives a robust permanence to the body of the nation.

The French have strong, but not deep passions ; they know neither tenacity nor hatred ; long rancour and obstinate anger do not dwell within them. Their violence, promptly excited, subsides and melts at a tear or a smile. The French love to love ; the impulses which astonish more reserved races, almost offended at meeting unexpectedly opened arms, are in perfect good faith.

This somewhat broad sympathy, this vivacious optimism, this invincible faith of the French nation in itself and in nature, reappear at every epoch of its history. After the Hundred Years War, and the " great pity of the kingdom of France," blossomed forth the times of King Louis XII. and the unforgettable hours of the French Renaissance. After the wars of religion and the Spanish invasions, came the reign of Henry IV. and the dream of the "*poule au pot*." The times of the Revolution and the years of the Empire, when the blood of France splashed over Europe, were succeeded by the idyll

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of the Restoration and the " *bourgeois* " era of Louis Philippe : the same men became shepherds instead of wolves, and soldiers tilled the soil.

More frequently these blessed periods of convalescence are caused in France by a return to the life of the fields. The strongest and deepest sentiment of the race is attachment to the soil. Even dwellers in towns, travellers, intellectual workers, preserve some connection with the land ; they have either just left it, or are presently returning to it.

Return
to
Nature The land of France has unrivalled attractions : foreigners celebrate it ; but they cannot, like the children of those happy fields, penetrate the charm which emanates from the maternal soil.

A rich Norman orchard, shedding its fertile snow under the first spring breeze ; a sweet-smelling vine perfuming the air whilst the scythe is cutting down the June hay-crop ; long plains of cornfields, golden in August like the labourers' dreams ; green pastures sheltered behind hedges with their wandering white Morvan cattle ; flexible rivers dragging their silver ribbon leisurely through the meadows ; forests where varied game is tracked by barking dogs ; white roads reaching the distant horizon ; ancient farms crowning graceful hills ; the village steeple pointing to the sky ; an old cemetery hiding its wooden crosses in the long grass ; the blue smoke of cottage chimneys rising in the peaceful evening sky ; — all that measured activity, those daily emotions, unperceived on account of their very regularity, touch the soul and leave an impression that nothing can efface.

The gentleness of Nature leads to a gentle life and creates sociability, which is one of the characteristics

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of the race. When clear sunlight brightens the sky and the heart of man, it would be impossible not to exchange kindly open greetings. " Good neighbour, good morning/' says the French proverb.

Substance abounds, and men gather together to enjoy it in common. Before the merry hearth, winter evenings invite tales and song ; the vintage ends by joining hands for a dance ; the warmth of wine and love penetrate into hearts through entwined arms. On the village green, at the time when waggons return loaded with heavy sheaves, old people sit and talk of the traditions of their forefathers : Nature teaches her calm and sincere lesson.

Small towns agglomerate denser and more polished populations ; conversation is carried on from neighbouring door-steps ; it is true that the passions of a narrow life sometimes become excited, sometimes injurious. But, however vivid these passions may be, they remain on the surface, contained by a fear of disturbing the prevailing peace, or of offending against good manners.

In large towns, human crowds reveal the soul of humanity in their movements ; in troublous times, they experience deep commotions and gather in masses round those points towards which the world seems to be inclining ; on days of rejoicing, they give vent to startling manifestations and celebrate the glory of nations on glorious anniversaries.

Fraternity But, whether lost in distant villages, or indistinguishable in large crowds, all French people feel the same need, the same yearning for each other. They must share their emotions ; their souls draw together and fraternise. In France, **Man** is least a " wolf " to Man.

From this constant contact comes the habit of

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mutual help, of reciprocal relief, and this other sociability, more exquisite than the first, to which France has given a name : " Fraternity," There is no more beautiful word, for it adds sentiment to the idea of Justice, the basis of society.

It fills the heart of this people when it is left to itself; it is even sometimes carried to the extent of a sort of cosmopolitan sentimentality. Beyond the family, the nation, it would, in a larger embrace, include Humanity itself.

When Fraternity remains within the bounds drawn by nature, which limit it to one race and one language, it finds its clearest and most durable expression in the cult of the Fatherland. The love of the soil, the stability of the home, the continuity of effort, the fraternity of citizens, are the lessons which have developed in every Frenchman a lively and active patriotism.

The Fatherland is not merely a common pride, an identical ideal and tradition : it is a concept of the intelligence, an assent of the will, an impulse of the heart.

The Fatherland is an object of love ; a love which is an inclination of the being, like the love of a mother for her children, and of children for their mother. The Fatherland lies above all the accidents of existence and of history : *one and indivisible*, as the French Revolution put it. It belongs to each and to all; it surrounds men like the air which they breathe ; it holds them in such a grip that their own will is not sufficient to free them from its embrace. Born of nature, the work of centuries, a communion of souls, it could only be destroyed by an upheaval of natural order, the inverted effort of centuries, an insurrection of wills and the annihilation of a race.

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A feeling so powerful and so simple naturally escapes oppression. Nations, provinces, families, citizens, have given themselves to the country and renew the gift daily, by a continual effusion. No violence, no artifice, could prevent a flower from offering its perfume, a soul from giving its essence—Love knows no bounds.

When Bismarck was attempting before the Reichstag to explain the reasons why Alsace and Lorraine remained attached to France, he offered a somewhat heavy explanation. "It is," he said, "because these provinces are proud to think that Paris, great Paris, belongs to them . . ." It was not Paris only : France belongs to the whole of France.

One and indivisible : the Revolution saying is the base, the formula, of the French Constitution. Nothing can alter its authority or touch the spontaneous union of all those who, either publicly, or in their hearts, perpetuate this adhesion.

And it was this latent faith which enabled France to bear the sentence of Frankfort. A conquest had taken place, but there was no separation. Souls could fly across the frontier. The name of France is present wherever French sentiment dwells.

So people resigned themselves to peace because, human liberty being invincible, nothing could alter the intimate consciousness of the country.¹

France now set to work again.

¹ These ideas have been expressed by a man who well represents the average feeling of the time, M. Caro, in a course of lectures delivered at the Sorbonne, in June and July, 1871 : "The real bond of the Fatherland, as of the family, is love, sympathy, the communion of souls. That is why the idea of the Fatherland remains invincible and indestructible. The external and material unity may be broken by violence, but the moral unity which is

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II

Nature began the work of reparation—Nature and the wonderful soil of France.

All those who lived through those days can remember the joyful surprise which was felt everywhere when, after the terrible times and the implacable winter of 1870-1871, the sun suddenly emerged from the clouds and its comforting warmth enveloped the land.

This was not a mere impression, an illusion, a physical reflection of the inward joy caused by the end of disasters and reviving hope. France actually felt as though an indulgent Nature were soothing her with a motherly caress. It was long since such lovely weather had been experienced.

The Weather In 1870 the average temperature was $9^{\circ}57^1$; in 1871 it was only $9^{\circ}31$.² The months of December and January, the months of battles and disasters, when the troops suffered so much, were exceptionally rigorous.³

Now, in 1872, the wind changed ; the mean tern-

the best part, on which the very idea of patriotism rests, eludes every blow and defies conquest/'—*Revue Rleue*, 1871, p. 106.

¹ Centigrade.

² These and following figures are taken from the collection of *Annuaire Statistiques*, published by the Ministry of Commerce.

³ Concerning the extraordinary low temperature of the winter, 1870-1871, see M. Harold Tarry¹'s *Memoir* on Storms, etc. " In December 1870, a cyclone, which came from the polar regions at the very coldest season of the year, brought into France an icy temperature. Every one in France still remembers the immense quantity of snow which fell on Christmas Eve, during the war. The whole of France was shrouded under a sheet of snow so thick that no one remembered having seen anything like it. In the Aveyron, where I happened to be staying, it took forty-five days to melt."—Figuier, *Annee scientifique* (1872), p. 162.

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perature rose to $10^{\circ}97$, and during several years, kept the following high averages : 1873— $10^{\circ}12$; 1874— $10^{\circ}30$; 1875— $10^{\circ}17$; 1876— $10^{\circ}57$; 1877— $10^{\circ}43$. In the spring, the sun smiled through benevolent showers ; in 1870, the average rain-fall in Paris had been 413 millimetres ; in 1871,—521 millimetres ; in 1872—686 millimetres ; in 1873—598 millimetres ; in 1874—447 ; in 1875—497 millimetres ; in 1877—654 millimetres, and in 1878—638 millimetres.

The summers were warm and dry ; the average heat in July 1872, 1874, and 1876 was above 19^0 , and harvest-time was clear and fine. This impression of revival was specially marked in 1872 and 1874.

Food was plentiful: lofts and barns hardly sufficed to take in the harvest. The production of wheat rose in 1872 and 1874 to figures which had never been reached, even when France still included the two prolific Eastern provinces, and those figures have never since been surpassed. In 1872, a harvest of 121,000,000 hectolitres of wheat, representing about 3,000,000,000 francs. The harvest of 1873 was mediocre, only 81,900,000 hectolitres, about 12.04 hectolitres to an hectare. For the first time, American wheat was called in to make up the deficit, and prevented a rise in the price of bread. But in 1874, the wheat harvest reached 133,130,000 hectolitres, representing about 3,250,000,000 francs in one year. It has been said with truth that the net profit of those two magnificent harvests sufficed to cover the amount of the war indemnity.

Wine Other sources of wealth were equally abundant. The potato harvest reached, in that period of three years, totals never to be surpassed :—120,500,000 hectolitres in 1873 ;

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148,000,000 hectolitres in 1874, and more than 124,000,000 hectolitres in 1875 ; a production of 102, 126 and 103 hectolitres to the hectare, instead of the normal 90.

French vines, already attacked by phylloxera, resisted however ; it seemed as if they would cure themselves of their own accord. Those summers were the " swan's song," as it was said in vineyards—54,920,181 hectolitres in 1872 ; 36,000,000 only, it is true, in 1873 ; but, in 1874, almost 70,000,000 hectolitres, as in 1869 ; finally, in 1875, 78,000,000 hectolitres marked the climax of French wine-production. Quality rivalled quantity ; never was there better wine, either from great vineyards or inferior grapes ; it uplifted the soul of the nation. A few *gourmets* still, in these days, sample a bottle of Chateau-Laffitte 1875, in order to appreciate what old French wines have been. This vintage, which was sold in the following year at an average price of 25 francs per hectolitre, produced nearly 2,000,000,000 francs.

The culture of the beet, the " vine of Sugar the North," yielded analogous results. Between 1867 and 1875, in spite of the two critical years so injurious to industry, the production of refined sugar was doubled :—1867-1868, 198,000,000 kilogrammes of refined sugar ; 1875-1876, 406,000,000 kilogrammes. The rich Northern regions yet unrivalled in this respect, procured for French exportation one of its most profitable sources.

Other products offered the same marvellous abundance ; in the fields, every variety of fodder and industrial vegetable product ; in pastures, farm-yards, and on sea-downs, cattle, sheep, horses, poultry, and domestic animals ; in plains and

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forests, game, never more plentiful; in gardens, vegetables, fruit and flowers, of which the sale and exportation assumed European importance; in orchards, cider-apples ; in hop-fields, hops ; finally, the extract from the excess of all this wealth born of sunshine, the supreme product of vegetable fermentation, alcohol (pure), rising from 1,340,000 hectolitres in 1869 to 1,600,000 in 1870-1875. It is impossible to form an idea of the resources and help which the land of France offered at that time to Man, who had put his trust in her bounty.

The richness of the soil was increased by treatment, by manures, and by the choice of seeds improved by new methods ; a more intensive mode of culture was inaugurated. The confidence which presided over these evolutions was such that it was believed for a time that the land would be sufficient to heal the wounds of the nation. Leases were renewed on such high terms that prudent people began to wonder whether peasants had not a sort of infatuation for the land to which they are attached in such an exclusive and grasping fashion.

Industry Industry, properly so-called, is not in France, as in other countries, the thermometer of public wealth. Human labour is scattered in too many different directions. How can we gauge the profits of carters, blacksmiths, saddlers, tanners, agriculturists, gardeners, quarry-men, bricklayers, sawyers, cobblers, tailors, small haberdashers, etc., who, whether in villages or country towns, compete with large producers and enrich, through a series of limited though continuous efforts, a nation which is rather industrious than industrial.¹

¹ In the greater number of industries, especially those which are inspired by the fine-arts, taste, or fashion, the work is merely

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Statistics show that " the great industries " at any rate, had their share of the general prosperity.

War in itself is a cause of activity and production. Hundreds of thousands of men have been fed, clothed, carried and armed in exceptionally rapid and onerous conditions ; the enemy's troops have been lodged and fed ; requisitions and indemnities have emptied shops and depositories ; business has been arrested all over the country for long months. Delays must be made up, ruins restored, gaps filled.

New needs are clamouring in every direction : the whole country wants renewing, cities and houses must be rebuilt, fortresses erected, arsenals furnished ; guns, rifles and steel weapons must be remodelled ; lost railways replaced, insufficient lines duplicated, canals dug or connected, bridges re-made, roads mended, etc. Universal ruin causes universal work.

Trade between nations was at that time already so well-established that foreign countries had suffered from the momentary disability of France ; they were impatiently waiting for her to resume her place in the commercial family. Orders poured in. An activity, which was not to slacken for a long time, manifested itself immediately after the conclusion of peace and the end of the Commune.

Notwithstanding the loss of two provinces, which were amongst the most laborious and most productive by artisans working in their own homes for a *clientele* of manufactures, shopkeepers, and consumers. The latest inquiry of the Paris Chamber of Commerce (1872) has brought this fact to light by stating that out of 101,000 artisans established in that city, 62,000 work alone, or with the help of one assistant or apprentice."—Le Play, *La Reforme sociale*, vol. ii. p. 32. See also Lucien March, *La distribution des entreprises selon leur importance*, 8vo. Nancy, 1901.

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tive, France, without a perceptible weakening of her faculties and technical ingenuity, was ready to comply with the demands made of her.

Mines The production from the mines of mineral fuel, which, in 1860, had yielded a value of 96,000,000 francs, and, in 1869 (including Alsace and Lorraine), a value of 156,000,000 francs, yielded, in 1871, 164,000,000 francs ; in 1872, 212,000,000 francs ; in 1873, 290,000,000 francs ; in 1874, 279,000,000 francs ; in 1875, 270,000,000 francs.

The production of pig-iron, which had reached, in 1869, a value of 126,000,000 francs, rose in 1872, to 147,000,000 francs ; in 1873, to 190,000,000 francs ; in 1874, to 168,000,000 francs, and in 1875, to 156,000,000 francs. That of iron and steel, which had been, in 1869, 245,000,000 francs, became, in 1872, worth 314,000,000 francs ; in 1873, 362,000,000 francs ; in 1874, 320,000,000 francs ; in 1875, 311,000,000 francs.

The machinery of " great industries " represented, in 1870, on the eve of the war, a total of 336,000 h.p. ; in 1872, 338,000 h.-p. ; in 1873, 362,000 h.-p. ; in 1874, 382,000 h.-p. ; in 1875, 410,000 h.-p. ; and in 1876, 427,000 h.-p. : showing a total increase of almost 100,000 h.-p. for that short period. This increase, indicating persevering activity and confidence *in* the future, was not destined to stop, for, at the end of the century, in 1900, there was in France a total of 1,791,354 h.-p., with a gain of 1,475°°o h.-p. in thirty years.

Railroads Railways repaired the losses and injuries which they had sustained. In 1870 France had 18,000 kilometres of railroads ; already, in 1875, there was an increase of 3,000 kilometres, and, in 1878, of 6,000 kilometres, the aggregate

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reaching 24,456 kilometres ; and this, before the general plan of construction, soon afterwards proposed by M. de Freycinet, had been contemplated, a plan of which the execution was to bring about a total of 38,000 kilometres. The French railroad system was therefore doubled in less than thirty years, and the development of labour and rolling-stock followed in proportionate progression.

Public rural and national roadways were repaired and multiplied in such a way that this special feature of French rural districts seemed in no wise affected by the diminution of resources or the augmentation of taxes. Never were French roads more beautiful or more numerous. The smallest villages diligently pursued the care of rural roads, so felicitously initiated under the second Empire.

The merchant navy experienced as yet nothing in the nature of a crisis ; though the total tonnage of sailing ships diminished, as everywhere else, that of French steamboats rose from 151,000 tons in 1870 to 185,000 tons in 1873, and to 277,000 tons in 1880. Harbour registers, which showed 6,034,000 tons in 1869 indicated 8,943,000 tons in 1875, and 13,322,000 tons in 1880. Here again, a firm confidence in the future was evidenced by these statistics.

The industrial production of textile fabrics followed the following progression :—

Manufactured cotton materials : — in 1869, 124,331,000 kilogrammes ; in 1874, 133,527,000 kilog ; in 1876, 157,859,000 kilog.

Raw woollens imported into France :—in 1869, 108,000,000 kilogrammes ; in 1871, 102,000,000 kilog ; in 1873, 120,000,000 kilog ; in 1874, 117,000,000 kilog ; in 1875, 127,000,000 kilog ; in 1880, 151,000,000 kilog. The [exportation of woollen

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fabrics, one of the most interesting branches of French industry, rose from 262,000,000 kilog in 1869 to 317,000,000 kilog in 1876.

The exportation of silk goods rose from 410,000,000 kilogrammes in 1869, to 478,000,000 kilog in 1873 and 415,000,000 kilog in 1874 ; it fell to 376,000,000 kilog in 1875, and 296,000,000 kilog in 1876. This was the critical epoch when silk-worms were struck by disease, whilst vines were attacked by phylloxera. We know how valiantly the country, after so many trials, bore this double disaster.

General Production is not everything; relations,
- Activity trade bargains, consumption, wages, savings, and the payment of public charges, place us in a position to appreciate under all its aspects the material recovery which so rapidly followed upon such serious events.

In 1869, the Post Office delivered 357,000,000 letters ; in 1872, in spite of the 25 per cent, increase on the price of stamps, 342,000,000 letters were carried ; in 1874, 350,000,000 letters and 16,000,000 post-cards ; in 1875, 367,000,000 letters, plus 20,000,000 postcards ; 1876, 381,000,000 letters plus 27,000,000 postcards ; in 1880, 530,000,000 letters plus 30,000,000 postcards. The receipts of the Telegraph Office were :—in 1869, 11,000,000 francs ; in 1873, 16,000,000 francs ; in 1876, about 20,000,000 , francs, and in 1875, 25,000,000 francs.

Special commerce, imports and exports together, amounted to 6,228,000,000 francs in 1869 ; in 1876, to 7,520,000,000 francs, and in 1880, to 8,601,000,000 francs.

The export of manufactured articles followed this progression :—1869, 1,639,000,000 francs ; 1872, 1,905,000,000 francs ; 1873, 1,984,000,000 francs ;

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1875, 1,950,000,000 francs, and in 1880, 1,839,000,000 francs.

Let us now see what was the effect of this increase of labour on the welfare of the nation.

Wages in the departments of France (Paris excepted) show a remarkable increase from 1853 to 1871, rising from a mean average of 1 fr. 89 c. to 2 fr. 65 c, from a maximum of 2 fr. 36 c. to 3 fr. 36 c. and from a minimum of 1 fr. 53 c. to 2 fr. 19 c. Even after the war, the increase continued, and in 1875 the mean average was 2 fr. 86 c, the maximum 3 fr. 64 c, and the minimum, 2 fr. 34 c. In Paris only, wages remained stationery, around an average of 4 fr. 98 c.

The consumption of wheat, which in 1831 was 1 hectolitre 76 l. per inhabitant, had already gone up to 3 hectolitres 32 l. in 1878 ; after the war, it remained the same, with only a slight decrease at the beginning. The consumption of sugar, in spite of new charges, rose from 7 kilogrammes 3 h. per inhabitant (1869) to 8 kilogrammes 6 h. in 1880. The consumption of wine varied very much, according to the vintage ; it was 1 hectolitre 75 l. per head in 1869, and reached its highest figure, 2 hectolitres 14 l., in 1875. The consumption of meat, which was 1 kilogramme per head in 1812, reached 26 kilogrammes in 1862, 25 kilogrammes in 1872 and 33 kilogrammes in 1882.

The consumption of alcohol, including alcohol utilised in industry, was 2 litres 63 c. in 1869, and maintained this figure in 1873, in spite of new taxation ; in 1875, it came to 2 litres 82 c, and to 3 litres 64 c. in 1880. Thus was equilibrium rapidly recovered in every direction. This vitality of the nation is yet more noticeable in the movement of

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public funds, in the exercise of saving, the French faculty *par excellence*, and in the facility with which new fiscal burdens were borne.

The movement of money is a measure of private and public efforts ; now the ledgers of the Bank of France showed the following :

Years.	Cash Reserves.	Note Circulation.	Current Accounts, Mean Balance.	Portfolio.		
				Number of Bill	Amount of Discounts.	Mean Discount Rate.
	Millions.	Millions.	Millions.		Millions.	
1869	1,180,8	1,354,5	34«.6	5,656,650	0,634,9	2,50
1873	762,81	2,856,6	198,81	6,781,420	14,614,6	5,15
1878	2,072,7	2,339,0	410,9	7,274,839	7,003,4	5,18
1880	1.974,1	2,305,4	411,5	9.185.577	8,606,9	2,81

The price of the 5 per cent, rente, which at that time was a sort of regulator for all other securities, shows the following figures :

	Highest.	Lowest.
1871	96,10	83,00
1872	92,10	83,00
1873	9345	85,00
1874	100,50	92,05
1875	106,40	99,60
1880	120,85	115,35

"Highest prices" had therefore gone up 24 points, and "lowest prices" 32 points, in those ten years. The *ensemble* of the financial market denoted similar progress. The credit of France remained intact, as was shown by the enormous

¹ Monetary crisis.

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loans which had recourse to it and which might have overwhelmed it.

Notwithstanding the facility of investment, owing to frequent issues produced in small blocks, deposits in the Savings' Bank, diminished for a time by the necessities of war and by the call of large loans, soon resumed their gradual ascent.

At the end of the year, 711,000,000 francs was owing to depositors by ordinary Savings Banks, at the end of 1873, 545,000,000 francs only; but already, in 1877, the figure reached 862,000,000 francs, and rose, in 1880, to 1,280,000,000 francs.

In 1869 the number of bank-books was 2,130,768 ; in 1880, there were 3,841,104 books. The private fortune of the Savings Banks rose from 17,000,000 francs in 1869, to 30,000,000 francs in 1880.

The pension funds of the Mutual Help Societies which were 19,000,000 francs in 1871, rose to 32,000,000 francs in 1878, and 38,000,000 francs in 1880. The subscriptions of participating members, from 5,938,000 francs in 1871, reached 7,940,600 francs in 1878 and 8,728,000 francs in 1880. The numbers of subscribers were : in 1871, 489,006 ; in 1880, 640,613, plus 20,769 children.

Taxes were collected with the greatest ease, though budgets had increased in crushing proportions in less than ten years :

Years.	Receipts.	Expenses.
1869	1,961 millions.	1,904 millions.
1873	2,691	2,874
1878	3,427	3,347
1880	3,530	3,364

Annuities, which form a very approximate criterion

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of public wealth, develop according to the **following** progression :

1869	.		4,567 millions
1871		•	5,729
1872		•	5,078
1875	•	•	5,320
1880	.	•	6,382 „

The increase of mortality during the war and the Commune must of course be taken into account, as also the sudden and exceptional increase in the expenses.

However, the above figures show a manifest increase of 1,300,000 francs in live years, in the profits of a nation shorn of two of its finest provinces and overwhelmed with the incalculable ruin and many burdens accumulated by the war of 1870-1871.

From so many varied data, we must conclude that, at least from the material point of view, France, her land, her people, and her industries, had held firm and valiantly borne the consequences of defeat.

III

The French people, as it rose from its trials, felt a new strength circulating in its veins. As the land recovered prosperity, the body of the nation returned to life.

The 36,000,000 human beings¹ which then corn-

Population	1870	38,440,224
	1871	36,150,262
	1872	36,130,353
	1873	36,330,321
	1874	36,520,303
	1875	36,720,300
	1884	38,020,290

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posed the population of France, were scattered over a vast territory. The people of different regions hardly knew each other. They scarcely had any opportunities of contact except in barrack life during military service, and sometimes in the promiscuity of workshops. The masses remained buried in distant villages and country towns. The old custom of artisans' "tour of France" had fallen into disuse, and had not yet been replaced by excursion trains; local life was narrower than it had ever been.

The Frenchman of 1870 was of slow and "stay-at-home" habits. Taine wrote, in 1872, in his pamphlet on *Universal Suffrage*: "A French villager lives within a circle of four leagues' diameter; his horizon extends no farther."

The ill-blended diversity of the provinces, the difference between their traditions, customs, and dialects, kept them apart.

The South, truly Latin, a child of the vine, full of eloquence and political passion, astonished the North, slower, calmer, more judicious, often complaining of Southern exactions and want of balance.

Between the East and the West, a divergence was equally marked. In the East, where an appreciable mixture of Germanic blood and more luxurious habits gave tone and stability to the race, people lived comfortably and independently in their scattered houses, the broad roof of which sheltered the whole family; this was the land of equality, of tranquil moderation. The Western people, more ardent, prompt and imaginative, giving themselves up to Celtic impulse, negligence and reverie, remained lost in its green pastures, hierarchised under the weight of a traditional past.

In order to appreciate the multiple cross effects

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caused by the shock of the war on the dispersed molecules which form the whole of the nation, it would be necessary to distinguish between provinces, families, professions, between Frenchmen of the lower or middle-class, urban or rural, State employe or private worker, cultivated or illiterate, etc.

Yet let us remember that this obscure mass, unknown to itself, hardly known to those who direct its movements, is the producer of those riches drawn from the soil which brought about national deliverance. This mass alone lives in familiar intercourse with Nature, the supreme resource in disaster; through its constant labour and continued thrift, by its anonymous and sustained work, it is conscious of being the very essence of France.

Now this people began to wonder whether it had been rightly led, whether the assets brought to the common fund by its continuous labour had been wisely turned to account.

Little by little, the wounded, the prisoners, those who had been delayed, returned to their villages. The dead were counted ; many families were in mourning, mothers and widows made a black spot in every crowd—memories which can only be effaced by time. And then taxes rained like hail, and renewed the commemoration of defeat every time the tax-collector called for payment.

The people were indeed resigned and passive ; they submitted to the direction of serious and assured men—lawyers, doctors, functionaries, *bourgeois* in a word—who surrounded and led their existence. They were ready to resign themselves again if necessary ; however, it seemed as if there was a moment's hesitation. The physiognomy of things seemed

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changed. Such cruel wounds, the amputation of two provinces, the terrible bleeding of the Commune had modified reciprocal relations.¹

Within the social body, a displacement of atoms had taken place ; an impulse was rising up from below.

This was a surprise for the superior part of the nation, the *bourgeoisie*, which had acquired a habit of command.

The reign of Louis Philippe was not so distant as to be forgotten by the middle-class. 1848 had taken them unawares. The accession to politics of the popular masses had seemed to them an inexplicable cataclysm. " Saved," perhaps in spite of themselves, in 1851, they had sulked under Napoleon III. whilst accepting posts and honours at his hands ; scarcely rallied to the Empire, they were at once with M. Rouher and with M. Thiers.

At the very moment when the Cabinet of January 19th opened a new era before their ambitions and liberalism, the Empire had foundered."

¹ ". . . The people no longer believe in the Divine Right of this man, or in the providential mission of that other ; it belongs to itself only and knows it. It had given itself up, bound hand and foot, to the Emperor Napoleon III, and this act of faith cost it 10 milliards and two provinces. Enlightened by an experience so cruel, it feels that it will now find its profit in economising the expenses of a monarchical cult, and in attending to its own business."—Article by Edmond About in the *XIX^{me}-Steele*, May 2nd, 1872.

² See in George Sand, *Impressions et Souvenirs*, an interesting analysis and comparison of the moral situation of the *bourgeoisie* under Louis Philippe and under Napoleon III. " . . . What has become of the good Paris *bourgeois* whom Balzac saw so clearly, and whose dull and solid existence he invested with so much poetry ? They had to be reckoned with, they had . . . real influence over the people. . . . King Louis Philippe felt it, and

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But now came M. Thiers ; great times had returned.

The French *bourgeoisie* is honest, upright and industrious ; yet, born in the *pretoire*, it has retained the habit of the toga, and brings legal punctilio into its work, its morals, and its relations with the nation as a whole.

During the years which immediately preceded or succeeded the war, the characteristics of the *bourgeoisie* were determined neither by birth nor by the benefit of certain social privileges, but by the obtaining of a diploma—the *Baccalaureat*. This mandarin-ate became constituted between 1830 and 1860. The man who had " gone through his studies " was a personage. Between him and others, the line of demarcation was as deep as that, for example, which in Rome divided the knights from the plebeians. It was emphasised by external appearances, such as costume and the way the hair was cut : a high, silk hat, a frock-coat, and whiskers, distinguished the lawyer or civil servant, and made a sharp contrast with the blue *blouse*, *casquette*, and moustache, of the man who had " done his military service," or the clean-shaven face of the peasant. The Frenchman who is not dressed " like a *bourgeois* " knows before-made of the *bourgeoisie* the basis of his edifice. One fine day, it crumbled beneath him. The middle-class, having made its fortune, no longer liked revolutions, . . . it no longer had governing principles, a philosophy of its own, or any spirit of caste ; it no longer held together. These *bourgeois* had become aristocrats, hungering for honours and titles, devout even and *bien pensant*. . . . Their morbid vanity became mortal under the Empire. . . . There was no *bourgeoisie* left. . . . There only remain two classes, the consumers and the producers, the rich **and the poor**. Whither are they going ?"—Written in 1860.

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hand that there are some reserved spots which he may not inhabit or even enter.

The *Recueil des Cinq Codes* and the *Manuel du Baccalaureat* are the books on which the *bourgeoisie* lives ; it is preserved between their pages, as it is said that Englishmen exist on the Bible and Shakespeare.

The *bourgeoisie* owes to its origin a marked taste for labours of the pen and glories of manuscript, a boundless admiration for words written or spoken, respect for college lessons, favour for school-prizes and school-renown, and a classical taste for well-controlled opinions, measured gestures, attenuated colouring and well-proportioned demonstrations.

Equally distant from Parisian intellectualism and rural materialism, the *bourgeoisie*, both in Paris and in the provinces, acts as a buffer ; it unites, whilst it keeps apart, the other components of the nation, which through it communicate with and penetrate each other.

For Paris, the *bourgeoisie* feels an admiration not unmixed with distrust. For the lower classes, it shows incredible contempt and ignorance.

A son of artisans, or peasants, refuses to recognise the condition of artisans and peasants ; a foreman is harsh to his comrades of yesterday ; a smart bonnet has nothing in common with the white cap which preceded it. The vanity which is peculiar to the race and to the class becomes most marked at the precise moment when the fields or the workshop are abandoned for a shop or an office.

The name " middle-class/" of which the *bourgeoisie* is proud, is, in its own eyes, a certificate of good morals, of prudence and manners. Respectability and consideration are its rule of life ; if a suspicion

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of pharisaism lurks in this sincere nation, it is to be found in the heart of the *bourgeoisie*.

With all its qualities and faults, the *bourgeoisie* feels itself most suited to State responsibilities and public functions. And indeed, through its mastery of speech and of writing, it reigns, save in those times when action is necessary.

On the morrow of the war and of the Commune, circumstances were peculiarly fitted to a return of the *bourgeoisie*. It did not feel responsible for the errors committed before the enemy ; it had done its duty : most of the officers of the " mobiles " came from its ranks. The army, its natural rival, had lost its prestige. Paris, wrecked by a long siege and a horrible revolution, was dismantled and tottering ; the workmen of towns were repulsed or oppressed ; at any rate disgusted, for a long time, it might be thought, with politics and political illusions.

Therefore, under M. Thiers' leadership, the *bourgeoisie*, with a natural gesture, held out its hand to seize the reins.

But it had encountered certain difficulties, a certain resistance. Though it had not noticed it, the reaction against the Imperial monarchy had gone beyond it. In certain constituencies, the suffrage had bounded over the Louis Philippe epoch, and had gone right back to the Restoration. The nobility, forgotten for a whole century, was now brought to light again; survivors from another age, dukes, counts, marquises, had re-appeared, and these aristocrats, who had fought like brave soldiers, now posed as parliamentarians, and spoke the language of liberty.

The clergy had profited even more by the altered circumstances. Not only in the Western provinces, but everywhere, hearts had been touched by a sin-

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cere emotion, and believing crowds prostrated themselves at the feet of the Saviour. The Bishops of the invaded dioceses, Bishops Pie, Mathieu, Dupont des Loges, Freppel, Dupanloup, had evoked the glorious memories of the Bishops of Gaul. Orators, priests, and even soldiers, carried the holy Word, either into churches, or into lay society ; monks had joined in the fray, dragoons became preachers.

So that the *bourgeoisie*, staggered in its Voltairean agnosticism, felt hesitations and scruples.

Universal On the other hand, the masses now freely
· Suffrage made use of universal suffrage. Until now, it was merely a name. Forged by the revolution of 1848, this powerful weapon had been handled by the Empire, who had chiefly used it to strike the heavy blows of the Plebiscites. The *bourgeois* Opposition had attempted to lift the staff of Hercules ; now it saw it in the hands of peasants and labourers. As it was destined to insure victory for numbers, it meant the birth of a new *regime*.

Amongst the *bourgeois*, a schism took place : some, afraid of this new peril, tried to return to the past; others wondered whether it was either just or prudent to break with the people. Balanced between these two currents, the middle-classes hesitated, as did the men who governed in their name.

Lacking ideals or principles, rent by internal struggles and jealousies, constantly embittered by vanity, the national fault, diminished by the meanness of local life, from which it had been unable to free itself, the *bourgeoisie* submitted almost without resistance to the attraction and fascination exerts over it by the black and compact mass which was rising up and disintegrating it, and which it dared hardly name : the People.

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The People now had to be considered.

Alas, it was not " a people of demi-gods ! " rather, to quote current polemics, a people of " rustics,"

What were their numbers ?

There were in France, in 1871, 10,000,000 electors. Out of that total, 5,383,000 were employed in agricultural pursuits, 3,102,000 in industry, 410,000 in commerce, and 338,000 in divers occupations(cartage, railways, banks, insurance, etc.). There remained, in the so-called liberal professions, 356,000 electors, and among landowners, or various shareholders, etc., about 410,000 electors.

Out of the 5,383,000 agriculturists, the great majority—3,552,000—were landowners, and'made up in this way :—2,165,000 farm-owners ; 693,000 labourers owning small plots; 463,000 farmers ; 159,000 farm-managers ; 72,000 landowners, cultivating their own lands. Out of the 3,552,000 landowners, three-quarters, that is 2,711,000, were small owners.

We must also quote, as closely related to this rural mass, depending on it, or living on it, the 1,327,000 electors inhabiting the country, either day labourers (531,000) or rural artisans (894,000) or tenant-farmers (433,000).

If we add small shop keepers living in villages, market-gardeners, woodmen, etc., surveyors, veterinary surgeons, rural servants and similar employes, we have a new total of 514,000 electors, living near the agricultural mass and lending themselves to its every impulse.

Three million, one hundred and two thousand sectors were devoted to industries, among which

393,000 were contractors, or employers of labour; 05,000 employes of various kinds ; 54,000 servants ;

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1,590,000 constitute the labouring-men, properly so-called, paid by the day or task.

Commerce is represented by the following figures : 410,000 electors, of which 322,000 were employers; 73,000 clerks and 15,000 servants.

The liberal professions, even including State functionaries and men of leisure, form a total of 660,000 electors, their 52,000 servants and 45,000 employes not being included.

Those 660,000 had hitherto been the masters ; were they to remain so ? The author of the work from which we have borrowed these figures, and which was published in 1874, when the question of universal suffrage was being studied, concludes in these words : " The centre of gravity of the French economic system is placed very deep in the strata of the social body. This is, in politics, the equivalent of what is necessary in physics, for the stability of equilibrium." * Therefore, it is towards the inferior parts that stability and equilibrium must be sought for.

Were these popular masses organised ? In the towns, hardly ; in the country, not at all. In the towns, a rudiment of organisation had been attempted since 1848, and vaguely perpetuated under the Empire, until the Commune. Revolutionary schools had offered to the floating masses their rival chimerical systems. St. Simonism, Internationalism, Blanquism, and the dying Fouri^rism had fallen to the ground in May 1871.

These abortive attempts have been judged in the following terms by a sincere friend of Democracy, George Sand : " The Commune operates by brute force, without invoking other rights than contempt

¹ *Revue politique et litter aire*, 1874, January 3rd, p. 641.

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and hatred for all that is not the Commune. It proclaims the *Social and Positive Science* of which it calls itself the only depository, but of which not one word leaks out in its decrees or deliberations.

" . . . What Republic is this ? I see in it nothing vital, nothing rational, nothing constituted or constitutable. It is an orgy of pretended innovators who have not one idea, not one principle, no serious organisation, no solidarity with the nation, not the least opening for the future. . . ." *

This bankruptcy of the earlier schools left the people of the towns in darkness and in disgust. They felt that all the harm had not been done by them : they, in their strength and numbers, execrated such horrors. Their will had been usurped, their confidence abused. Ambitious men had climbed on to their shoulders in order to make themselves look taller. They had been deceived, and were to be deceived again and again.

As for the country people, scattered and molecular, lacking experience and cohesion, they were justly alarmed at the threats and attempts which were made against the ownership of the land—their only safeguard.

No doubt a more natural organisation should have existed, born of the relations which ought normally to bind the employer and the workman, capital and labour. A solidarity should reign between all labourers, bound as they are to a common task. But the misunderstanding which had arisen from the sudden development of great industries and from the introduction of machinery had increased

¹ G. Sand, *Impressions et souvenirs*, p. 59.

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under the Empire and had become **exasperated** under the Commune.

The ignorance in which the *bourgeoisie* remained concerning the people too often consisted of contempt, greed and insolent pride ; on the other hand, the poor, envious and vindictive, would listen to nothing from a class which they henceforth looked upon as being composed of enemies and "sweaters," The influence which a manufacturer, a foreman, an employer, a landlord, or a farmer, might exert through his advice, his example, his kindly friendship, over those whose hand obeyed the dictates of his will, was nullified. No counsel is well received when distrust believes it to harbour interested intentions.

The rural populations were therefore left to their ignorance and to their incoherent conception of life. The hereditary division of land parcelled out estates and broke up family homes. Small savings were wasted in miserly hoardings. The growing habit of absence spent in the towns the revenue of agricultural labour. Landlords now only knew their tenants through business transactions, such as the payment of rents and the renewal of leases, in which each tried to make some profit out of the other.¹

There were a few exceptions in the West where the "seigneurs" continued to live amongst the village populations, receiving from them, as a last homage, the electoral mandate ; and in the East, where a few attempts were being made to inaugurate co-operative systems and Provident associations between masters and workmen.

Thus the population of the provinces was rudder-

¹ See specially in Le Play, *Reforme Sociale* (vol. ii., p. 91), the evil caused by absentee landlords and (p. 131) the sudden development of factories.

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less, excited by the daily-increasing exigencies of modern life, without help and with no recourse but labour, contact with Nature, and the vague intellectual effervescence, a wave of which occasionally reached it from Paris.

And yet all parties, even those who
The
Now Social seemed farthest apart from a democratic
Strata conception, now turned towards those rural or urban crowds, knowing that power and the future lay with them.

Now that old institutions had foundered and the authority of the self-styled "ruling" classes was set on one side, who was to direct this "sovereign people"? Let us attentively consider, among the laborious democracy, those men who have only just left the ranks of the peasants: small employers of labour, shop-keepers, field-owners, husbandmen, horse-dealers, veterinary surgeons, schoolmasters, publicans.

They belonged to the people yesterday, they still do so in their habits, their everyday occupations, their appearance, sunburnt faces and rough hands. Yet their eyes are bright, their brows widening, some pride is apparent on their homely features. On their way to fortune, they face the *bourgeoisie* and speak their minds to it before entering its ranks.

They had at that time remained faithful to the Voltairean tradition. They had preserved the old national mistrust of "priestly government." Their feelings were a mixture of bitterness, intolerance, a pronounced taste—perhaps due to their serf origin—for sly and long-prepared machinations and occult influences, and at the same time a decided impulsiveness and "go."

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This new *bourgeoisie* was less icy than its elder; it had more ardour, more energy, more determination to be and to know; it was capable of efforts of will. It entered into the electoral organisations which were being formed; it became enrolled into Freemasonry.¹ which was prudently recruiting adherents in country towns and villages; it followed with passionate attention the marches and counter-marches of the electoral campaigns, so difficult in provinces where each knows all and when everyone is watched. Living very near the people, it had over it an immediate influence, distributing voting papers and leading electors to the poll. In fact, its share in Democracy was to act as a leaven.

If we look at the electoral body, its daily avocations, its idea of life, its dispersion over the vast ground which it occupies, we might apply to it Aristotle's words — for nothing under the sun is new:

¹ During the Empire, Freemasonry had the sanction of the Government. Prince Murat, Marshal Magnan, and General Melinet, succeeded each other as Grand Masters. In 1869 the office of Grand Master was abolished and replaced by the Annual Presidency of the Grand Council.

Freemasonry, which since the Conventicle of 1869 demands no profession of spiritual faith, has, since 1871, directed its activity more and more towards free-thought, social problems, and questions of education.

Its new tendencies were manifested in 1875 by the notorious initiation of Emile Littré and Jules Ferry. On the occasion of his initiation, Littré read in the *Clemente Amitie* Lodge a "planche" on positive philosophy with which M. Ferry agreed and the exceptional publication of which made a great stir. It was *d propos* of this double initiation, showing the vitality of Freemasonry that Louis Blanc and Gambetta became reconciled; they had quarrelled on account of some divergence of opinions concerning the tactics to be followed at the time when the Constitutional Bills were being discussed.

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" The class most suited to democracy is **that of field labourers**; democracy is easily established wherever the majority lives on agriculture and on the breeding of cattle. As they are not very rich, they work incessantly and only rarely assemble together, and as they do not possess the necessaries of life, they apply themselves to a labour which can nourish them and wish for no other good. To work is better for them than to govern or to rule where the exercise of power does not bring great benefits ; for Man, in general, prefers gain to honours."

But, if we contemplate that special fraction of the people which, half detached from it, is preparing to rule it, we must turn to moderns for a definition of it, for it belongs essentially to our own times :—

" Have we not seen the appearance, over the whole surface of the country—and I particularly wish to draw attention to this new generation of Democracy—of a new electoral political class, a new *personnel* of universal suffrage ? . . . Indeed, I foresee, I feel, I announce, the coming into politics of a new social stratum. . . . It has been felt that modern Democracy had emerged from the somewhat vague sentimentality of our predecessors. . . . We have to deal now with a new class, practical, experienced people, able in business questions, prudent and wise in politics ; whenever they utter a wish or pronounce a decision, this wish or that decision will show a special character, a special tone, which should influence the general direction of affairs in France. . . ."

Thus Gambetta, at Grenoble. The leader was encouraging those who had risen at his voice ; the young Tribune, with his refined political sense, had divined the fortune of that part of the nation which

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is pleased to claim for itself that great name, new in France : Democracy.

Was this the advent of the *regime* predicted by Montalembert and Tocqueville, admitted by Guizot himself and prepared by Louis Blanc ?

Democratic The sphere of political influence had now
Progress enlarged to such an extent that it included the whole of the social order. The transformations which take place, not only in France, but in all civilised countries, the increase of wealth, the pride and independence which it brings, the clear and simple feeling of equality, the diffusion of light, the facility of communications—all these causes act in the same direction ; masses increasingly numerous are called to the conscious management of public affairs. It is therefore Democratic Progress, both in the political and in the social sense.

We must note, however, that this was a tendency, not a complete or even immediate realisation. This work was progressing day by day, like life itself. The limits of social evolution and political evolution remained undetermined, merging one into the other. Current language did not distinguish them, and most precise and enlightened men confused them. The advent of Democracy, the Sovereignty of the people, the Law of numbers, the Will of the majority, Universal Suffrage, all these expressions covered a condition of things still in an inorganic state, and showing deep traces of the past, together with germs of the future.

In 1872, people were still using those somewhat vague affirmations which had been inscribed in 1848 in the proclamation of the provisional government which had introduced universal suffrage : " Every adult Frenchman is a political citizen. Every

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elector is a sovereign. Right is equal and absolute for all. The reign of the people is called the Republic."

Prevost-Paradol, who had no pretensions to enthusiasm, had given a similar optimistic expression to the same aspirations, in the *France Nouvelle*, 1868 : " The public power, coming from all, liable to be taken away again by all, obtained from all by a few solely by means of persuasion, and thus concentrated for a time in the hands of the best and the most capable. . . . Democracy rests on the idea that the greater number of citizens make a reasonable use of the vote and always discern what is in conformity with justice and common interest,"

These were simple concepts, traditionally descended from the old polemics of the *Contre-un* begun in the sixteenth century, renewed by philosophers, expressed by Jean-Jacques, which inspired the Assemblies of the French Revolution.

The Sovereignty of the People can only be realised if, by a tacit agreement, it submits to the law of majorities. The People can reign only so far as it consents to be but " half plus one." It is therefore not a right, but a fact, a solution, a last resource, and, as it has been said, " the power of the last word." ¹

The Law of Numbers itself is impossible to apply if a large population, scattered over a vast territory, is to be governed. The people cannot meet effectively and frequently for deliberation ; it is therefore obliged to delegate its powers to representatives. Jean Jacques, logical to the end, had declared himself the adversary of large modern states : " The

¹ See the penetrating and judicious work of Eugene d'Eichthal, *Souverainete du peuple et Gouvernement*, Paris, 1895, p. 8.

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greatness of nations, **the** extent of their territory, there lies the first and principal source of the misfortunes of humanity," He likewise detested a representative system: "Sovereignty cannot be represented."¹ he said.*

In spite of the Genevese philosopher's opinion, no other than the representative system could be applied to French Democracy. Thus did the principle of Sovereignty meet with another restriction.

Another fact shackled the principle : centralisation. Centralisation means traditional authority to a country with a long history, with a single capital, which thinks, acts, propagates ideas, customs, dictates fashions, laws, in a word, which governs, under any political *regime*. This centralisation is a benefit won by the struggles of a thousand centuries ; there can be no question of destroying it.²

As M. Tarde has it, "The greatest social authority in France in this century has been Paris."

And this tangible power is gathered, if we may say so, into two other powers, no less efficacious and no less indestructible : that of the Administration and that of opinion.

The Administration has existed as long as France itself. In its modern form it goes back to the times of Richelieu, Colbert and Louvois. With unanimous consent, it presides over the working of the social machinery. It is acquainted with every spring. It has the *savoir-faire*, the adroitness and deftness, which come from competence and authority. It is laughed at, from a distance, but bowed to at close quarters ; State secrets are kept in its drawers. **Its** cold visage ever remains unmoved. It represents,

¹ *Contrat Social*, book iii., chap. xv.

² See Dupont-White, *la Centralisation*, 1876,

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up to a certain point, that *intelligence without passion* which, according to the ancients, is the ideal of a good government. It holds together from the smallest village up to the summit of social hierarchy, a Freemasonry, a lay-clergy more powerful and better informed than any other society.

France has always submitted to this domination ; not only is it accepted, but preferred; it is towards the Administration that any complaint is addressed in case of trouble, anxiety or disorder. What an Englishman asks of a lawyer, a Frenchman demands of a functionary. In the recent crisis, the Administration—those black-stained clerks of which M. Thiers spoke—by its firmness, its stability, its impassive and methodical labour, has contributed more than any other portion of the social body, to the salvation of the country.

The units which compose Administration may be attacked, but it would be impossible to do without it. The movement towards centralisation constitutes the whole of the national history; to oppose it would be to act against the essence of public life.

Only one power is stronger : Opinion. Recently discovered, like electricity or steam, those physical forces unknown to anterior centuries, it acts on the whole of the social apparatus ; it shakes old institutions, excites modern aspirations, breaks down old formulas, sweeps away rooted prejudices and questions everything. It alone has enough penetrating power to reach the deeper masses. It shakes them into constant alertness and emotion, through intellectual, scientific, and artistic production, through publicity, through the Press, that unrivalled organ. A people could only be really free if it could rid itself of this perpetual suggestion.

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To recapitulate : The social transformation which took away their last authority from the " ruling " classes, which set the *bourgeoisie* on one side, or rather, diluted it by the advent of new social strata, instituted a new *regime* : Democracy.

But the word was but a symbol, the expression of an ideal. In reality the ten million French " citizens " who had a right to vote did not have an equal action on the progress of public affairs. The added votes only rarely and very approximatively expressed the will of all, or even the will of the greatest number.

In spite of all, an *elite* subsisted in this democracy. This *elite* was composed : of the old influences, of the " new social strata " of Paris, the capital, of the *personnel* of public administrations, and of all those who by writing, publishing, speaking or teaching, went to form Opinion. It acted continually over the masses, as Prevost-Paradol said, " through persuasion. " And when the masses voted and constituted a majority, they still submitted to the occult power of these diverse authorities.

It is therefore natural and necessary to seek in the feelings of the *elite* the reasons which caused the nation to act, at this time when the principles of the new constitution were about to be stated.

CHAPTER XL

LETTERS. OPINION. THE PRESS.

- I.—Literature after 1870.—Principal characteristics of the times—Surviving influences : Auguste Comte, Balzac, Victor Hugo, Michelet, George Sand.
- II.—Realism—Consequences of the War—Perplexity and disillusion—Renan—Taine—Flaubert—The Drama : Alexandre Dumas *fils*, Victorien Sardou, Henri de Bornier.
- III.—The Novel—Naturalism—Emile Zola—Alphonse Daudet—Poets—The contemporary Parnassus—Leconte de Lisle—Sully-Prudhomme—José-Maria de Heredia—François Coppee.
- IV.—Educational literature—Foundation of the School of political science—Democratic literature—Serial publications—Magazines and illustrated papers.
- V.—Opinion—The Press—Newspaper *regime*.—Great political party papers—The popular press—The halfpenny newspaper—The provincial press.

I

FRANCE, so cruelly stricken, wished to live. The richness of her soil, the labour of her people, the indulgence of Nature, had helped her. She now stood up; but she would not have been herself if a thirst for glory had not come back to her with the flush of health. As long as France exists, rays will emanate from her.

A rich intellectual, artistic and scientific harvest grew and developed during the years which followed the war. This, to foreigners, was a first surprise.

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France had been deleted from the list of great nations; she now appeared, shedding a flood of light. An active propaganda had been led against her, pursuing her defeat in the very face of opinion. But universal opinion had been misled or deceived : it was now turning back, slowly, unwillingly, but surely. There was still, in diminished France, enough strength, enough genius, to run a fresh race and to open fresh roads to humanity.

When the nineteenth century came into its long historical inheritance, French unity was made ; there was a common language, a willing adhesion, and a strong national feeling. The Revolution had completed the work of the feudal and administrative monarchy. France had a mind and a soul.

The French nationality at first asserted itself by the energy with which it had distinguished itself from the " Catholicity " of the Middle Ages ; but it was also characterised by the moderation with which it had accomplished this separation. This indeed had not gone as far as a schism ; it had broken neither with tradition, with existing conditions nor with individual conscience.

Limited, though not closed, autonomous but universal, France stands in the centre of Europe, throughout the ages, hospitable unto all and shedding her light over all. Her ideal was attained in her own eyes, only in those too short periods when equilibrium is reached, within her and outside her.

Gallicanism, tempered monarchy, Cartesian rationalism, such were, before the Revolution, the French solutions of the religious, political and philosophical problems.

France gave the supreme formula of her history, and perhaps that of the history of the world when,

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at the end **of** the sixteenth century, over the hideous charnel of religious wars, she was first to utter, by the mouth of Henry IV., the word "tolerance,"

Tolerance is not only reconciliation between man and man, it is appeasement within Man himself: it is inward unity through the choice which virility makes between juvenile ardour and senile pusillanimity; a fundamental harmony balancing inward discords.

The seventeenth century left an ineffaceable memory in the mind of the nation: through a measured combination of religion, political institutions and social activity, in a vigorous body, the heart was beating at its fullest. But the ideal, when it is realised, soon becomes exhausted. The crown renounced toleration by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Gallicanism became exasperated at the assembly of French clergy in 1682. Descartes led to Spinoza. The thinker becomes a free-thinker as soon as he calls himself a philosopher. New horizons were opening; the elements were let loose.

French rationalism traversed the eighteenth century under the guise of Philosophism. It generalised its thesis and its action by proclaiming "the Rights of Man." What universal principle could be broader than that which affirmed the equality of all?

And yet, in the Frenchman of the Revolution, the universal man did not efface the citizen, any more than in St. Louis, the Crusader, the Catholic Faith smothered nascent patriotism. The force of expansion, born of a powerful centralisation, produced an age of grandeur and heroism, of propaganda through **words** and actions.

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars broke

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this impulse. The morrow of an invasion is always a time of despair. The Bourbon Restoration, the Ultramontanism of the congregation of Joseph de Maistre, the neo-Christianism of Chateaubriand, Romanticism, in fact, organised an opposition to Rationalism and to the sensualism of Condillac and the Encyclopaedists.

Philippism, and the eclecticism of Victor Cousin attempted to conclude a "concordat" between religion and irreligion, between authority and freedom. This mean term lacked frankness and vigour. The eighteenth century had left its roots in the ground. They began to grow again towards the end of Louis Philippe's reign. In 1843, after the failure of the *Bur graves*, romanticism died. In philosophy, in politics, and in literature, a new tide was rising : Realism.

Realism The prince of poets, Lamartine, was but for a short time the applauded leader of the nation. The Emperor Napoleon III. reached the throne at the same time that Taine, having vanquished and succeeded Cousin, reigned over the Schools. In religious questions, the half-measures of the Liberal Christianity of 1840 were set aside by the decisions of the Vatican Council and by the brutal polemics of Louis Veuillot.

Imperial Realism, an offspring of Positivism (itself the issue of Philosophism) took up the work of Universalism and propaganda. France, the elder sister of other continental nations, scattered her principles far and wide, at her own risk presiding over the birth of nationalities.

Contra-
dictions This was a singular and confused period, when equilibrium, seeking to establish itself, was suddenly lost in servitude, in glory, and in

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defeat. Democracy wrenched universal suffrage from Csesar ; a reign which was but a long succession of wars was filled with dreams of universal brotherhood ; the unbelieving Empire risked its repose, its very existence, in order to defend the independence of the Holy See. Finally a catastrophe was brought about by these contrasts. The glory of this enthusiastic people is always very near martyrdom.

Such was the state of things in 1871.

The gaping wound left by the war cruelly hurt the soul of France ; perhaps, however, it was a salutary pruning. The inward humiliation which it produced, the bitter pain, the disillusion which remained, mortified vanity and, mixed with the unavoidable pessimism of defeat, a leaven of prudent and measured activity.

This period is softened, tempered, half-veiled. After the first tears had been dried, souls wished to reconcile sentiment with reason, Naturalism with Idealism, Tradition with Progress.

The lesson had borne its fruit. In the half-light of dawn or dusk, a procession emerged; scientific creators, searching Nature and experience, Pasteur, Renan, softened in his negation, Taine, still eager, but with a change of direction ; sculptors of glorified defeats, painters of consoling Nature, songsters of Latin France, Puvis de Chavannes and Bizet; in short, the founders of a new France, the prudent organisers of a representative Republic, wise apostles of Opportunism.

Some men survive themselves in their works ; others survive their own authority. It is well to recall a few names and great influences of the preceding generation.

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Whilst the empiricism of Victor Cousin¹ became exhausted and diluted "in educational programmes and in the easy panaceas of School Spiritualism, the seed sown by his ignored contemporary, the victim of "pedantocracy," Auguste Comte,² germinated, and nourished the following generation. Auguste Comte had received from Condorcet, through St. Simon, the tradition of the eighteenth century. His thought was in direct antagonism to the whole of Metaphysics. He mentions the Unknowable only to ignore it. Taking nought into account but Positivism, which he defines as the *Real* and the *Useful*, he limits knowledge to those facts which are appreciable by our organism. His method and his classification of the sciences in the following order : Mathematics—Astronomy—Physics—Chemistry—Biology—and Sociology, constitute great discoveries. Sociology, or the science of human societies, completes and crowns the edifice of the others.

Comte, in contradiction to himself, claimed to find in sociology the key to that Unknowable which he had just denied. He opposed "demonstrated religion" to "revealed religion," and raising the question to a dogma, he founded the cult of the Great Being, Humanity ; he completed by the words *fatherland* and *family* his triple formula, so deeply adequate to the times when his influence was exerted. The logic of his work, a rare soberness and good taste, appealed to practical men. Whilst Victor Cousin enrolled professors and men of letters under his banner, Auguste Comte captured engineers, medical men, scientists. A diffuse Positivism spread in many minds.

¹ Victor Cousin, born in Paris, 1792 ; a Member of the Académie Française; died in Paris 1867.

² Auguste Comte, b. Montpellier, 1798, d. 1857.

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Balzac¹ is another master, as prodigiously varied, abundant, and overflowing as the other is rigid, firm and limited. He had scientific pretensions. He claimed to be a naturalist, a disciple of Lamarck and Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire : " The animal vegetates, as, does the plant. Science is one ; it is impossible to touch upon politics without interfering with morality, and morality is bound to all scientific questions. If Substance can think, why does it follow that God should perish ? . . ." But at the same time, Balzac loudly declared his attachment to traditional religion. " I write by the light of two eternal truths, Religion and Monarchy." At heart, he really was a disciple of Jean Jacques, a Bonapartist and a man of the people.

Impression in him was transformed until it became creation. " He competes with the civil registers," His intellectual mastery determined modes of thought and moral dispositions. Many " Rastignac " " Rubempre, and " Bixiou " were to be found in the generation when he was most read, under the second Empire.

Some secondary influences should be mentioned : Stendhal,² who attracts attention by his arbitrary manner, his cutting psychology, his Macchiavellian maxims, and especially his decided predilection for men of will and action ; Proudhon,³ whose obscure logic and dialectical vehemence strike and astonish without attracting or pleasing ; Sainte-Beuve,⁴ who has been ranked with the heads of the scientific

¹ Honore" de Balzac, b. Tours 1799, d. 1850.

² Henry Beyle, otherwise Stendhal, b. Grenoble 1783, d. 1842.

³ Pierre Joseph Proudhon, b. Besancon 1809, d. '865.

⁴ Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, b. Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1804, a member of the Academie Frangaise ; d. 1869.

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school by reason of his vast erudition and his **accurate** and fastidious taste.

A whole era disappeared with the Empire. Victor Cousin had died in 1867, then Lamartine in 1869;¹ then Sainte-Beuve. Prevost-Paradol committed suicide at Washington.²

The war carried away a sheaf : Merimee ;³ Alexandre Dumas ; * Theophile Gautier.⁵

Victor Hugo " remained, the first-born and the longest-lived of the School. He returned, and was applauded on his return. He had to modify nothing in his convictions or his attitudes ; he had predicted the catastrophe. His exile even had been fruitful; he still was master of language and rhythm. The word Romanticism⁷ survived in him. But the vigorous suppleness of his genius was escaping from the doctrines which he himself had dictated. The

¹ Alphonse de Prat de Lamartine, b. Macon 1790, a member of the Academie Franchise ; d. Paris, Feb. 1869. See, concerning the end of his life, Maxime du Camp, *Memoires*, vol. ii. p. 270.

² On July nth, 1870. See O. Greard, *Prevost-Paradol*, 1904. Anatole Lucien Prevost-Paradol, b. Paris 1829, a member of the Academie Francaise.

³ Prosper Merimee, b. Paris 1803; a member of the Academie Francaise ; d. Cannes, September 1870.

⁴ Alexandre Dumas, b. Villers-Cotterets (Aisne) 1803, d. at Puys, near Dieppe, on December 5th, 1870 ; " unconscious," says M. Maurice Tourneux, " of the disasters inflicted upon France." His body was exhumed and transferred to the cemetery of Villers-Cotterets in April 1872.

⁶ Theophile Gautier, b. Tarbes 1808, d. Neuilly, October 1872. Concerning his last moments, see Emile Bergerat, *Theophile Gautier*, 1879, 8vo, p. 229.

⁶ Comte Victor Marie Hugo, b. Besancon 1802, a member of the Academie Francaise ; d. Paris, May 22nd, 1885.

⁷ Victor Hugo defined romanticism in his preface to *Cromwell* as " the realisation of the beautiful by the expression of character."

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leader was not unaffected by the lessons of his own disciples.

In the *Chatiments*, he dealt with realities. He had written a popular epic, *les Miserables*, and had attempted the epic poem of humanity in *La Legende des Siecles*. The misfortunes of his country dictated *l'Annie Terrible*; his fruitful and serene old age supported the declining century by powerful and regular production : *Quatre-vingt-treize*, the second part of *la Legende des Slides*, *l'Art d'etre Grand-Pere* , he remained human, even on that dangerous altar where universal veneration had placed him. Both in his youth and in hoary age he represented one of Nature's forces. It might be thought that Fate had given him this almost secular longevity in order that he might, by his inexhaustible virility, bear witness to the vitality of the country.¹

Michelet had not this strength ; the life of France was his life. Each disaster struck deep into his soul and body. He died in February 1874, after the 24th of May crisis. His great optimistic heart had known but disappointments towards the end. Germany—" his dear Germany "—was to him a perpetual affliction. The Fatherland and the people, the two beloved objects of his candid soul, were being rent under his eyes. His profound and delicate works : *le Peuple*, *I'Amour*,

¹ Works of Victor Hugo, published from 1870 to 1880: *Les Chdtiments* (complete edition, i2mo, 1870 ; an incomplete edition had appeared in 1852); *I'Annee Terrible*, 8vo, 1872; *Quatre-vingt-treize*, 3 vols., 8vo, 1874; *Actes et Paroles*, 3 vols., 8vo, 1875; *L'Art d'etre Grand-Pere*, 8vo, 1877; *La Legende des Siecles*, Part II., 2 vols., 8vo, 1877 ; *Hisloire d'un Crime, deposition d'un Tentoin*, 2 vols., 8vo, 1877-1878 ; *Le Pape*, 8vo, 1878 ; *L'Ane*, poem, 8vo, 1880 ; *Religions et religion*, 8vo, 1880.

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Nos Fils, had evoked an ideal physiognomy of Democracy ; but he only lived to see the sanguinary horrors of the beginnings. His pictures of Nature : *l'Oiseau, l'Insecte, la Mer, la Montagne*, had charmed and instructed the new generation, no less than his History, resplendent with golden words. He died at the moment when he was becoming a master of enthusiasm and emotion for young men warm with the first glow of political ardour.¹

George Sand had retired to Nohant; an indefatigable writer, she was still publishing. Her lactiferous abundance filled volumes : *Lettres d'un voyageur pendant la Guerre, Souvenirs et Impressions, Ma sœur Jeanne, Flammarande*. These were the last echo of the elegies of Romanticism. She muttered grandmotherly prayers at the feet of the god of Jean-Jacques and of Beranger. She softly repeated herself, like an old lady with a long past and somewhat slow of hearing. A comrade in literature of Gustave Flaubert, she preserved the same good-natured and fluid optimism through the severe universal disenchantment. Victor Hugo laid this funeral oration on her tomb, 1876: "I mourn for the dead; I hail an immortal."²

¹ Jules Michelet, b. Paris 1798, a member of the *Institut*, d. at Hyeres, February 1874. He published, in the last years of his life : *La Montagne*, 12mo, 1868 ; *Nos Fils*, 12mo, 1869 ; *La France devant l'Europe*, brochure, 8vo, 1871 ; *Histoire du XIXeme Steele: la Directoire et l'Empire*, 3 vols., 8vo, 1873. See Flaubert's paragraph on Michelet: " You never speak to me of Michelet, whom I love and admire much " (*Corr.*, vol. iii. p. 284); and the letter he wrote to Michelet *apropos* of the *Bible de l'Humanite* : " Our hearts, our imagination, our judgment—you spake them all within us " (p. 288).

² Amantine-Lucile-Aurore Dudevant, *nee* Dupin, usually called George Sand, b. Paris, 1803, d. 1876.

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II

Minds were turned elsewhere. The second Empire had seen the union of Science and Impassiveness produce a philosophy and a literary formula : Realism¹ and the doctrine of Art for Art's sake.²

Two
Realisms Everything was sacrificed to scientific and technical accuracy. Renan, a marvellous restorer of historical science, had risked his

¹ Champfleury claims to have founded this school by creating the Review *le Realisme* (November 1856-April 1857). The whole bearing of the word does not seem to have been very well understood. George Sand says : " We confess that we have never understood where the Real began, compared to the True." Yet, there is a difference between the realism of Flaubert and that of Champfleury. George Sand did not mark this distinction ; she writes, *a propos* of *Madame Bovary* (1857) : " This is a very striking and very good specimen of the realistic school. Realism therefore exists, for this is very new. . . . On reflection, we found that this was another Balzac, Balzac expurgated from every concession to romantic benevolence, Balzac bitter and aifheted, concentrated Balzac. . . ." Flaubert had protested beforehand : " I am thought to be in love with the real, whereas I execrate it ; it is in hatred of realism that I have undertaken this novel." This letter was written in 1856 (*Corr.*, 3rd series, p. 66). See, concerning G. Sand's words, a very accurate article by M. Faguet, in the *Journal des Debats*, July 25th, 1904. J. J. Weiss, in 1858, defined Realism as : " A Norman (Flaubert ?) invention, which consists in depriving oneself, on principle, of the small talents which Nature has not granted to you, or of those which it would cost too much trouble to acquire by study." And again : " It is a tranquil blossoming-out of conscientious platitude " (p. 147). But that is aimed chiefly at Champfleury, and perhaps a little, from the context, at Alexandre Dumas *fils*.

² Flaubert is very precise : " The morality of Art consists in its beauty itself, and I value above all, first the style and then the Truth. . . . (p. 71). See the manifesto of Leconte de Lisle, entitled *Les Pontes Contemporains*, published in the *Nain Jaune* of 1864, and added to the *Derniers Poimes*, 1895, 8vo : " Art, of which poetry is the brilliant, intense and complete expression,

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religious, philosophical and social conception on **the** authenticity of a palimpsest. Taine had discovered that Life was a "living geometry," Man a "walking theorem."* Vice and Virtue "products, like sugar and alcohol," Leconte de Lisle, Gautier, Flaubert, had confined poetry within the ivory tower of their Indifferentism, and within the active Nirvana of form. All had repeated in turn the words of Spinoza: "Neither in its mode of being, nor in its mode of living has Nature a principle to start from or a goal to attain." They had adhered to the laws dictated by Hegel¹ and by Darwin, the selection of species, the inevitable superiority of *elites*. They had subordinated the idea of a mother-country to their concept of Truth :

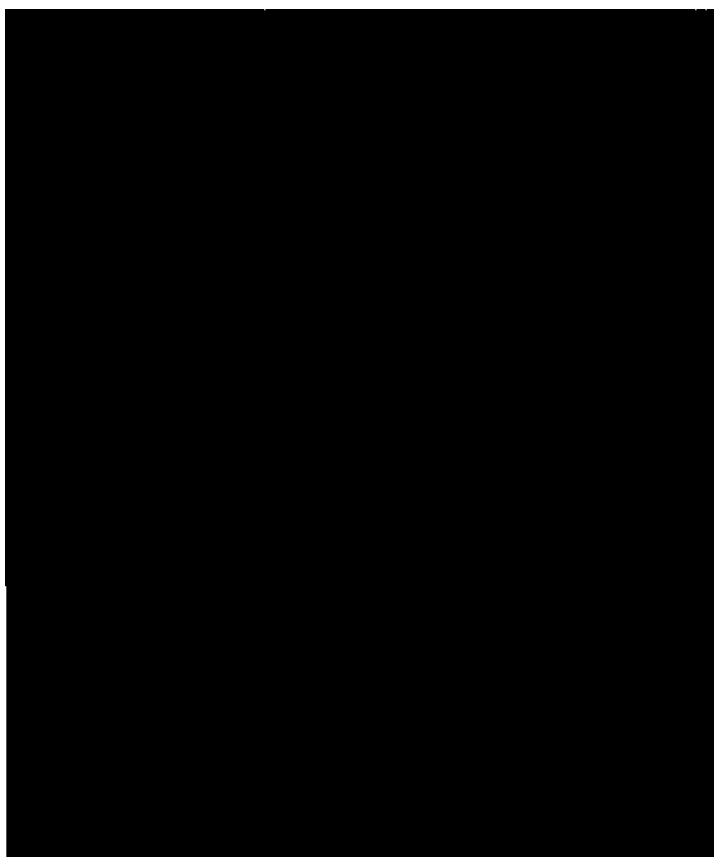
I have no Fatherland but the land of my dreams.³

Facts had answered them. Bismarck had real-

s an intellectual luxury only accessible to very few minds. . . . The Beautiful is not the servant of the True, for it contains Divine and human Truth, etc. . . . (p. 234). On the *bourgeoise* opinion concerning Art for Art's sake, see Maxime du Camp *Metnoires*, vol. ii., p. 183.

¹ We can but mention as we pass the influence of German philosophy and of Hegel in particular. This subject is far from being exhausted, the war of 1870 having interrupted the stream. On January 25th, 1870, Renan and Taine, in a joint letter published by the *Journal des Debats*, initiated a subscription in France towards the statue of Hegel in Berlin, proclaiming him "the first thinker of the nineteenth century."—Victor Giraud, *Essai sur Taine*, Paris, 1902, p. 68 and 249.

³ Sully Prudhomme, *Stances et Poemes, l'Ambition*. Sully Prudhomme himself wrote an answer to this poem ; it appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of October 1st, 1871 and is entitled *Repentir*. . . . There is a curious passage about the feelings of this generation concerning the idea of a Fatherland in Gaston Paris, *Penseurs et poetes*, p. 221.



After the picture by John B. Good

Ernest Renan.

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ised the thought of that school in the much-discussed words : " Might before Right."

What a tragic awakening and what an ironical turn of fate for those intemperate literary vaccinators ! What disorder in their ranks ! It was, indeed, as Paul Bourget has put it, an " age of anguish," Flaubert remarked it *d propos* of the most enigmatical, elusive thinker, the most tenacious in his evasive affirmations, Renan : " I assure you that there now is in every man, something disturbing, something incomprehensible. Our friend Renan is among the most despairing." ¹

It was the end of Realism : Reality was now too well known !

These proud lives of literary men were cut in two by the war. Scientific and doctrinal assertions now hesitated on lips which yesterday had been sure of themselves.²

Renan made a last effort to vindicate

Kenan

the immediate social authority of writers. He published, on the morrow of the war, his *Reforme Intellectuelle et Morale*, an apology for a half-Caesarism a la Jerome Bonaparte, the *mea culpa* of a dismantled *bourgeoisie*, an ephemeral capitulation of French intellect before the brutalities of victory. " What

¹ *Correspondance*, vol. iv., p. 212. Renan had just published *la Reforme Intellectuelle*.

² It is enough to recall Renan's intellectual evolution. He wrote in *l'Avenir de la Science*, 1848 : " The founders of the modern mind are Philosophers " (p. 141), and in *la Reforme Intellectuelle*, 1872 : " To form, by the Universities, a Rationalist leading class, reigning through Science, proud of this science and ill-disposed to allow its privilege to perish for the benefit of an ignorant crowd, to honour pedantism, etc. . . . " (p. 106). The doctrine of the elite is didactically stated in the *Dialogues Philosophiques*, published in 1876.

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remains of military spirit in the world is a Germanic fact. *Finis Francice*. France must be reconstituted after the feudal and vigorous type of her conqueror.' ' Renan demands " a philosophy for the wise, a religion for the people," The author of the *Life of Jesus* addresses these words to the Catholic clergy : " Do not interfere with what we teach, with what we write, and we will leave the people to you ; do not contest our places in the University, in the Academie, and we will abandon the village schools wholly to you." ¹

One of the heads of the Revolutionary party, old Mazzini, ² disputed this unmanly, underhand thesis. " It is," he said, " the strangest, and, I will add, the most immoral compromise which ever occurred to a thinker." ³

Renan understood the blame ; it is at this time that Flaubert found him so depressed. An apologist writes, " Henceforth, the consciousness of his impotence in the sphere of action oppressed Renan, and for a moment even threatened the fundamental serenity of his nature." ⁴

¹ Renan, *Reforme Intellectuelle et Morale*, Paris, 1872, 8vo, p. 99. Taine writes, on March 17th, 1871, to Mme. Taine : " Renan has lent me four great political articles on the situation, which he will probably not publish (evidently this was a first plan of the *Reforme Intellectuelle*). It is loose, abstract, and not always very good. He is not keeping himself up to the mark. There are plenty of ideas, but his thesis is objectionable ; he obviously favours a restoration of royalty and the nobility, the better to imitate Prussia."—*Unpublished*.

² Giuseppe Mazzini, b. Genoa 1808, d. 1874.

³ Mazzini's study (his last written work) was published one month after his death, in the *Revue Politique et Littéraire* of April nth, 1874, p. 959. Renan made no answer.

* Mary J. Darmesteter, *La vie d' Ernest Renan*, p. 222. . . .

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He soon drew himself together. He admitted that a Professor of Hebrew might be dispensed from exerting an immediate action over politics if the field of ideas were left to him. A delimitation of responsibilities and special capacities took place in his mind. He plunged again into the past in order to forget the present; as for the future, he dismissed it with a smile and a shake of the head. After all, he had not the care of souls.¹

He limited his patriotism to the regular accomplishment of his duties as a writer and as a professor. The contradictions of existence became a theme for his sceptical irony. This game became the elusive line of his doctrine, if not of his conduct. He henceforth spoke in dialogues, opposing Eudoxus to Philaethes, Ariel to Caliban. This was the true Renan, a son of Brittany and a son of Gascony, a son of France!

His great works, the *History of the Origin of Christianity*, the *History of the People of Israel*, stand on their solid bases according to the plan of life which he had energetically traced for himself. The *Marcus Aurelius* states with all the authority of science and of art, the philosophical lesson which the thinker

Then, like Zachariah, he renounced both Juda and Israel; he was tired of them. He looked upon them and said: "I will speak to you no more; let him die who will, let him perish who will, let them devour each other! And in his hand brake the holy staff, in two pieces, and the name of the staff was Fraternity" (*id.* p. 223).

¹ Renan's opinion on patriotism was expressed in his lecture at the Sorbonne on March nth, 1882. "What is a nation?" See, especially, the end: "A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. . . . It pre-supposes a past, and the tangible fact of consent. • . . **The** existence of a nation is a daily *plebiscite*. . . ."—*Discours et Conférences*, 1877, 8vo, p. 306.

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and scholar had drawn from the studies in which he was an uncontested master.¹

The incomparable art of the writer realises, in grace and balance, all the refined and witty emotion of the century. His philosophy escapes dispute and contradiction by the multiplicity of transformations and the iridescent imprecision of affirmations and doctrines. With his virile and charming imagination, his "insinuating and enchanting genius," as Saint Simon called that of Fenelon, he held his epoch like a young sister by the hand, or, better still, hanging on his lips by the caress of gentle words and ecclesiastical gestures.

A mellowed Voltaire, a priest and believer even in his boldness and impiety, he has no system but tolerance and indulgence. Through Voltaire, he goes back to Montaigne. Enjoying life, he expresses this happy disposition by a supreme attenuation, illumined by a smile : " Good humour is the corrective of every philosophy."²

¹ Ernest Renan, b. Treguier (Brittany) in 1823, a member of the Academie Francaise; d. 1892. Works published from 1871 to 1880 : *La Monarchie Constitutionnelle en France*, 12mo, 1870; *La Reforme Intellectuelle et morale*, 8vo, 1871 ; *Histoire des origines du Christianisme: I' Antechrist*, 8vo, 1873, vol. iv. ; *Pierre du Bois, legisle*, 410, 1873 ; *Mission de Phenicie*, 1860-1861, 4to, 1874; *Dialogues et fragments philosophiques*, 8vo, 1876 ; *Les Evangiles et la seconde Generation Chretienne*, 8vo, 1877, vol. vi. ; *Caliban*, 8vo, 1878 ; *Lettre d'un ami d'Allemagne*, 8vo, 1879 ; *L'Eglise Chretienne*, 8vo, 1879 ; *Conferences d'Angleterre*, 12mo, 1880.

² " We do not know;" that is all that can be clearly stated concerning that which is beyond the finite. . . . Let us deny nothing, affirm nothing, but hope. Let us keep a place in funerals for music and incense. . . . Do not let us quarrel concerning the dose or the formula of religion, but be content not to deny it; let us preserve the unknown, the possibility of dreamnig."
• . . Preface to *Feuilles Detachees*, published in 1892.

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For Taine¹ the shock was deeper still. Taine is a spontaneous spirit, systematic, confined in his logic, apart from the outer air, like a light within a lantern. He is the ascetic of thought. The truth discovered by his violent abstraction escapes from him, whatever may be the consequences. He is the prophet of Determinism. In the world, he refuses to recognise anything but facts.

Illustrious, and a leader of minds, he had just published, in 1870, his book, *De l'Intelligence*, restoring sensualistic doctrines and Condillac's method he had started on a visit to Germany, whilst Renan almost at the same time, had begun a tour of the Scandinavian countries with Prince Jerome. Neither one nor the other had foreseen anything.²

The war broke out.

Taine spent the months of the siege at Tours, until November 14th, 1870, then at Pau ;³ during

¹ Hippolyte Taine, b. Vouziers 1828, a member of the Académie Française ; d. 1890. Principal works since 1870: *De l'Intelligence*, 2 vols., 8vo, 1870; *Du suffrage universel et de la manière de voter*, 16mo, 1871; *Notes sur l'Angleterre*, 12mo, 1872 ; *Un séjour en France de 1792 à 1795* ; *Lettres d'un témoin de la Révolution française*, traduites par H. Taine, 12mo, 1872 ; *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, 6 vols., 8vo, 1875-1894.

² Renan wrote from Tromsø (Norway) in July 1870 : " What aberration, what a crime ! The worst heart-pang I have felt in my life was when we received at Tromsø the fatal telegram, telling us that war was certain and would be immediate."—Mary J. Darmesteter, *La vie d'Ernest Renan*, p. 206.

³ This is the judgment of Taine concerning the prolongation of the struggle in the provinces. " P A U , December 25 th, 1870. . . . In any case, even if we are crushed, our honour will be safe ; France will have shown that she is capable of organisation ; she will be more respected in the future, and not treated like a Poland ; she will not be thought rotten, good for a prey, as might have been the case if she had given way immediately after Sedan.

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the Commune, his duties as Professor at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts kept him as long as possible at Orsay, where he had a country house, and from where he came every week to give his lectures in Paris.¹

This is the clearest result, perhaps the only good result, of prolonged resistance; but by how many milliards, and how many lives, will it have been bought? . . ."—*Unpublished*.

¹ Here are some extracts from Taine's *Unpublished Correspondence* during the Commune. This will be a most precious historical document when Mme. Taine executes her intention of publishing it. Compare it with the *Correspondance* of Leconte de Lisle, published in the *Renaissance Latine*, April 15 th, 1904 : " PARIS, *March 19th*.—A new government has established itself in the Hotel de Ville. The names of those intruders are quite unknown. . . . All the Ministers are at Versailles. . . . The line-infantry is very unreliable and fraternises at once with the rioters. . . . What will the Assembly do? The obvious conclusion is Paris fallen from its title of capital, and the Republic lost. . . .—*March 20th*, 1 a.m., RUE BARBET DE JOUY : The rioters have made their headquarters at the Hotel de Ville. . . . In Paris, nothing unusual; ordinary traffic and conversations; the shops are not closed. . . . A complete and tranquil anarchy . . . a perfect muddle; it is a spontaneous dissolution of France. . . . The Parisians are disgusted with their chiefs, with any chief. Just now, nobody here seems to have an idea of legal power, of obedience; the siege has made them mad.—*March 21st*, the National Guards are playing games. Several have nothing to eat and pass the hat round to buy saveloys and a drink. . . .—*March 24th*, ORSAY : . . . It is with innermost despair that one reads the papers or books in Paris. Never has social decomposition been so manifest. . . .—*March 26th*, ORSAY : Almost all the men I meet have been through the siege; the general impression is always the same. The Parisians, exalted by the phrases in their newspaper and their fundamental vanity, persuaded themselves that they could not only resist but crush the Germans; they succumbed : *ergo*, they were betrayed by their chiefs. It is impossible to get them away from this argument. As to the present insurrection, it is socialistic at bottom : " Employers and *bourgeois* are sweating us; they must be suppressed. There is no superiority, no speciality. I, a labourer, am capable, if I will, to be a contractor, a magistrate, a General . . ."—*March 31st*:

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On May 20th he went to England, having promised to give a course of lectures at the University of Oxford. He was in despair. So *this* was Life, and not a succession of peripatetics under the porticoes of the School! A shudder passed over him. The powerful mind wondered, but the brave heart felt a deep commiseration for the misfortunes of his country. "Geometry" failed; nothing was left but a wounded and suffering patriot.¹

The conscience of this upright man became alarmed at the thought of the share of responsibility which might be laid at the writer's door. Certain of his most notorious formulæ weighed on his mind; the

I am going to give my lecture and to find out whether I shall give any more. . . . The two Deans of the Faculties of Law and Medicine have been dismissed and replaced by MM. Naquet and Accollas. . . .—ORSAY, *A pril yd*: I have just returned from giving my lecture in Paris. . . . The abscess has been opened by a sharp stroke of the lancet (sally of April 3rd repulsed). . . . There was no defection at Versailles." He wrote that same morning to M. Denuelle: "I am going to Paris for my lecture. It is a question of honour, and if not physically prevented, I must be at my post."

¹ PAU, *December 2nd*, 1870: "I am weary, and I do not know if I shall recover strength to write. . . .—PAU, *December 8th*: I do not speak of my sorrow; I try to keep up. I hope soon to resume my work, but it is hard! . . .—*December lyth*: I have tried to begin work again, but without success. Anxiety and grief have blunted my faculties. . . .—ORSAY, *March 20th*: . . . My heart is dead within my breast; I feel as if I were living in a mad-house. I have even lost the feeling of indignation. . . .—*March 26th*: It is hard to think ill of one's country; I feel as if a near relation, almost a parent, were in trust and as if after having thought him incapable, I was obliged to look upon him as grotesque, odious, base, quite incorrigible and fit for gaol or an asylum.—*March 28th*: I am in a continuous state of dumb anger and dry despair; every word written or spoken is an effort. Yesterday I thought I should be unable to open my lips to give my lecture."—*Correspondance inedite*.

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consequences drawn from them irritated him. M. Naquet, in the tribune, quoted him in order to affirm that "morality, merit and demerit are facts of organisation," He protested indignantly ; he explained himself, rather obscurely, perhaps, and added harshly and hastily : "a hunchback is not admitted in the Army ; a 'pervert' who practises must be excluded from free society," This *who practises*, contains an avowal, in spite of all. For this sincere and logical soul could not be untrue to itself, even in self-defence.

The philosopher bade farewell, once for all, if Philosophy. Until now, he had divided his life in two parts, reserving the best for the contemplation and *research of pure Truth* ; he now walked into the streets and heard the *cry* that arose from the city. Here was an intellectual drama. This short, slender, pale man, munching his throat-lozenges, with squinting grey eyes behind his thick glasses, had at last seen things which astonished him—dying men, flowing blood, burning cities ; and this too had its importance, supposing the triumph of ideas to be in question.

So this was a new Taine, a softened, humanised Taine. In November 1871, he wrote this sentence, which is almost a retractation. "A Frenchman will always bring back from England the profitable persuasion that politics are not a Cabinet theory, all in one piece and capable of being applied at once, but an affair of tact, in which one can only proceed by temporisation, concessions and compromise."¹

The "spirit of finesse" replaced the "geometrical spirit." The philosopher became a historian. He

¹ *Notes on England* (preface).

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began to search for the *Origins of Contemporary France*.¹

Was the historian about to give up "brilliant paradoxes," violent formulae, abstract reasonings? Would he submit to the singular unpreciseness of Nature, to the play of life as it turns and changes according to contrary winds, in a word, to the force of the *Unconscious*, tending through elusive and complex surprises and manoeuvres towards a goal unknown to prevision and logic?

Not so; his genius conquered. He was and would remain a man of systems. This critic of the classical spirit was himself classical and abstract above everything. This enemy of Rousseau was an inverted Rousseau. He saw Man wicked as the other saw him good; having pronounced this sentence, he carried it out in all its bearings. He wrote a phrase on the "wanton and ferocious gorilla" which answered everything.

¹ Taine wrote from Orsay to Mme. Taine, on April 4th, 1871, on the day after his lectures at the *ecole des Beaux Arts* were interrupted by the interdiction against any sound man leaving Paris: "I have brought a few volumes back from Paris. I am sketching out in my mind my future book on Contemporary France..." And on May 18th: "This morning, I have been thinking out my work for the summer, and I am almost decidedly inclined to write *la France conlemporaine*. I shall tell you my reasons on my return. If I get well into the subject, the summer will make up for the poor winter. . . ." He left for London on May 20th. The *Revue politique et litteraire* published, on December 18th, 1872, (p. 600) the following note: "Moved by the terrible calamities which have struck his country and by the dangers which may still threaten it, M. Taine appears to have momentarily" [it was for ever] "given up purely philosophical research in order to study contemporary history and political questions. Thus did he, some time ago, publish a very interesting study on the *Suffrage Universel*. . . ."

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The *Histoire des Origines* is the syllogism of **this** datum applied to the most surprising period of French national life.

It is a masterly work, of a rare breadth and originality, renewing both the subject and the method; a work full of possibilities and consequences, striking in its vigorous, almost brutal art, but terrible and heartrending. The cry which the war had wrenched from Renan is repeated, a cry of disavowal and defeat; but how much more powerful, more lamentable, more prolonged !

Wounded patriotism sank the grave and punctilious son of the Ardennes into the blackest pessimism. It might be thought that the bitterness of his philosophical disappointment irritated him against France. Everything in France was bad ; the *ancien regime* was bad and bound to disappear ; the Revolution was erroneous and execrable ; it could only end in blood and mire ; the Empire was but the absurd scaling of Heaven by a foreign brigand, himself a colossal maniac. Modern France was bad, badly balanced, without logic, counterweight or curb.

Then . . . what ? What can be felt behind all this, is the fear of rising democracy ; the dread of the masses ; the anguish of the middle class at the approach of its death. As Renan, in his *Reforme Intellectuelle* bowed to the victory of Germany, Taine returned from England an anti-Revolutionist, a Protestant, and an aristocrat.¹

¹ The whole volume of *Notes on England* bears witness to this state of mind in Taine, With the natural vigour of his genius, he translates, not without some exaggeration, an impression which is to be found in some striking lines of his unpublished correspondence : OXFORD, May 29th, 1871 (the day on which Paris was in flames) : " I have been for an hour's walk in the High

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The historian takes up the narrative of a time when passions were excessive, and he suppresses the reason for such violence, national madness and the exasperation of the struggle against Europe. He does not, he will not understand the heroism of this country, resigned to a twenty-years state of siege in order to achieve, alone against all, Unity, the work of centuries. This great sentiment producing a great fact, this source of heroism and of fury, escape him. He ignores the frontier. He does not see success through defeat and the world conquered beyond the restricted frontier.

If he had written later, he would have written another book. Further from the events of 1871, the impression would have been less strong, the work more just, perhaps, but less beautiful. What is this book, on the whole, save the supreme expression of patriotic anxiety, the poem of sorrow and doubt? The unrivalled power of language which it displays, the dark colouring which animates it, the restrained emotion which it contains, make of it the special and truly representative task of the "age of anguish," French pride and vanity, castigated by the vigorous historian, receive a bitter and strengthening lesson. If posterity wishes to know the condition of the soul of France on the morrow of the war, it will open this book which, in its despairing pages, prolongs and repeats the plaint of the vanquished.

The crisis was even more painful in Gustave Flaubert.¹

Street, and in the streets behind Magdalen College. It is very beautiful, very calm, very classical. It is like real theatre scenery. How fortunate these people are and how unfortunate we are ! .. ."

¹ Gustave Flaubert, b. Rouen 1821, d. 1880.

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Gustave Flaubert **He**, with his whole epoch, **had had faith** in Science, in Ideas, in the pacific and sincere study of Nature and of Reality. He himself defined the process of *Madame Bovary* as "Epic Realism/" and added, "I have made it epic through minute care and accuracy."¹

His real meaning was that Art is a Science ; as Herbert Spencer has it : "Art is but applied knowledge/" Thence the formula of those highly literary lines ; accuracy in impassiveness. "Art must rise above personal affections and nervous susceptibilities. It is time it were given, by an unimpeachable method, the precision of physical Science."

To observe. That is the whole system.² The poor, kindly, imaginative giant was struck to the heart. After the war, this incomparable man of letters became haunted with one idea, the powerlessness of literature. His grief, his sincerity, his *naïveté*, if I may call it thus, burst out in despairing cries : What a wreck, what a fall, what misery, what abomination ! How could one believe in progress and in civilisation in the face of such things. . . . Oh ! eternal lie ! it is impossible to rise again after such a blow. I am struck to the marrow. Literature seems to me vain and useless. I shall never be able to try it again.³

He had similar apprehensions as to the future of democracy : "We are struggling in the aftermath of the Revolution, which, whatever men may say, has been an abortion, a fiasco, a failure. . . . As to the people, it will be finished off by free and compulsory education. When everybody can read the

¹ *Correspondance*, vol. iii. p. 68.

² *Correspondance*, vol. iii. pp. 80 and 270.

³ *Corrcspondance*, vol. iv. p. 42.

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Petit-Journal and the *Figaro*, nobody will read anything else ; the press is a besotting school because it makes people dispense with thinking. . . . The first remedy would be to suppress universal suffrage, this shame of the human mind." ¹

The crisis had reached its paroxysm. The *Temptation of St. Anthony*, on which he had been at work for twenty years, was the last flower of his expiring genius.²

His latter years were a martyrdom. He spent them in preparing, with immense research, *Bouvard et Pecuchet*, that strange and lamentable book, supreme derision of all intellectual effort.³ The crisis had logically evolved from Renan's dilettantism to the pessimism of Taine and the funereal disillusionment of Gustave Flaubert.

An article which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in July 1871, and which became vested with the authority of a manifesto, summed up the first impressions of a *bourgeois* man of letters, after the fatal events : alarm, depression, despair. This article was signed Emile Montegut.⁴

Whilst predicting the " bankruptcy of Science," it proclaimed the " bankruptcy of the Revolution " : " We no longer have faith in our principles; some dare not and some will not own their incredulity." The fall of the July monarchy was deplored; " the

¹ *Correspondance*, vol. iv., p. 74.

² Published, without much success, in 1874. The failure of his play, *Le Candidal*, produced at the Vaudeville, on March nth, 1874, pained him very much. I possess the copy of the *Candidat* which he gave to George Sand, with the written dedication : " Is your old troubadour such an idiot as they call him, dear master ?—G. Flaubert,"

³ Published after his death in 1881.

⁴ Emile Montegut, b. Limoges, 1826, d. 1895.

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and more supple, is nearer to tradition, more in the vein of Moliere and Regnard : the empire closed on the success of *La Famille Benoiton*; the new era opened with a bold satire of parliamentary morals. *Rabagas*.

After the war, noteworthy works kept up the prestige of these illustrious names. Alexandre Dumas gave to his social and ethical pre-occupations a certain mystical tint, unexpected in the confidant of Marguerite Gautier, the prototype of *V Ami des Femmes*. He moralised, preached in his comedies and in their prefaces : woman (*La Femme de Claude*, 1873), is the cause of our defeats ; *l'Etrangle* and *la Princesse de Bagdad*, have ruined ancient French society ; " Kill her ! " says the preface to *la Femme de Claude*, Alexandre Dumas attacks the Code ; under M. Naquet's banner, he leads a campaign against divorce. New generations see a pontiff in the playwright of the *boulevard*. Towards the end, however, Dumas seems to hesitate ; he remains in suspense on the *Route de Thebes*.

Emile Autner System carried to excess, the difficulties of technique, conventionality in the choice of subjects and in dialogue, weary the public and the authors themselves. Emile Augier was growing old, and only attained a half success with *Madame Caverlet*. and little more with *Les Fourchambault*.

After going through deep emotions, France turned again to classical literature. Mounet-Sully¹ and Sarah Bernhardt,³ two creators, restored Racinian tragedy at the Theatre-Frangais, under the direction of M. Perrin, and attracted crowds to see *Britannicus*,

¹ Mounet Sully, b. Bergerac (Dordogne) 1841.

² Rosine Bernard, *alias* Sarah Bernhardt, b. Paris 1844.

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Andromaque and *Phedre*. Ballande inaugurated his classical matinees, not without some success. Bornier,¹ inspired by his country's woes, animated lyrical tragedy with the breath of life in the *Fille de Roland*.

The times having already become more serene, now demanded more humane, graceful, less intense writers. Victorien Sardou did not, with *La Haine*, obtain his erstwhile success of *Patrie*. The temperate generation of 1875 objected equally to declamation and satire ; it was better pleased with the second manner of Meilhac and Halevy, and with the restrained emotion of Gondinet, in the *Petite Marquise*, *Froufrou* and *la Mattresse Legitime*. The success of the time was *Le Monde ou Von s'ennuie*. Pailleron's tactful humour delighted a world which was perhaps somewhat bored; there is something *precieux* in that distant echo of Moliere's *Precieuses* ; a gentle and grey irony, like the times. The brightness of Labiche² had already begun to fade. Victorien Sardou uttered the last word, the last joke, in his witty *Divorgons*.

III

Novels The novel is at the same time the most popular and the most ephemeral of literary works. Its fancies amuse for a while, but forgetful crowds applaud other amusements with the same conviction and delight. Novels express a moment and moods of the soul. But a novel which has gone

¹ Vicomte Henri de Bornier, b. Lunel (Herault) 1828, a member of the Academie Franchise, d. 1901.

³ Eugene Labiche, b. Paris, 1815, a member of the Academie Franchise; d. 1888.

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out of fashion is like a second-hand garment; this is the ransom of the enthusiastic welcome which it receives in its freshness.

Alexandre Dumas, with his prodigious tales, had amused the generation of the sons of legend ; Balzac had electrified the minds of his contemporaries by throwing in their faces the caustic bitterness of modern life; George Sand had delighted young people with the eternal dream of amorous passion ; Flaubert had struck Balzac's realism into a medal; by diminishing it and by narrowing its limits, he had found epic poetry in minute detail.

Towards the end of the second Empire a new school was born. The hour was a sad one.¹ With the weariness of abortive systems, the fear of a tragic future, and the hatred of intellectual oppression, young men knew that they wanted something new, though they knew not what it might be. Science was then filling the world with the renown of its discoveries. Literature itself turned towards that rising sun. It was no longer sufficient to look upon life and to describe it; it had to be known from its very origin to its end, and explained. The works of Science, its fruitful results, had their grandeur, their poetry. The history of Man was now but an incident in the history of the world. The

¹ *VEducation Sentimentale* was the book of that period. See George Sand's study in *Questions d'Art et de Litterature* ; " Flaubert, in love with those general views which had thrown so strong a light on the history of Salammbô, this time expressed the general condition which marks the hours of social transition. Between that which is exhausted and that which is not yet developed, there is an unknown disease which weighs in various ways upon every life. It is the end of the aspirations of 1840 towards romanticism, shattered against *bourgeois* realities, the smiles of speculation and the deceitful ease of every-day life."

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same natural laws rule the world and Man. Poetry is the plaint of the Universe in its suffering growth. The least incident of this labour had to be sung and glorified. Each life is a function of the universal effort.

German Philosophy had founded the cult of Humanity. Auguste Comte had dictated the religion of the Positive ; Balzac had already observed that the history of man is but a natural history ; Renan had already, in 1848, written *l'Avenir de la Science* ; the whole of Taine's works had the same bearing ; Flaubert exclaimed, in 1860 : " History !—History and Natural History are the two Muses of Modern times.¹ Even Claude Bernard's authority was now invoked. This was *naturalism*,¹

¹ Nothing is more difficult than definition. Yet no school has given more definitions of itself than the naturalistic school. Emile Zola has written at least five volumes on the subject: *Le Roman experimental*, 1880 ; *Les Romanciers Naturalistes*, 1881; *Le Naturalisme au theatre*, 1881 ; *Mes Haines*, 1866 and 1879 ; *Nos auteurs dramatiques*, 1881 ; *Une Campagne*, 1882 ; *line Nouvelle Campagne*, 1896; *Documents litteraires*, 1881. He hesitates between the two formulæ "experimental novel" and "naturalistic novel." But the latter carried the day. For the "experimental" novel, here is a sentence which sums up many others: " We are determinists, who, experimentally, seek to determine the conditions of phenomena without ever, in the course of our investigations, going beyond the laws of nature; . . . we draw determination from human and social phenomena, in order that these phenomena may one day be ruled and directed. In a word, we, with the whole century, are working at the great task of the conquest of Nature, the multiplication of Man's powers." . . . *Le Roman Experimental*, p. 28-29. As to "naturalism," here is one definition among thousands, " Naturalism is the return to Nature, it is the operation discovered by scientists on the day when it occurred to them to start from the study of the body and its phenomena, and to proceed by analysis. Naturalism in letters is likewise a return to nature and to man, direct

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The brothers de Goncourt¹ were the precursors.

Through a reaction against " keepsake " novels and drawing-room literature *a la* Henri Monnier² and Champfleury,³ they chose their subjects from the life of the people ; they told a *blase* public of the adventures of Jupillon and opened the way to the literary " canaille " style, afterwards haughtily disavowed by the surviving brother in the preface to the *Fires Zernganno*.*

observation, accurate anatomy, the acceptance and the picture of everything that is." Observe what weak and flabby language this is. What would Flaubert have said ? Much has been written by others concerning these formulae, already so superannuated. See F. Brunetiere's *Le Roman Naturaliste*, i2mo, 1883.

¹ Edmond Huot de Goncourt, b. Nancy 1822, d. 1896. Jules Huot de Goncourt, his brother, b. Paris, 1830, d. 1870.

² Henri Monnier, b. Paris 1799, d. 1876.

³ Jules Fleury, *alias* Champfleury, b. Laon 1821, d. 1889.

⁴ A curious collection might be made of the " disavowals " which were bestowed on the school from 1875 onwards. Most of the " precursors " joined in this. E. de Goncourt wrote : " This preface is intended to warn young writers that the success of realism lies there (in the portrayal of the higher classes of Society) only there, and not in the *literary canaille exhausted at this time by their predecessors*." Zola, caught in the trap of his own eulogies to the Goncourts, protests, " I do not understand this expression and, for my part, do not accept it."—*Roman Experimental*, p. 269.

A. Dumas *fits* made his disavowal in the preface to *VEtranger*, 1879.

Flaubert wrote to George Sand (*Correspondance*, t. iv., p. 220 ; see the whole letter) : " I seek, above all things, Beauty, of which my companions seem to take little heed," etc.

Taine : " Probably, before the end of the century, M. Homais and M. Joseph Prudhomme will be the uncontested kings of our country. That is why our friend de Goncourt did very well to show us Jupillon and his successor, the sign-painter. It remains to be seen whether those persons, so important in science, should **and may** occupy the same position in art. I think not. You

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The initiators of "artistic writing"—
 Edmond and Jules de Goncourt before them called complicated style,—they spent weary efforts in cutting out strange figures in flat and twisted silhouettes; they lacked nothing but genius. Their narrow and "bizarre" Japanesque is nothing better than curious.

Emile Zola¹ is the real master of the school. He saw broadly and hit hard. No half-lights for him. He claimed to place himself exactly at the point of intersection between Literature and Science. The novel, such as he conceives it, or at least such as he advertises it, constitutes the whole literature of the century, and almost its whole science. The whole intellectual effort of the time has him for its goal. Claude Bernard is the god, and Emile Zola the prophet. No books but novels are to be written henceforth, because the

say you have read my *Philosophy of Art* \ permit me to ask you to look up the *Ideal in Art*. . . . In my opinion, Art and Science are two different orders ; when, by a novelist's process, you create a person, it is a composite, invented person, never a real, existing person, a real scientific document; as a scientific document, yours has but a doubtful and secondary value . . ."—See the whole *Letter to M. Francis Poictevin*, October 4th, 1883, in Giraud's *Essai sur Taine*, p. 268.

Claude Bernard himself uttered a disavowal. In the *Introduction to Experimental Medicine*, he wrote : " In art and in literature, personality dominates everything. There we have a spontaneous creation of the mind, and this has nothing in common with the consulting of natural phenomena, in which our minds may create nothing."

Naturally, Zola protested; see *Roman Experimental*, p. 48. However, when he himself came to define a novel as " a slice of life, *seen through a temperament*" he had to renounce his scientific claims ; for Science has nothing to do with the " temperament " of the experimenter.

¹ Emile Zola, b. Paris, 1840, d. 1902.

experimental novel, a " slice of life " and a " human document," will say the last word concerning Nature, the individual and Society. Naturalism is a philosophy, a system of aesthetics, a policy : " The empire of the world will belong to the nation which shows keenest observation and most powerful analysis."

The Empire of the World ! Such coarse exaggeration of a process and of an individuality has never been surpassed.

The whole of Emile Zola's genius is made up of coarseness and exaggeration. A son of the Ligurian coast, sonorous-voiced like the writers of the decadent Roman period, Seneca, Lucan, Claudian, this strange hero, a mixture of Hercules and Gaudissart, moves the world in order to make room for himself and to find buyers for his " great editions."¹ Already, in 1867, he had published *Therhe Raquin* ; in 1870, he began the Rougon-Macquart series, which he entitled : *The Social and Natural History of a family under the Second Empire*. He started somewhat

¹ See the following passage in the *Journal des Goncourt*, vol. v., p. 174 : " Zola, with a suddenly darkened face, starts on the chapter of his misfortunes. It is curious that the young novelist's confidences should so soon turn to melancholy words. Zola began an absolutely black picture of his youth, of the bitterness of his daily life, the insults addressed to him, the suspicion in which he is held, of the sort of ostracism that his works are subjected to. . . Zola continues grumbling, and, as we tell him that he is not much to be pitied, that he has done very well for a man who is not yet thirty-five : ' Well, shall I speak to you from the bottom of my heart ? ' he exclaims. ' You will **think** me a baby, but it cannot be helped ; . . . I shall never have the Cross, I shall never be in the Academy, I shall never have one of those distinctions which would consecrate my talent. For the public, I shall always be a pariah.' And he repeated four or five times : ' a pariah ! ' "

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too soon ; his subject aged rapidly, soon to savour of rancidity and staleness.

But nothing stopped his obstinate productiveness ; it would seem that the war had not touched him. He continued. *La Curee* (1874), *le Ventre de Paris* (1874), *VAssommoir* (1878), *Nana* (1880), were his most notable works at that period.

Zola belongs to the past by what remains in him of conventional pessimism and romantic grandiloquence ; but to the future by his cult of Nature and his divination of the part assigned to crowds. He breaks frankly with drawing-room literature and sneers at the affectations of his fair readers. He imposes his works by their enormities, the scandal which they raise, the new emotions they spread, and the animated visions which they offer. The swarming and crawling of life, especially of urban life, fills his books. No one had yet thought of depicting in such ornamental terms the commonplace of everyday life, and this very exaggeration endows *it* with a sort of frenzied poetry. For this theoretician of the *experimental novel* is especially a painter, a poet, an evocator. He handles crowds and makes of them a suite for his insignificant heroes; they fill, with their tumult, his somewhat thin tales. Base passions, obscure follies, vices, social sores, march before the reader, repeating their sad litanies on a monotonous rhythm which becomes a very obsession. Here are drinking-dens, brothels, hospitals, mortuaries. His art, like that of Jordaens, revels in the painting of crude and violent effects, of rich and powerful flesh-tints, of loose, unbridled debaucheries. Future generations will not read his books, but his name will be remembered. Celebrated, both by his strength and by his errors, he will appear, in the

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decadence of Romanticism, to which he gave the finishing stroke, like a dark and gigantic Petronius.

Can we call subtle and delicate Alphonse Daudet¹ a follower of the Naturalist School—he who, if he had not lived in terror of his noisy comrade, would rather have claimed kinship with old French narrators, La Fontaine, and even Florian? He, too, came from the South, but from a smiling South, the land of romance and serenades. Vibrating and impressionable, refined and measured, he is classical at heart; his imagination is lively but short, his taste sure and watchful, his psychology acute and penetrating. He is connected with the School almost solely by the "notation" process, of which he makes great show.² But his high-life and middle-class novels have no claim but to amuse and interest their readers. He is most himself, master of his prudent genius and secure of fame, when he smilingly relates the history of the *Petit Chose*, the *Contes de mon Moulin* and the sublime boastings of *Tartarin de Tarascon*.

This good-sense, taste, Latin and classical grace, constitute the real genius of the race, resisting and asserting itself in spite of defeat.

It inspired the writers of the new Renaissance, the Provencal Renaissance, poets of local life, following in the road opened by Mistral³ in the paternal soil: Ferdinand Fabre, Emile Pouvillon, Leon Cladel, Andre Theuriet,⁴ whose fresh and natural sincerity

¹ Alphonse Daudet, b. Nîmes 1840, d. 1897.

² The celebrated "little note books," of which extracts have been published: *Notes sur la Vie*, 1899, 12mo.

³ Frederic Mistral, b. Maillane (Bouches-du-Rhône) 1830.

⁴ Ferdinand Fabre, b. Bedarieux (Hérault) 1830, d. 1898;

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turns with tenderness and emotion towards the delicate horizons of ancient France.

It inspires the writers of the beloved country, Deroulede, Manuel, Laprade, Emile Bergerat, Bornier.¹

Fustel de Coulanges, ² that perfectly-balanced historian, who, by a sort of prescience, had written *la Cite Antique* (1864), and who, as soon as the war was over, applied himself, with pure and exalted feelings, to that other *chef-d'oeuvre*, *Histoire des Institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, of which the first volume appeared in 1874 ; a work admirable in its science, restraint and light, which was to be so cruelly rent and interrupted by mean criticism.

It was this same national and indigenous genius which caused a fair green branch to sprout on the old French poetical trunk. Poets became prophets once more; hope rose from their faith.³

Zola did not value them highly : " Flute-players," he said. From the height of his famous " hundred-

Emile Pouvillon, b. Montauban 1840 ; Leon Cladel, b. Montauban 1835, d. 1892 ; Andre Theuriet, b. Marly-le-Roi 1834, a member of the Academie Francaise.

¹ Paul Deroulede, b. Paris 1846; Eugene Manuel, b. Paris 1823 ; Victor Richard de Laprade, b. Montbrison (Loire), 1812, a member of the Academie Francaise, d. 1883; Emile Bergerat, b. Paris 1845. It is well to quote here the poems or books inspired in the most illustrious writers by the war : Victor Hugo, *l'Annee Terrible*; Theophile Gautier, *Tableaux du Siege* ; Sully-Prudhomme, *Impressions de Guerre* ; Theodore de Banville, *Idylles Prussiennes* ; Deroulede *Chants du Soldat*; Manuel, *Poemes Populaires*, *Pendant la Guerre*; De Laprade, *Poemes Civiques*.

² Fustel de Coulanges, b. Paris 1830, d. 1889.

³ In a coming volume, a special study will be made of historical literature, and of sciences akin to history.

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thousandths" he thought himself secure for posterity.¹

Humble admirers of the name and works of Victor Hugo, pious disciples of the master, the poets borrowed his language and technique. But their inspiration was already different. Theophile Gautier with consummate art, and firm conscious strength, had raised the standard of a respectful rebellion. He is the first of the great Pagans ; through him, the divinities of Olympus have been restored to Heaven and to Earth.

Theodore de Banville² sings of voluptuous love and pearl-white bosoms ; his faultless rhymes describe the farcical phantasy of modern life ; he is the Theocritus of the *boulevard*, and raises an altar to Venus in the gardens of the Luxembourg.

But here is a new master, Leconte de Lisle.³ A severe inquisitor of form, he evokes every Paganism against the Church, he carries his thought over the whole universe, in search of past or distant glory, as if to obscure the Catholic heaven with the shadow of all the gods which he raises to their feet. He is on his guard against himself and his own times. His hatred is for the commonplace, the conventional, the vulgar. The Beautiful alone is true, since it alone is perfect. As to the poet himself, he is but a contemptible accident if his soul is anything but the mirror of eternal Beauty. This impassive master tells of what he knows and what he sees :

¹ See in *Documents Littéraires*, concerning Victor Hugo, Alfred de Musset, Thdophile Gautier, Zola's appreciation of French poetry and contemporary lyricism.

² Theodore Faullain de Banville, b. Paris 1823, d. 1891.

³ Charles Marie Leconte de Lisle, b. St. Paul (Isle of Bourbon) 1818, a member of the Academie Francaise, d. 1894.

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never of what he feels and what he suffers. His works are a pure and cold spring ; life in them leaves but the strange impression of a reflection.

After the war, he receives, in his flat in the Boulevard des Invalides, young men hypnotised by his eye-glass ; he keeps a jealous surveillance over the correctitude of style and the nobility of inspiration. He is not indulgent; a burning pain has hurt him. He translates and annotates ancient poets, he calls the gods by their venerable names. His faultless art sends forth, in the midst of modern commonplace, the *Erinnyes*, breathing ill-understood thirst for revenge.

Baudelaire¹ had died in 1867. His imagination is romantic, but his gorgeous form is quite classical ; he delights, alarms and seduces. His strange genius throws a mysterious spell over coming ages.

Here are now the masters of the " Contemporary Parnassus."² "We cherished," said one of their number, "a hatred of all poetic slovenliness, and worshipped the chimera of perfect beauty," And this school, which has been so much ridiculed, aims steadily at achieving correctness and precision of expression, fidelity of sentiment, purity of language,

¹ Charles Baudelaire, b. Paris 1821, d. 1867.

² Brunetiere's two volumes, *L'Envolution de la Poesie Lyrique en France au XIX^{eme}*. Steele (2 vols., 12mo, 1894), and Theophile Gautier's *Rapport sur le Progres des Lettres, redige a l'occasion de l'Exposition de 1867* (1868) should be read again ; also, the *Legende du Parnasse Conteniporain*, by Catulle Mendes (Brussels, 1884), and especially, the *Rapport stir le Moavement Poetique Francais de 1867 a 1900* also by Catulle Mendes. The collection of reports for the Exhibition of 1900, (Imprimerie Nationale 1902), forms an encyclopaedia of French poetry during half a century. I should also like to mention the " etudes vecues " by M. Roujon, which appeared in the *Temps* of 1904.

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variety and ease of rhythm, and an indescribable quality, musical, exquisite and rare, which lends an added grace to beauty.

Sully-Prudhomme,¹ whose troubled and virginal spirit introduces mathematics into rhythm and scientific precision into the study of the finest shades of feeling, is the delicate conscience of an epoch tormented by uncertainty, regret and remorse. Fugitive dreams, disappointed hopes, the oppression of fate, the impotence of will, desires, endeavours, make his verse short, compact and breathless. If it were not that the transparent light of the soul rendered them so sweet, his lines would often seem obscure, incomplete and forced.

Francois Coppee,² whose muse is Goodness itself, gentle and tender, devoting his attention to the small and humble, touched by the sight of a corner of a suburb, by a posture of some good old granny, by a nameless devotion or a silent tear, "was a charitable visitor to the cottage in the field, the cabin on the shore, or the garret high in the sky,"³ ready with stories quaint and true for others as simple as himself, but giving them also legends and romantic dramas alive with kings in all their majesty, knights glorious with heroism, poets thrilling with song.

J. M. de Heredia We must now mention two poets whose works and reputations were somewhat more tardy, but whose inspiration was drawn from the fount of "Parnassus," namely, Jose-Maria de

¹ Sully-Prudhomme, b. Paris 1839, member of the Academie Frangaise.

² Francois Coppee, b. Paris 1842, member of the Academic Francaise.

³ Catulle Mendes, *Rapport sur le Mouvement Poetique Francais*.

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Heredia and Verlaine,¹ both of them true artists, natural and ingenuous, both models of verse, the one for his impeccable plastics, the other for his disturbing and musical vagueness. Jose-Maria de Heredia completes the poetical and literary evolution of the century—he is at once a historian, a painter, and a sculptor. His language is faultless, his feeling intense, his tact exquisite, and his judgment wise. History forms the sum of his short epic ; life breathes in the perfect design of each admirable epitome ; the whole range of French poetry, from Corneille to La Fontaine, from Victor Hugo to Leconte de Lisle, is echoed in the forcible phrasing of his sonnets. Of all that our time has produced, his short poems are, perhaps, those which are most certain to survive ; the very children will know them by heart. His only collection of verse, *Les Trophees*, resplendent with Latin grace and glory, was like a brilliant index to the beautiful book which formed the French poetry of the nineteenth century.

Verlaine It is with delightful unconsciousness that Verlaine essays the earliest song of future ages. He goes back to the beginnings of things, and is also a fore-runner. Like Villon, he would tell us the ballad of *La Bonne Lorraine*, or that of *La Belle qui jut Heaulmihe*. Like La Fontaine, he would learn the language of animals, that he might speak it to children. He draws deeply from the treasury of folk-lore ; he lends an attentive ear to the whispers of the passing breeze and the growing grass. His joys, his gaiety, his folly, his

¹ Jose-Maria de Heredia, b. Fortuna-Cafeyere (Cuba) 1842, member of the Academie Francaise ; Paul Verlaine, b. Metz 1844, d. 1896.

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misery, his surrenders, his tears, his repentance, are all human and *of the people*. He is the least literary of men, and the wisest of writers ; he is ingenuous, and at the same time very shrewd, a street-singer whose high, clear voice repeats old airs dear to the heart, or modulates the strange music of rhythms hitherto unheard.

Many other poets, vigorous or exquisite, would be great in a period of less greatness ; the Hellenic Catulle Mendes.¹ the brilliant Armand Silvestre,² and that delightful and delicate master whose spirit makes complaint with " sealed lips," Leon Dierx³ ; Andre Theuriet, the poet of the French and sylvan, country of Bois-Joli, the landscape-painter Andre Lemoyne.⁴ the philosopher Andre Lefevre⁵ and Stephane Mallarme.⁶ the mysterious forefather of symbolism. Alphonse Daudet Maupassant⁷ was a poet, Bourget⁸ and Jules Lemaitre⁹ were poets. But these are the names of the future.

And there are many others, poets or prose writers ; Villiers de l'Isle Adam,¹⁰ Fromentin,¹¹ whose name

¹ Catulle Mendes, b. Bordeaux 1843.

² Armand Silvestre, b. Paris 1838, d. 1901.

³ Leon Dierx, b. Island of Reunion 1838.

⁴ Andre Lemoyne, b, Saint-Jean-d'Angely (Charente) 1822.

⁵ Andre Lefevre, b. Provins (Seine-et-Marne) 1834, d. 1902.

⁶ Stephane Mallarme, b. Paris, 1842, d. 1898.

⁷ Guy de Maupassant, b. Miromesnil (Seine Inferieure) 1850, d. 1893.

⁸ Paul Bourget, b. Amiens, 1852, member of the Academie Francaise.

⁹ Jules Lemaitre, b. Vennecy (Loiret) 1853, member of the Academie Francaise.

¹⁰ Count Auguste de Villiers de l'Isle Adam, b. Saint Brieuc 1838, d. 1889.

¹¹ Eugene Fromentin, b. La Roehelle 1820, d. 1876.

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would live even had he done **nothing** but **write** *Dominique* ; Jules Valles ; Cherbuliez¹ and Amiel,² who carry on the fruitful vein of French humour, child of the cool Swiss Alps ; and finally, that surprising gentleman of letters, the last supporter of romanticism, the paradoxical and thundering writer of the *Diaboliques*, of the *Pretre Marie*, and of the *Ensorcellee*, the voluminous and sagacious critic of *les CEuvres et les Homtnes du X I X^{e m e} Steele*, Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly!³

IV

Literature multiplies and shoots forth to some extent involuntarily, according to the necessities of the time. Excellent and painstaking workers were engaged in a vast enterprise of reparation and reform. Like ants in an ant-heap after some disaster, each one was hard at work, and contributed his ideas, his originality, the best he could do. Renan produced *La Rejorme Intellectuelle et Morale*; Edgar Quinet, *L'Esprit Nouveau* ; Taine, *Le Suffrage Universel* and *Notes sur VAngleterre* ; Dupanloup,⁴ *La France Studieuse*, *Le Manage Chretien* ; George Sand, *Questions Politiques et Sociales* ; Athanase Coquerel,⁵ *La Religion de Jesus*; the Marquis d'Audiffret, *La Liberation de la Propriete* ; Le Play,⁶ *Organisation du*

¹ Victor Cherbuliez, b. Geneva 1829, member of the Academic Francaise, d. 1899.

² Frederic Amiel, b. Geneva 1821, d. 1881.

³ Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, b. Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte (Manche) 1808, d. 1889.

⁴ Monseigneur Felix Dupanloup, member of the Acad6mie Francaise, b. Saint-Felix (Savoy) 1802, d. 1878.

⁵ Athanase Coquerel, b. Amsterdam 1820, d. 1875.

⁶ Frederic Le Play, b. Havre 1806, d. 1882.

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Travail, the new editions of the *Reforme Sociale*, the *Organisation de la Famille*, *La Reforme en Europe* and the *Salut de la France* ; Emile de Girardin published¹ *L' Homme et la Femme*, *Lettres d'un Logicien*, *Grandeur et Decadence de la France* ; Maxime du Camp² *Paris, ses Organes, ses Fonctions et sa Vie*; Gabriel Charmes, *Nos Fautes, Lettres de Province*; Dupont-White, *La Republique Conservatrice, La Centralisation*; Laboulaye, *Questions Constitutionnelles, L'Allemagne et ses Pays Slaves* ; Laveleye, *Des Causes Actuelles de Guerre en Europe*, We must also notice the writings of Scherer,³ Montegut, Anatole⁴ and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu ;⁵ Emile Boutmy,⁶ one of the most exalted, most intense amongst the rare minds capable of handling the subject of the psychology of nations; Edmond About⁷ ; Francisque Sarcey ;⁸ J. J. Weiss,⁹ an exquisite writer, whose activity spreads itself with equal firmness and grace over a wide range of subjects ; Jules Claretie,¹⁰ *La Guerre Rationale, Histoire de la Revolution de 1870-1871* ; Mazade ;¹¹

¹ Emile de Girardin, b. Paris 1806, d. 1888.

² Maxime du Camp, b. Paris 1822, member of the Academic Francaise; d. 1894.

³ Edmond Scherer, b. Paris 1815, d. 1889.

⁴ Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, b. Lisieux 1842, member of the Institut.

⁵ Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, his brother, b. Saumur 1843, member of the Institut.

⁶ Emile Boutmy, b. Paris 1835, member of the Institut.

⁷ Edmond About, b. Dieuze (Lorraine) 1828, member of the Academic Franchise, d. 1885.

⁸ Francisque Sarcey, b. Dourdan (Seine-et-Oise), 1828, d. 1899.

⁹ J. J. Weiss, b. Bayonne 1828, d. 1891.

¹⁰ Jules Claretie, b. Limoges 1840, member of the Academie Franchise.

¹¹ Charles de Mazade, b. Castel Sarrazin (Tarn-et-Garonne) 1820, member of the Academic Francaise, d. 1893.

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Vacherot,¹ and again Cherbuliez, who signs with his pseudonym of Valbert the chronicles of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Military-
Literature The literature called into being by the war and concerned with the reconstitution of our military forces is, in itself, very considerable and useful; it is impossible to omit mention of the books of Vinoy, of Chanzy, of Faidherbe, of the polemics stirred up by the Bazaine case, the works of Chareton, of Sere de Riviere, of the Due d'Aumale, and the Due d'Audiffret-Pasquier.

The
Literature
of
Instruction There is also a didactic literature, a literature of education and instruction, which forms a defence for that other bulwark, namely, French understanding.

Methods were judged and renewed. Jules Simon,² Greard, Michel Breal, Dumont, Bersot and Frary were all engaged in this work. Victor Duruy³ had, before the war, made a new departure, which had good results, in founding the School of Advanced Studies, "l'Ecole des Hautes-Etudes."

The traditions of criticism and learning were maintained at the College de France and at the Ecole des Chartes; at the same time, Quicherat, Tournier, Gaston Paris,⁴ Anatole de Montaiglon, Paul Meyer, Leon Renier, Desjardins, Rayet, Bergaigne, Arsene

¹ Etienne Vacherot, b. Langres, 1809, member of the Institute, d. 1897.

² Jules Francois-Simon Suisse, otherwise Jules Simon, b. Lorient 1814, member of the Academie Francaise, d. 1896.

³ Victor Duruy, b. Paris 1811, member of the Academie Francaise, d. 1894.

⁴ Gaston Paris, b. Avenay (Marne) 1839, member of the Academie Francaise and of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, d. 1903.

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and James Darmesteter.' Gabriel Monod, Arthur Giry, and Charles Graux attracted assiduous and studious audiences.

At the Sorbonne, the professors took up the problems of history and philosophy in a practical and modern spirit. Gaston Boissier,² Saint-Marc Girardin.' Saint-Rene Taillandier, Martha, Caro.' Havet," Mezieres, all exercised great influence upon matters of literature and instruction.⁶

¹ Arsene Darmesteter, b. Chateau-Salins (Meurthe) 1846, d. 1888; James Darmesteter, his brother, b. Chateau-Salins (Meurthe) 1849, d. 1894'

² Gaston Boissier, b. Nimes 1823, Permanent Secretary of the Academie Francaise, member of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

³ Saint-Marc Girardin. b. Paris 1801, member of the Academie Francaise, d. 1873.

⁴ Elme Caro, b. Poitiers 1826, member of the Academie Francaise, d. 1887.

⁵ Ernest Havet, b. Paris 1813, member of the Institute, d. 1890.

⁶ Most of the courses of lectures at the Sorbonne and at the College of France re-opened after the war with a very evident patriotic character. Lenient treats of the *National Epic in France*; Janet, of *Political Philosophy*; Charles Leveque, of the *Political Theories of the Greeks*; Egger, of the *Political Philosophy of Thucydides*. The latter remarked, on commencing his lectures : " Ignorance of mankind (to quote Bossuet) is the great evil of our times, above all it is an evil in thousands of men who are called by our institutions to take part in public affairs." M. Philarete Chasles treated of the *Formation of Character amongst Free Nations*, M. Caro spoke on *Moral Reforms* (representing average ideas, and saying : " the most urgent necessity at present is to re-introduce seriousness into customs and ideas "); the same writer set forth the *Principles and Elements of Social Morals*. The general tendency was remarkably patriotic and moral, but independent, if not agnostic. M. Martha treated of the *Last Philosophers of Paganism* ; during the course of his lectures on Seneca and St. Paul he developed the idea that morals were already established when Christianity

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A creation, perhaps inspired by the first trial attempted by Hippolyte Carnot * in 1848, proposed to prepare political vocations amongst the middle classes : this was the School of Political Sciences, due to the initiative of MM. Boutmy and Vinet. Its conception was minutely elaborated ; Taine took a passionate interest in it. He wrote on November 29th, 1871: " Not only is business starting again, but there also is a lively awakening of public spirit and national feeling. Many people are developing a fresh taste for politics ; they have plenty of goodwill and are ready to give money. We are founding in Paris, by private subscription, a free School for the teaching of Political Sciences. I meet a quantity of people who feel that their duty and interest lie in that direction." He gave the opening speech at the inauguration of the School on January 13th. 1872.²

Admirable workers erected literary monuments in which were to be found the elegant lines and proportions of great French works. Littré³ with his Dictionary, produced the first complete inventory of the French language ; Henri Martin⁴ completed his *History of France* and wrote his *Histoire Populaire*. Elisee Reclus⁵ began his *Geographic Universe*; Victor Duruy completed his supple and robust

arose. M. Havet set forth *Social and Religious Morals in Epic-tetus*, and subsequently studies an *Em per or-Philosopher, Marcus Aurelius*.

¹ Hippolyte Carnot, b. St. Omer 1801, d. 1888.

² To be found in the *Revue Politique et Littéraire*.

³ Emile Littré, b. Paris 1801, d. 1881, a member of the Academie Frangaise,

⁴ Henri Martin, b. St. Quentin 1810, d. 1883, a member of the Academie Frangaise.

⁵ Elisee Reclus, b. Foy la Grande (Gironde) 1831, d. 1904.

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Histoire des Remains; Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire¹ continued his translation of Aristotle; Viollet-le-Duc² completed his *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture du Moyen-Age et du Mobilier*. Revised editions came out of Quérard's *France Littéraire* and Brunet's *Manuel du bibliophile*. Pierre Larousse³ published the last volumes of his *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^{ème} Siècle*. Most of the classics were the object of the minutest care in the editions of the Collection of Great Writers, published by Messrs. Hachette, or in Lemerre's publications; Memoirs and Documents of French history appeared in the *Collection des Documents Inédits*, or in that of the *Société de l'Histoire de France*. The members of the Académie des Inscriptions, Renan, Leon Renier, Haureau, Patin,⁴ Weill, Leopold Delisle, published their scientific works in the *Corpus*, the *Bulletins*, the *Journal des Savants*, the *Revue Critique*, etc.

How could we number the writers, who now formed a literary throng? Everyone wrote; democracy reigned everywhere. Universal suffrage stimulated universal production. In the history of thought a place must be given to the vulgarisation, or at least to the divulgation of ideas. Thousands of brains worked at it, as thousands of arms would work at an industry. The work was perhaps less finished, aptitudes less rare, conscience less exacting, taste less sure, but the effort was wider, more vigorous, more penetrating. Numbers are aimed at; the

¹ Jules Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire, b. Paris 1805, a member of the Institute, d. 1895.

² Eugene Emmanuel Viollet le Due, b. Paris 1814, d. 1879.

³ Pierre Larousse, b. Toucy (Yonne) 1817, d. 1875.

⁴ Guillaume Patin, b. Paris 1793, Permanent Secretary of the Académie Française, d. 1876.

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method is lucidity and success the goal. Literary work is no longer polished in the retreat of a study or under the trees of a Port-Royal; intellectual labour is improvised in public places, completed in the tumult of printing-rooms, or in an editor's office ; a very dust of ideas is scattered in the streets, vibrating with a constant trepidation.

Enumerations would be Homeric; from
 Propagation of ideas the creating genius who tears himself away from his solitary meditations in order to teach the young or to speak to the masses, to the news reporter and the lecturer who, by relating the smallest incident or by expounding the discoveries of Science or the anecdotes of history, are perhaps the most efficacious agents for the propagation and elaboration of ideas.

Whilst poetry, avoiding coarse contacts, takes refuge in her " ivory tower," the topical piece, the comic-opera song, the cafe-concert refrain, as formerly the *Pont Neuf* and the *turlupinades* of Tabarin are scattered to the four winds; their very vulgarity offers to the crowds a little ideal, a little relief, in the same way as, in the public bars, a glass of wine or a small glass of brandy offers them physical excitement or stupor.

In theatres, successful dramas followed upon problem plays : the " Carnival " of the Empire was over ; the operetta or vaudeville amused the crowds in a less farcical way. After the repertory of Offenbach and Herve came that of Lecocq, Planquette and Serpette.¹

* Jacques Offenbach, b. Cologne 1819, d. 1881; Florimond Rouger, otherwise Hervé, b. Houdain (Pas de Calais) 1825, d. 1892 ; Charles Lecocq, b. Paris 1832 ; Robert Planquette, b. Paris 1848, d. 1903 ; Gaston Serpette, b. Nantes 1846, d. 1904.

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Operetta, somewhat different from " *opéra-bouffe*" had at that time an incomparable vogue. After *Orphée aux Enfers* and *La Belle Hélène*, came *la Fille de Madame Angot*, *Girofle-Girofla*, *les Cent Vierges*, *la Petite Mariée*, *les Cloches de Corneville*. A sadder note marked the chansons of Theresa.

The roman-feuilleton hypnotised unsuspecting imaginations. It charmed, rocked to sleep and took thoughts away from the flight of time. A sudden surprise, a daily shock, was indefinitely reproduced by the accepted artifice of the "To be continued in our next." This was no longer the age of Ponson du Terrail, but that of Xavier de Montepin, d'Ennery, Richebourg, Hector Malot, A. Belot, etc.¹

A whole generation shed sincere tears over the orphans in *Sans Famille*.

Science, History, and Geography had their "vulgarisators,"^M who by their large editions and moderate prices, satisfied the growing thirst of the public. Figuier² described the *Merveilles de la Science* and published *VAnnée Scientifique*. Jules Verne,ⁿ the Alexandre Dumas of Geography, determined vocations by his *Five Weeks in a Balloon* and *Round the World in Eighty days*.

From the moment when books were thus popularised, it becomes impossible to calculate their influence. A manual, a small booklet, a cheap

¹ Vicomte Pierre Alexis Ponson du Terrail, b. Montélimar 1829, d. 1871 ; Comte Xavier de Montepin, b. Apremont 1828, d. 1902 ; Adolphe Philippe, otherwise d'Ennery, b. Paris 1811, d. 1899 ; Emile Richebourg, b. Meusy (Haute-Marne) 1833, d. 1897 ; Hector Malot, b. la Bouille (Seine Inferieure) 1830 ; Adolphe Belot, b. La Pointe-i-Pitre (Guadalupe) 1830, d. 1890.

² Louis Figuier, b. Montpellier 1819, d. 1894.

³ Jules Verne, b. Nantes 1828. d. 1905.

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magazine, becomes the unperceived vehicle of good or of evil. The hazard of perhaps furtive readings decides a destiny. There is no control over the *tete-a-tete* of the book and its reader; enthusiasm leads to infatuation, Logic to error, affectation of style to paradox. He who writes exaggerates. The spirit, like the letter, sometimes kills instead of vivifying. One who was refractory to this influence enumerated the "victims of books." "Search for the woman/' said a judge : "I say, search for the volume, the chapter, the page. . . . Joy, sorrows, love, revenge, our sobs, laughter, passions, crimes, everything is a copy, everything. Not one of our emotions is an original one ; *the book underlies everything.*"¹

Some books are periodical, or Reviews.

Reviews

The Review at that time was the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. For a long time it provided intellectual pabulum to the cultured classes. Reading-rooms were not much frequented, private libraries were costly and cumbersome. When the lawyer, the physician, or the provincial official, had collected, in the mahogany shelves which formed an indispensable feature of his study, the works of Voltaire, of Jean-Jacques, M. Thiers' *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, Henri Martin's *Histoire de France*, a few technical works, a few novels, "prize-books" in their gaudy covers, and missals with silver clasps, they went no further. The Reviews provided fresh ideas and knowledge if anything was to be added to this closed reservoir.

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* brought into the provinces the mode of thought and atmosphere of Paris ;

¹ J. Valles. See M. Caro's article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of July 15th, 1871, "Les Refractaires."

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people liked to leave it about in their drawing-rooms. It brought with it, every fortnight, the thrill of the latest novel. M. Buloz¹ who edited it, had formed a very clear and firm conception of the French *bourgeois* soul. He enlisted and governed letters ; genius, invention, fantasy, talent, were submitted to the rules of a correct style and the strictest hierarchy. The *Revue* was an exclusive house, a highly respectable one, of which the tone, perhaps a little cold and slow, was always correct, consistent, and sometimes sensuous. Everything that an average Frenchman of the nineteenth century should know is to be found in the *Revue*. Half-religious and half-sceptical, arbitrary and liberal, literary and scientific, it realised as far as possible the ideal of the middle classes, and uttered the decrees of the doctrine of the happy medium. It was connected with the University and with political circles. Being *bourgeois*, it distrusted the masses ; it sulked with the government, either Empire or Republic; it reigned over the Academy, consorted with society and the theatre, and hypnotised literary salons. About 1877, when Francois Buloz died, the *Revue des Deux Mondes* was at the climax of its fortunes. Its salmon-coloured cover synchronises absolutely with the high silk hat and frock-coat of the *bourgeois*.

The *Correspondent*, founded in 1843, defends the doctrines of Liberal Catholicism. The *Revue de France*, which appeared after the war, was more particularly the organ of the Orleanist party. The *Revue des cours politiques et litteraires*, created by Eugene Yung² in 1863, was at first timidly confined

¹ Francis Buloz, b. Vulbens (Haute-Savoie) 1804, d. 1877.

² Eugene Yung, b. Paris 1827, d. 1887.

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by the Universitarian horizon ; after the fall of **the** Empire, it became emancipated. Gambetta was said to have written some articles for it. It was read by the students and with its well-balanced Liberalism, and rapid, useful information, completed by its fellow, the *Revue Scientifique*, it had a real influence on the tendencies of Republican youth.

Young Reviews of a more literary character, the *Pamasse Contemporain* and the *Republique des lettres*, were born and died, leaving, however, a luminous path behind them.

Technical reviews, such as the *Revue des Questions historiques*, *Revue historique*, *Revue critique*. *Revue de VEcole des Charles*, *Revue Scientifique*, *Economique*, *VEconomiste Frangais*, *Revue Philosophique*, had their special readers.

Illustrated
Papers The illustrated weeklies disseminated information, lessons, or impressions, by means of pictures. *La Vie Parisienne*, *le Charivari*, *la Lune*, *l'Eclipse*, follow the events of worldly and political life. Taine published in the *Vie Parisienne*, edited by his friend Marcelin,¹ the somewhat heavy fancies of Thomas Graindorge ; it is said to have included among its contributors Armand Nisard and Gustave Droz.²

André Gill, A. Le Petit, Bertall, Grevin³ were the caricaturists in vogue*; on the stalls of the kiosks they secured for contemporary figures a violent popularity through the exaggeration of characteristics. M. Thiers' tuft of hair, Gambetta's round eyes, the pear of Orleanism and the club of Bona-

¹ Emile Planat, otherwise Marcelin, b. Paris 1830, d. 1878.

² Gustave Droz, b. Paris 1832, d. 1895.

³ Louis-Alexandre Gosset de Guines, otherwise Andre Gill, b. Paris 1840, d. 1885 ; Albert Amoux, otherwise Bertall, b. Paris 1822 ; Alfred Grevin, b. Epineuil (Yonne) 1830, d. 1892,

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partism, offered inexhaustible subjects to the freedom of the pencil.

The *Magasin pittoresque*, *Villustration*, *le Monde Illustre*, applied new inventions to the demand for rapid information. In drawing-rooms, clubs, cafes, wherever illustrations penetrated, the public could look at a picture of its own daily life. Prompt judgment is incited by this constant evocation ; immediate knowledge and instruction is scattered by the leaves on which wood engraving has reproduced a sketch. These collections will one day constitute priceless historical documents, in which the durable vision of that which was ephemeral will have been fixed in a fragile monument.

V

Daily
Papers Books and magazines, however, were still the privilege of the few. Here comes the all-pervading sheet, the newspaper.

The Press is like the tongue, according to Esop, worst of all and best of all.

As soon as it exists, it becomes free, for, like water, it can neither be grasped nor compressed. Veillot, who gave his life up to it,¹ said that it belonged to " the redoubtable order of necessary evils." Emile de Girardin, who affirmed the " impotence of the Press," created the cheap press, the "half-penny papers." From that moment, democracy reigned. General opinion was awakened by these daily bell-ringers spreading the news before dawn.

The diverse phases of the fight against the Press mark the stages of Napoleon III.'s **reign**. **The**

¹ Louis Veillot, b. Boynes (Loiret) 1813, d. 1883.

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decree of 1852 had restored the whole arsenal of the First Empire. Only the re-establishment of censorship, condemned by public opinion since the 1830 *ordonnances*, had caused some hesitations. The law of May nth, 1868, in its slow successive forms, characterises the "Liberal Empire." It had suppressed previous authorisation and the faculty reserved to the Government of suspending or interdicting newspapers. On the whole, the regime of the Press much resembled that which had existed towards the end of the July monarchy. The stamp, deposit, and taxes still shackled the development of daily newspapers.

But under either regime, it is well known how dangerous the Press proved for the Second Empire. Between the administration and the small press there was a memorable battle ; the lion was vanquished by the midge. The multiplicity and intensity of the wounds can be measured by two names—Prejvost-Paradol and Rochefort.¹

On September 5th, 1870, the Government of the National Defence abolished the stamp tax forj newspapers and other periodical publications. Fife days later, another decree pronounced the liberty of the printing-press and of the book-trade. Two decrees, dated October 10th and 27th, suppressed bails and attributed to the Jury the cognisance of political and press offences. This was liberty.

To begin with, the National Assembly, full of the recollections of opposition to the Empire, had feafed neither the thing itself nor its name. The

Marquis Henri de Rochefort Lucay, otherwise Henri Rochefort], b. Paris, 1832.

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Law of April 15th, 1871, voted after a very **Liberal** report and speech from the Due de Broglie.' established a regime borrowed from the Laws of May 26th, 1819, and July 27th, 1849. The offences of libel and injuries to private individuals were left to the appreciation of the *Tribunal Correctionnel*; but libel on officials was placed under the jurisdiction of the Assize Court, with this definite provision, that it was not permissible to separate the civil action for damages from the criminal cause; finally, the proof of the facts alleged was authorised.³

These favourable provisions did not last long. Immediately after the Commune, the law of July 6th, 1871, re-established the deposit of a guarantee fund; the law of September 4th to 16th, 1871, created a special tax of 20 francs per hundred kilograms of the paper used for news.

In spite of these obstacles, often as embarrassing to those who impose them as to those whom they are intended to hinder, daily papers became more and more numerous; their circulation increased.

Emile de Girardin understood the strength which "publicity" gives to publication. He was an unequalled advertiser, the very organiser of ad-

¹ Here are some extracts from the speech of the Due de Broglie "In Press matters, all systems have succeeded or failed according as to whether they have or have not been supported by general opinion. . . . Every system of repression has failed when public opinion has sided with the writer and has taken the trouble to supply the gaps made by his forced silence and restrictions, to understand his allusions. . . . The Assembly cannot resort to such methods; it will have none of the stupefying poison of Dictatorship; it demands the painful but drastic and valid remedies of liberty."

³ See Fabreguettes, *Traite des infractions de la parole, de l'écriture et de la presse*, vol. i., p. 382 and following.

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vertisement. Soon Marinoni¹ constructed the rotary press. He sent to the London Exhibition in 1872 a printing machine which could turn out 18,000 copies an hour, of the size of the larger Paris papers; at Vienna, in 1873, this machine appeared perfected and completed.

The sale of single copies in public places and in kiosks, tried towards the end of the Empire, rapidly developed, and added its powerful pulsation to the trepidation of urban life.

So here was a new era, and the accession of the "fourth estate." France inaugurated, fully and completely, with no veto or restriction, the reign of Public Opinion. An intangible, indefinable power, made up of the circulation of ideas through the social body, the origin of the impulse remaining unknown; from the centre to the extremities and back to the centre, a constant interchange goes on.

Bismarck thought to qualify this regime by calling it "the reign of the ten thousand." He no doubt thought that an opinion has its source in the brain and under the pen of those who formulate it. It is not so; they obey, like the others. They listen to the suggestions of an occult influence which they are accustomed to obey before it is expressed, as the "chef" divines the appetite and taste of his master; by giving a name to an emotion they spread it,—but it was there already in a latent state. The Press is like a drum: when it expresses popular feeling it gathers crowds and sets enthusiasm alight; but if it is mistaken, its dull sound stimulates none to action—the drum is broken.

¹ Hippolyte Marinoni, b. Sivry-Courty (Seine-et-Marne) 1823, d. 1903.

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The Press is not Public Opinion ; it is but its echo, sometimes deformed, sometimes formidably multiplied.

Public Opinion Public opinion is the conscience of the social body, the judgment unceasingly passed by the latter on acts important to its destiny. Opinion, like Conscience, errs for those reasons which make life uncertain and difficult.

The reign of free opinion means the greatest possible share given to vital instinct—sometimes at the expense of reasoning and calculation—in the conduct of Societies.

Modern discoveries, the acceleration of public life, impart to the manifestations of this instinctive conscience a prodigious vivacity and a marvellous rapidity of divination and decision. All hands are on deck. But, at the least disturbance, everybody becomes excited and unnerved. Surely it is well to keep watch and guard, but it is also necessary to work, to sleep, and to think. A ship's crew is not entirely composed of watchers.

In 1871, the Nation, wrecked and rudderless, was ready to accept the lessons of the Press. The Press made its every word heard ; it was in direct touch with the people and the only means of controlling the Assembly. Its notable and illustrious contributors were innumerable ; everybody wrote. Every politician was a journalist. The career of M. Thiers opened and closed with newspaper articles.

Emile de Girardin, a born journalist, a Beaumarchais without Beaumarchais' wit, a modern pontiff, a compound of Antony, Turcaret and Homais, acted by that force which is most likely to convince a passing reader : Logic. The papers he created were so many catapults, his articles, barbed

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arrows. A timorous soul with a bold imagination, he hesitated between the Liberal monarchical solution and the Moderate Republican solution. He prepared his formidable campaign of May 16th by tackling the constitutional question in his *Lettres d'un Logicien*.

Rochefort, sentenced to transportation for his role during the Commune, was in New Caledonia. He soon afterwards added a romantic page to the history of his life by escaping, in company with Olivier Pain and Pascal Grousset, and his powerful pen came to add its sting to the polemical attacks on the men who succeeded each other in the Government.

The *Journal des Debuts* and *Temps* sang the tenor part in the chorus of the Liberal press. The *Journal des Debats*, hesitating between the Right Centre and the Left Centre, between Saint Marc Girardin and John Lemoinne, published alternate articles, equally far-reaching. Contributions from Renan, Taine, Laboulaye, Gabriel and Francis Charmes, and even, it was said, an occasional and discreet article from the pen of M. Thiers himself, earned for it great authority in literary and parliamentary circles. It was perhaps less read than it was praised and quoted.

Le Temps passed from the hands of Nefftzer into those of Adrien Hebrard. Strengthened by the collaboration of Jules Ferry and Scherer, it rapidly became the best-informed and most solidly organised newspaper in Paris. It preserved the traditions of the "bulletin" and of anonymous leading articles on political subjects. **Its** habitually Liberal tendency and **its moderate** politics exerted a real influence over **the** hour-

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geoisie, of which it was the organ. Its manager affected to exaggerate the gravity of the paper, but had some difficulty in restraining occasional outbursts of wit.

The *Figaro* remained in Villemessant's hands : a worldly, Legitimist, *boulevard* paper. Villemessant* proffered advice to the Pretenders, roundly hauling the Comte de Chambord over the coals. Never was the *Figaro* more brilliant ; it attacked Victor Hugo and M. Thiers ; its special paragraphs, "echos" and "nouvelles a la main," were repeated everywhere. Albert Wolf, Auguste Vitu, Aurélien Scholl, Francis Magnard, signed its articles, the whipped cream of Parisian wit—both the cream and the whip. A resounding law-suit, the law-suit of General Trochu, brought it the advertisement of one month's imprisonment and a fine of 3,000 francs.

Other organs appeared on the scene ; a sign of the times. In November 1871, Gambetta founded the *Republique Française*. His collaborators were Challemel-Lacour, de Freycinet, both Academicians, Spuller, Isambert, Rouvier,² Paul Bert, Marcellin Pellet, Gaston Thomson,³ Girard de Rialle, Colani, Andre Lefevre, the whole team of coming Opportunism. This paper was grave, sententious, dogmatic. Its leading articles were political events. Almost every day Gambetta, who rarely took up a pen, came into the editor's room, greeted his collaborators with a joke or an affectionate gesture, and then, half-reclining on a sofa, "spoke" the

¹ Hippolyte Cartier, otherwise H. de Villemessant, b. Rouen 1812, d, 1879.

² Maurice Rouvier, b. Aix, 1842.

³ Gaston Thomson, b. Oran, 1848.

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article which others took down from his lips. The indefatigable Spuller, a "labouring ox," was always ready with pages of regular copy without a wrong word or a correction. Challemel-Lacour, rigid and sorrowful behind his white beard, distributed subjects of articles like impositions. Paul Bert alone, independent and master of his own column, dared to raise his voice. It was a most austere place.

The *XIX^{eme}. Silc*le was also founded in 1871, but it was only in May 1872 that Edmond About undertook the management of it. Its readers were Professors, and its editors men of wit. About, Sarcey, Bigot, Emmanuel Arene, Paul Lafargue, Henry Fouquier, composed a regular elite. Anti-clerical polemics exhausted the last shafts from Voltaire's quiver. Sarcey disputed on grammatical points, attacked the "Sou de la Sainte Enfance" and the missionaries bent on saving little Chinese heathens. Edmond About spent his usual wit in profusion, bringing some even into police-court news. No paper has done more to bring cultured *bourgeois* to the Republic.

Magnier tried to make of the *Evlnement* a Republican *Figaro*. Hector Pessard, in *le Soir*, defended the policy of M. Thiers and uttered sayings which became historical for a whole evening at least. The *Rappel* inserted paragraphs, famous at the time, by Vacquerie, Blum, and E. Lockroy.¹ and also Camille Pelletan's Assembly reports.

On the Right the friends of the Due de Broglie and M. Buffet founded *le Frangais*, whose scathing notices often stung. Its principal contributors were

¹ Edouard Lockroy, b. Paris 1840.

² Camille Pelletan, b. Paris 1846.

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Thureau-Dangin and Dufeulle. Paul de Cassagnac wrote, in a pugilistic vein, for the *Pays*. Edouard Herve, after contributing to the *Journal de Paris*, founded *le Soleil*, the first great halfpenny newspaper which ever reached a large circulation. Edouard Hervé was a solid and experienced journalist, a self-controlled debater, courteous and incisive, but always opportune and precise. At the time of the "fusion" his words often had the authority of a judgment.

M. D6troizat secured for the *Liberte* a lively and independent style, throwing it into the *melee* between the various parties. M. Janicot was the editor of the *Gazette de France* and, under the inspiration of Mgr. Dupanloup, worked ardently for the movement which brought the Right towards "fusion."

The *Gaulois*, sometimes Imperialist and sometimes Royalist, disappeared one day and reappeared the next.

The official organs of Legitimism were *l'Union*, managed by M. Laurentie and the Ultramontane *Univers* of which Louis Veuillot was the glory. An impetuous, brutal journalist, whose verve and ardour came from Rabelais and Voltaire through Joseph de Maistre, Louis Veuillot was at the same time an exquisite writer and a violent Christian; he distributed holy water as though it were vitriol and handled the crucifix like a club.

Popular A wider vulgarisation aimed at deeper press masses; the halfpenny paper reached further than the great press. Great importance attributed to police-court news, cleverly-worded sensational information, the attractions of a "feuilleton" novel, an intentional neutrality and

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necessary mediocrity provided suitable pabulum for the simple-minded. The success was immense. The *Petit Journal* was sent forth in editions of 500,000 copies in 1872, of nearly a million in 1880. The chronicles of Timothee Trimm (Leo Lespes) and the novels of Ponson du Terrail had more readers than ever any great *chef-d'œuvre* of human genius.

Competition soon arose. Emile de Girardin bought *la France* in 1874 and sent it forth like a meteor. Edouard Herve, with *le Soleil*, gave for a moment an illusion of popularity to Conservative parties. *La Lanterne* of which the first number appeared on April 23rd, 1877, addressed itself to the people and scattered amongst them the seed of Radical ideas.

News agencies—Haras, Girodeau, E. Daudet, E. Privat, Saint Charon—sent parliamentary news into the provinces, feeding party debates.

Provincial Press The provinces, slow to make a start, were now moving in their turn. The papers which were founded or developed in the large towns, rivalled the Parisian press. Though the main direction and initiative still came from the centre, the effects produced in the departments, and the echo which came back to parliamentary circles, were not a negligible quantity. It is in such swirls that opinion finds shape and that aspirations become prominent.

By degrees the provinces asserted their influence over Paris and reaped the benefit of having more consistency in ideas, greater numbers, and more tenacity.

Among those papers which contributed, by a consistent action, to the evolution of minds and to the progress of public affairs, it is well to quote

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the following :—*La Gironde*, at Bordeaux ; *Le Phare de la Loire*, at Nantes ; *Le Semaphore*, at Marseilles ; *le Journal de Rouen* ; *l'Echo du Nord*, at Lille ; *le Progrh*, *Le Lyon Republicain*, *le Salut public*, *le Petit Lyonnais*, at Lyons ; *la Dipeche*, *le Messenger*, *le Midi Republicain*, *l' Emancipateur*, at Toulouse ; *Le Petit Dauphinois*, *le Reveil du Dauphine*, at Grenoble ; *le Journal de Marseille*, *le Petit Marseillais*, *le Petit Provengal*, at Marseilles j *Le Courier de la Champagne*, *VIndependant Remois*, at Reims ; *le Bien Public*, *le Petit Bourgnignon*, *le Progrh de la Cote d'Or*, at Dijon, etc., etc.

Now there is not a village where the paper is not anxiously expected and read in the monotonous evenings. The elector wishes to know in order to appreciate and to pass judgment. Even if the pabulum offered to him is commonplace, indigestible, or unwholesome, he insists on choosing it for himself.

The organ again, in this case, has created a function. The progress of printing and of the Press determined a new disposition in the individual and in society. The sense of information is a sixth sense, of which the public henceforth makes use as of sight, touch, and hearing.

Thoughts and emotions, drawn by the whirl of life into the last arteries, the furthest nerves of the social body, develop within it a constant excitement and unceasing enthusiasm and energy.

CHAPTER XII

ARTS—SCIENCE

- I.—French art after the war—The art of cities—Architecture—Sculpture—Painting.
- II.—Music—The influence of Wagner—The French School.
- III.—Science—Scientific work in France—Higher Science—The principle of "Unity"—Astronomy—Mathematics—Mechanics—Physics—Chemistry—Organic Chemistry : Berthelot—Physiology : Claude Bernard—Natural History—Anthropology and Paleontology—The Problem of Life—Pasteur—Microbiology—Cosmic Forces—Darwinism—Evolution—Medicine and Hygiene.

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Philosophy
of Art **I**^ACH generation is ignorant of itself. Its physiognomy, its traits of character, escape its own observation. Details hide the whole ; that which is temporary conceals that which is permanent.

However, whilst life is yet prolonged, a certain distinction is already made between the ephemeral and the durable, and this first selection is made by means of Art.

Art is the most obvious manifestation of the desire for survival which is proper to humanity. Art writes down the progress of human works and the successive victories of Will over Nature, since it

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rests on technique. Art manifests the energy of an epoch, since excellence alone satisfies it. In fact, Art, better than reality itself, expresses the characteristics of a generation, since, beyond the fact, it also registers dreams and aspirations.

Each nation sets its mark, its signature, on stone and on iron. The ideal which it conceived breathes in marble, like a fixed gesture revealing a vanished secret. The art of an epoch carries its soul along a sunbeam towards the Infinite.

A work of art is the impression made by man on Nature, the cast of himself which he leaves behind him. As, in the Madrid museum, we calculate the bulk of the Emperor Charles V. by the armour which he wore, so former ages appear to future generations according to the proportions of the impressions which they have left. A monument is the eternity of one moment.

The costumes Man wore, the jewels with which he adorned himself, the gardens he cultivated, the roads he traced, the temples he built, the images with which he adorned these temples, the luxuries he enjoyed, the smallest object which occupied his clever hands for one day or which brought a smile to a woman's face—all these are, like handwriting, a measure and a record of those extinct ages of which thumb-marks remain.

Art After the War Thirty years is a very short period in which to distinguish from the daily flight of ephemeral things, the features which will delineate the profile of a generation of which half is still living. A further outlook, a slow and minute choice, is required, which years alone can accomplish.

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How can we analyse our own substance while it is yet breathing ? The History of Art, being that which should have the last word, is that which should be written last. Fashion veils under its changing caprice whatever is eternal amongst that which Taste entrusts to it.

We can at this early time give but the barest sketch of the characteristics of French Art in that active and fruitful period which followed the war.

The work of that generation reflects, to begin with, the sudden emotion of defeat; soon afterwards, it manifests a rapid revival, brought about by contact with nature ; finally, it is characterised by a measured gravity, a sober and careful taste and much earnestness in technique.

Nothing is blatant, colossal or furious ; victory was elsewhere, and elsewhere that same epoch celebrated the joy of living *ferociously* and *dangerously* (Nietzsche). Here we have a return to the origins of the race, a softened bitterness, the shudder of the storm-beaten herd which gathers together again and enjoys the fruitful gentleness of life because it has passed through the valley of the shadow of death.

So much of the past has perished! Whatever may be saved must be sought and found. There is piety in the turning over of calcined stones, in the rebuilding of wrecked edifices ; there is immediate necessity in the repair of national tools.

The greatest of all Arts, the Art of Highways and the Art of Cities, is devoted to works of renovation and repair : railways, canals, bridges, viaducts, fortifications. France worked at her own soil in order to raise it against the enemy. The most beautiful achievements of the time would be found

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in the works of engineers and in the plans of strategic lines destined to protect the capital.

A large sum of application and talent was spent in this work, which enveloped the Eastern provinces with an upraised frontier and covered them with an iron armour. The sites and methods were determined and completed under the laws of a severe technique, of a sober and rigid taste in conformity with the feeling, at the same time active and resigned, fostered by defeat. After thirty years, this colossal work, useless and half dead, remains hidden under the grass of parapets and behind the beat of sentinels. Nobody has seen it. The merit and glory of its creators will remain anonymous; it will perish without having been known.

The authority and taste of the engineer permeated other works of construction. Barracks, railway-stations, workshops, schools, soon submitted to mathematical calculations and rigid ideals their rectilinear profiles, scarcely enlivened by a more varied colouring and choice of materials. Architecture borrowed from iron its boldness and lightness, but could not endow it either with grace or charm.

Paris, after the siege and the Commune, was horribly disfigured and mutilated. Around its ruins arose palings which prolonged the memory of those terrible days.

Urban architecture had been singularly developed at the end of the Second Empire, under the impulse of M. Haussmann.¹ M. Alphand, who had been

* Baron Georges Haussmann, b. Paris 1809, a member of the Institute d. 1891.

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since 1854 Chief Engineer of pleasure-grounds and plantations, was appointed, in May 1871, Director of Works of the city of Paris, and this appointment in itself indicates a desire to preserve for the town its noble proportions, its graceful, shady avenues, and the beauty of its ornaments.

But reconstruction absorbed all the first resources : the Vendome column was re-erected, the house of M. Thiers, the Palais Royal, the Louvre Library, the Pavillon de Marsan, the Palais de Justice, etc., were rebuilt.

By freeing the Pavillon de Marsan, works were begun which, by the suppression of the Tuileries, were to bring the glories of the setting sun into the Cour du Carrousel.

The Moulins hill was soon to be levelled down under the somewhat narrow tracing of the Avenue de l'Opera ; the bridge of the He St. Louis made a fitting continuation to the boulevard Saint Germain. The old districts of the Left Bank, dating from Louis XL, fell under the hammer of house-breakers.

Streets became wider. Five-storeyed houses presented rows of iron balconies and cold stone faces in a long, ungraceful perspective.

The Bois de Boulogne was re-planted, the Buttes Chaumont completed. The grounds of the Luxembourg, so much injured by the explosion of the Powder Magazine, were turned into gardens. Carpeaux* group of the Four Continents held the globe of the Earth above the new foliage.

The War Office erected the military Cadran Tower on the Boulevard Saint Germain. The Palace of the Legion of Honour showed its white and graceful dome next to the blackened ruins of the Cour des Comptes.

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Gamier completed the Opera house, of which the dwarfish majesty and sumptuous decoration symbolise the shortlived grandeur of the Imperial regime. The reconstruction of the Hotel de Ville was decided upon. It was no longer to be the elegant and familiar Town Hall which Chambiges and Le Boccador had placed on the old Place de Greve ; it was to become the enormous building of Ballu and Deperthes in which the anonymous offices of elected councils and urban administration find room under a show of statues, balconies and balustrades.

All wounds were not healed ; stones were being put in their places again, but souls continued to groan. Death still mingled with reawakening life. The first monuments of commemoration, invocation, or supplication, consecrating pious memories or pious hopes, began to rise from the earth. At Lourdes, the pilgrims' Basilica rose like an ardent prayer. Lyons built on a hill the strange and luxurious votive chapel of Fourviere, " to the protecting Virgin." Marseilles placed a massive Roman building on the sea-shore. Paris expressed at the same time the thought of religious expiation and secular renovation by crowning her two hills with a double symbol: at Montmartre, the votive church of the Sacre-Coeur stands in its white coldness against the morning sky, whilst on the summit of the Trocadero grounds, made into gardens, the 1878 Exhibition prepared a uselessly Moorish and parsimoniously splendid palace. The city, by thus spreading westwards, marked her confidence in destiny, and emphasised her new role as the metropolis of the cosmopolitan world.

A profusion of sculpture adorns public monu-

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ments and gardens. Sculpture is again a commemoration. This art, so pure and so clear, which captures light and fixes it on imperishable matter, is the art of serious and simple feelings. Firmness of contour, purity of form, the passage from light to shadows, regulated and contained violence, enslaved imagination—all this constitutes sculpture and French genius; both great in their very limitations.

The French School can boast of Houdon and Rude, grace and vigour. Perhaps a Renaissance of the eighteenth century would have taken place if Carpeaux* had remained the master of the School in the nineteenth century. His works manifest joy, exuberance and disorder, like the last gorgeous years of the reign when the Empress Eugenie triumphed.

Mercie² had sent from Rome his *David*, a work breathing the pride of youth and hope. Suddenly disaster followed upon disaster, hope sank to the ground, pride and joy disappeared. Inspiration took refuge in the sorrows of the country. Mercie carved his *Gloria Victis* and placed on the façade of the Louvre his *Apollo*, conqueror of darkness, his eyes thirsting for light. Eugene Guillaume inscribed on the features of Archbishop Darboy the resigned sorrow of coming catastrophe.

Paul Dubois³ arranged around the *Tombeau de LamoricUre* the Virtues, seated and peaceful.

¹ J. B. Carpeaux, b. Valenciennes 1827, Prix de Rome 1854, d. 1875.

² Antonin Mercie, b. Toulouse 1845, Grand Prix de Rome 1868, a member of the Institut.

³ Paul Dubois, b. Nogent-sur-Seine 1829, a relation of the great sculptor Pigalle, d. 1905.

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Bartholdi¹ carved the *Lion of Belfort* and prepared for New York *la Liberté éclairant le Monde*. Fremiet placed a popular *Jeanne d'Arc* on the Place des Pyramides; bareheaded, firm and sinewy on her war horse, she holds up the banner which protects the city.

Chapu, more tender, gives us a *Bonne Lorraine* kneeling in the Domremy woods, and throws before the gravestone of Henri Regnault the sorrow of France impersonated in a slender weeping Muse.

No more attentive or delicate art ever held a narrower communion with the soul of an epoch. This generation wanted to think on its dead. Each "Salon" was a cemetery, an annual funeral celebration. Was it a weakening, a diminution of the national energy? Perhaps; the blow had been so hard, the disenchantment so cruel!

But this was not the people. Its sorrow had been less overwhelming and its resistance was firmer. The *bourgeoisie*, not yet dethroned, sought for beauty in the idealisation of its attenuated feelings. Dalou, more robust, was still in London; other bold and original artists hesitated, feeling that they were not supported. Sculpture was elegant and tender, not strong or virile; it lacked healthy vigour, it dare not plunge into the deep vital torrent, which had, however, resumed its impetuous course.

A charming and fragile art, a child of convalescence, a contemporary of the poetry of Sully-Prudhomme, which it resembled like a brother,—perhaps: its penetrating charm will disappear with the haunting memories which have* caused so many tears to flow.

¹ Auguste Bartholdi, b. Colmar 1834, d. 1904.

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Painting Painters are more directly **in touch** with Nature : their thought, less confined, less abstract, is wider and more supple. As long as earth shows us historical scenes—trees swaying in the wind, skies full of sunlight, the least object turning into gold under the sunbeam's magic touch,—painters will find their souls filling and their eyes rejoicing in the contemplation and representation of the external world.

Battles have more than one episode, the year more than one season ; all the hours of one day cannot be dark hours.

The French School of the nineteenth century tells us of fields, forests, streams running under shadowing trees, deer panting in the woods, graceful willows and majestic oaks. Its scientific technique, transmitted through generations, masters Nature and History.

Ingres, the greatest of French masters since the Renaissance, has left on the School the ineffaceable trace of his authority and earnestness. Delacroix delighted young imaginations by the fiery flights of his genius. The modern School has given us Decamps, Millet, Corot, Daubigny, Courbet, Meissonier.¹ It is unrivalled .Regnault² appeared and his *Marechal Prim* went, in full light, towards open horizons.

Regnault died; the older masters succumbed,

¹ Gabriel Decamps, b. Paris 1803, d. 1860 ; Francis Millet, b. Greville, Manche 1814, d. 1875; C. Corot, b. Paris 1796, d. 1875 ; Charles Daubigny, b. Paris 1817, d. 1878; Gustave Courbet, b. Ornans (Doubs) 1819, d. 1877 ; Ernest Meissonier, b. Lyons 1815, d. 1891, a member of the Institut.

² Henri Regnault, b. Paris 1843, Grand Prix de Rome 1866, killed at the battle of Buzenval, January 19th, 1871.

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one after another. But the new generation was ready. Regnault, as he fell, guided it still; his last cry is said to have been " Light! " It began to break, slowly but surely, with figure-painters, with Delaroche, Scheffer, Meissonier, Gerome¹ Cabanel, Bouguereau.

It is true that commemoration continued with the military pictures of Detaille² and Alphonse de Neuville; in the *Marceau* of Jean Paul Laurens, the *Cuirassier Blesse* of James Bertrand, the *Gloria Victis* of Bayard. But already the revival of Light was bursting forth in Orientalists like Fromentin,³ Benjamin Constant.' Guillaumet; painters of modern life like Carolus-Duran and de Nittis; masters of French landscape like Hanoteau and Harpignies⁵ and the fresco-painters of the Hotel de Ville and the Pantheon.

The scale of colours, turning towards Oriental civilisation and the Japanese school, made fashionable by de Goncourt, became clearer and brighter; blue and violet light is poured down upon the canvas. Hatred of the commonplace influenced composition; Nature offered consolation and inspiration.

Whilst the chisel lingered over sad memories, the brush hastened towards a new life. Paul

¹ Leon Gdrome, b. Vesoul 1824, d. 1904, a member of the Academie des Beaux-Arts.

² Edouard Detaille, b. Paris 1848, a member of the Institut.

³ Eugene Fromentin, b. La Rochelle 1820, d. 1876, author of the novel *Dominique*.

⁴ Benjamin-Constant, b. Paris 1845, a member of the Institut, d. 1903.

⁵ Henri Harpignies, b. Valenciennes, 1819.

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Baudry¹ who had not forgotten the second Empire, working under the fraternal eye of his comrade Gamier, insinuated the grace of the daughters of the Seine into the witty paganism of his allegories and of his theatrical Olympus. He painted as Banville rhymed, with perfection and good-humour.

The grave sincerity of the time was made manifest in the greatness of portrait painters. The severe brush of Bonnat² fixed in minds and memories the physiognomies of great *bourgeois*, the black frock-coats of orators, the scarlet robes of cardinals. Delaunay, Benjamin Constant, Cabanel, Hebert, kept close to their models, making likeness strikingly apparent.

Impres- The masters of the future plunged into
sionists Nature's bosom, asking of her nothing
but herself alone in order to attain Beauty. The Impressionist school worked in the silence of fields or in the tumult of life, and engaged in strife against motion. Manet,³ undecided and passionate, outlined the *Toreador* and *Olympia* with his vigorous pencil, like the leaden edge of a painted window ; the joy of being reddened the cheeks of his drinker of the *Bon Bock*. Claude Monet,⁴ in London at the time, fraternised with Pissarro,⁵ Bonvin,⁶ Cazin, Legros, Tissot,⁷ Dalou : a reserve battalion.

¹ Paul Baudry, b. La Roche-sur-Yon 1828, d. 1886.

² Leon Bonnat, b. Bayonne 1833, a member of the Institut.

³ Edouard Manet, b. Paris 1832, d. 1883.

⁴ Claude Monet, b. Paris 1840.

⁵ Camille Pissarro, b. St. Thomas Island 1830.

⁶ Francois Bonvin, b. Paris 1817, d. 1887.

⁷ James Tissot, b. Nantes 1836, d. 1903.

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After Millet and Jules Breton,¹ Bastien-Lepage² throws the studio windows open on to the country and fresh air. His *Grand-Pfre* and his *Premihre communiante* are painted with the awkward naivete of a Primitive. His *Foins* and *Recolte des Pommes de Terre* breathe the intoxicating fruitfulness of the soil of France. A tender, delicate, and refined genius, he had not yet fathomed his own depths when his life, like that of Regnault, was cut down in its flower. Lhermite, Roll, Cormon, accurately describe the spectacle of laborious life in the fields, the work-shop, school, hospital, smithy, etc.

Henner pursued under thick leafage his pure and original dreams. The beauty of his amber-skinned nymphs is reflected in the deep blue waters of the still lakes which echo the sounds of Virgilian flutes.

Lastly, the sublime master, Puvis de Chavannes, wrenched his genius from the hesitations of adolescence. Full of Pompeian antiquity, he entered into maturity. In the frescoes on the Pantheon walls, we see the holy maiden opening wondering eyes to the beauties of nature and the grandeur of Duty, and candidly smiling on the dawn of Spring. Bishops, soldiers, parents, seek by Genevieve's side refuge, security, protection. Innocence must arrest the victor, repel the Barbarians. . . . Sweet and simple story, often repeated, alas! too often belied. Emotion, resignation, prayer, trust, all is inscribed in firm and faithful outlines; a delicate, grey light shrouds the seven hills where the rescued city continues to unroll her noble destiny.³

¹ Jules Breton, b. Courrieres, Pas-de-Calais 1827, a member of the Institut.

² Jules Bastien-Lepage, b. Damvillers (Meuse) 1848, d. 1884.

³ Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, b. Lyons 1824, a member of the Institut, d. 1898.

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II

Music expresses the confused movements of the soul, in joy, sadness, enthusiasm. Of all Arts it is closest to Nature. Vital pulsation is a rhythm, and this rhythm, breathless and prolonged, bursts into song when the organism is agitated by the tumult of senses or passions. Music, through the cadence which it imposes and the relaxation which it produces, creates order, discipline, appeasement. That is why the ancients mingled it with social emotions and placed it on the dawn of civilisations.

In France, light and rapid passions, joy, energy, vivacity, the alternatives of success and failure, had found their expression in the couplets of the *chanson*, broken by a regularly repeated *refrain*, or chorus.

The vaudeville and comic opera were a dramatisation of the *chanson* ; about the middle of the century it was a fashion, now often regretted, to claim them as "the national style." Auber¹ followed Harold.² Yet Berlioz,³ by his formidable and paradoxical creations, had opened the road to strenuous music. Like his countryman Stendhal, he was before his time : these Dauphinese are originals and precursors.

Ambroise Thomas⁴ was now old, and produced no more. Gounod,⁵ an ardent and tender soul, pure and divine like Lamartine, allowed his heart to

¹ Daniel Auber, b. Caen 1782, d. 1871.

² Louis Harold, b. Paris 1791, d. 1833.

³ Hector Berlioz, b. Cote Saint Andr , Isere, 1803, d. 1869.

⁴ Ambroise Thomas, b. Metz 1811, d. 1896, a member of the Institut.

⁵ Charles Gounod, b. Paris 1818, d. 1893. Grand Prix de Rome 1839; a member of the Institut.

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peak. Passion swelled his breast and his voice. He belongs to no school; if he has any tradition, it is an entirely religious and Catholic one, even in drama. His melody ascends to Heaven with the perfume of incense, or else falls towards Hell with nauseous sin. A contemporary of Montalembert and Lacordaire, he survived them after the war; but from London, where he had taken refuge, his song still arose; he brought out *Gallia, Mors et Vita, Redemption*, as if he had wished to affirm, by his magnificent, prayerful music, the protest of the national faith, bruised and bleeding.

Then took place another conquest of France by Germany. An incomparable artist, Richard Wagner, was a contemporary of the statesmen and warriors of the lands beyond the Rhine. Like many others, he had attempted to fascinate Paris, but Paris, careless and joyous, had refused to know him. He had gone back to his country, his heart embittered, swearing to return one day. His music expressed the feelings of a nation born in strife and trouble, agitated by violence and ambition; his method, like that of his illustrious countrymen, was action through the masses. His genius, like that of Germany at that time, might be qualified by the two words: Power and Drama.

He conquered France by the superabundance, in his work, of that which the vanquished had lacked; discipline and authority. In vain had so many disunited, divided individualities given their merit, their heroism. An instinct drew people towards the masters of harmony and organisation.

At the Padeloup concerts, silent crowds listened with an almost religious attention; were these really French crowds? Gaiety would have seemed out of

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place. People wished to hear masters of that serious race which, before conquering, had suffered and wept: Beethoven first, and then, after a violent struggle, Wagner.

All the power of resistance of the national genius was necessary to prevent it from succumbing before this second invasion. But it remained firm; the ground seemed fertilised by this overwhelming flood, and, after the waters had withdrawn, a brilliant harvest of flowers appeared. *Carmen* burst forth, a true renaissance of Latin splendour. Bizet* died, after having brought comfort to the soul of France, but without having known his own success.

Leo Delibes,² with his charming and refined music, marked the rhythm of happier times and led the dance of blossoming spring.

Reyer,³ with sufficient knowledge of German music, imposes by the firmness of his accents and his original sincerity. His *Talambo* and his *Sigurd* clearly express his meaning.

Saint-Saens⁴ founded, immediately after the war, the Société Nationale de Musique, to educate, to lead, and to act. Around him gathered César Franck,⁵ Lalo, Guiraud, de Castillon. His work is tremendous; in every direction he reveals himself a leader. His thought, ample and noble, powerful and self controlled, dominates all. His comprehension is wide, his emotion repressed. A brother to our

¹ Georges Bizet, b. Paris 1838, d. 1875. Grand Prix de **Rome**, 1857.

² Leo Delibes, b. St. Germain du Val 1836, d. 1891, a member of the Institut.

³ Ernest Reyer, b. Marseilles 1823, a member of the **Institut**.

⁴ Camille Saint-Saens, b. Paris 1835, a member of the **Institut**.

⁵ César Franck, b. Lige 1821, d. 1890.

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sculptors, he finished, in 1877, *Samson et Dalila*, and soon afterwards *Henry VIII*. His name is wedded to all the great epochs of national life ; his inspiration, fleeing from darkness and mists, ascends towards light, in peace and security.

The last virtue will be conquered when the School regains the penetrating psychology which was its honour and glory for so long. Massenet¹ was yet very young, but his first works were already on delighted lips. Here comes *Marie-Madeleine* ; by its noble and easy demeanour, French music is recognised ; *incessu patuit dea*. Its tender avowals prepared the soft confidences of *Manon* and the thrilling delights of *Werther*.

III

Art imitates and interprets Nature;
Science Science studies it and applies it to the needs of Humanity. Art and Science are united through technique.

The progress of Science from 1770 to 1870 had been such that the century might be already considered as the greatest in history. That progress itself had been the natural sequence of the transformations worked in the human mind at the time of the Renaissance. Modern Method was born, and the Sciences, replaced on their bases, had developed in a simple and majestic order.

Classical Antiquity said : there is no Science but General Science. Man attempted to seize the laws of the Universe by one effort of his mind, and, from knowledge of them, to

¹ Jules Massenet, b. Montaud (Loire) 1842, a member of the Institut.

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deduce logically the explanation of phenomena. Noble error of the human mind, which, in its very first flight, tried to steal Fire from Heaven. Science begins by giving names ; it then reasons on those names. It shuts itself up in abstractions as in a dark room ; sometimes a sudden perception, like a flash of lightning, discovers a corner of reality ; then Night, darker than ever, resumes its sway. The short life of Man draws him towards hasty systems ; he would measure the Universe, but the Universe holds him and snatches him away before he has had time to open his compasses.

Descartes The Middle Ages, by the scholastic method, born of the principle of Authority, exaggerated and falsified the intellectual process of the Ancients. Nature seemed veiled for ever by a thick and heavy mantle. Nothing was known of her but her mystery and rigidity ; none had confidence in this life ; impotent humanity was vanquished in the struggle, and sacrificed beforehand. Dawn rose when, with Descartes, modern thought broke the double seal of Abstraction and Authority, and inversely to the opinion of the Ancients, proclaimed that there is no Science but in facts, and no Order but in Reason.

Political and social resistance was at first opposed to the new ideas ; but, in spite of all, they permeated men's minds in less than a century. Henceforth, everything became easy ; one century later, the Sciences were organised and giving their first-fruits to Humanity.

The intellectual method is proved, defined and generalised : observation first, then analysis, then comparison, a reasoned search for a law, hypothesis, experiment, and synthesis to crown the whole. Chemistry, for instance, discovers the constitution

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of organised bodies; it isolates simple bodies, recognises their relations and combinations, brings them together, and reconstitutes complex bodies.

Man knows and does ; he is a god. Science, thus conducted, imposes on Man veneration for Humanity. Majesty of principles, utility of application, such is the double triumph of Science.

Great discoveries followed in rapid succession : Newton, Lavoisier, Watt, Lamarck, Ampere. Nature had lost her severe countenance ; she was now peaceful, tender and smiling. The lightning-conductor dictates unto the cloud the law of Man ; the storm is appeased, or, if still protesting, no longer harmful. Science deletes old legends, daughters of Terror ; she brings with her kindly wisdom and discernment.

The hope arose that Science might one day reveal the secret of Nature. In the meanwhile, she humanised both matter and intellect. Machinery lightened the heavy burdens of Labour. Science brought together and re-united that which had been put asunder ; she proved more of a bond than Religion itself, since she threw a bridge over the abyss which separated life from death. Through her, Heaven is on earth, and peace reposes on universal order.

About 1870, the pride of this vision had invaded everything ; it was a scientific *furor*. Proud *belles-lettres* themselves had made their submission. Renan published *l'Avenir de la Science*¹ ; Taine recognised in Thought a quasi-physiological phenomenon. Zola uttered the theory of the *experimental novel* and invoked Claude Bernard as the god of whom he was the prophet.

A scientific vocabulary was the fashion : selection, evolution, physiology, biology. The world was now

¹ Already written in 1848. See the preface.

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a prisoner, confined in a formula, a naturalistic, mechanic formula : *Monism*. Honour to the superior races whose firm genius deleted the God Hypothesis ! Haeckel¹ wrote: "The Germanic branch" [of the Aryan group] "has surpassed the others in the competition for civilising development. First come the English and the Germans, promoters of the theory of Descent/" [He was forgetting Lamarck, at least.] "The disposition to receive the theory of descent and the unitarian philosophy of which it is the basis constitute the best measure for appreciating intellectual superiority amongst men."

Such was the new touchstone. This consequence of Hegelian doctrine was confirmed by victory. The theory of Selection was sanctioned by facts in its favour.

French Science However, French science, thus treated as harshly as if it had had a share in the defeat, did not accept this sentence.

It is difficult to isolate and to consider specially in time and space one moment of scientific progress in a particular people. Such progress is continuous and universal. A short local phase of eight or ten years is hardly distinguishable.

Yet, it is already possible at this time to determine the curve of the French scientific movement in those years which immediately followed the war. In spite of the victor's haughty condemnation, the vanquished were not without glory.³

¹ Ernest Haeckel, b. Potsdam 1834.

² It is impossible not to mention here the "scientific" polemics on the compared value of the two races, which took place at that time. Dr. Carl Starck published (1871) a brochure entitled: *Of the physical degenerescence of the French nation, its pathological character, symptoms and causes*. Virchow, though he urged re-

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It is true that higher Science was somewhat neglected ; it was towards the science of life, always specially interesting to the French, that the threatened generation turned its attention.¹

The consequences of the discovery of Peaucellier's "articulate system"—which applies to mechanics at least as much as to mathematics—were yet hardly apparent. Joseph Bertrand;² practically abandoned abstract science after the publication of his *Traite de calcul differentiel et de calcul integral*, which was completed in 1870. But Hermite developed the Abelian principles with singular ease and prolixity ; his works on the theory of numbers and on the theory of elliptical functions are written with classical elegance and purity of style. Puiseux, an astronomer and geometrician, succeeded Cauchy as President of the Faculty of Sciences. His *Memoire sur les fonctions algebriques* marked an epoch in the history of analysis. The young and promising

conciliation, wrote : " . . . Amongst many of our nation, the opinion is that the French are tainted with the madness of grandeur." Karl Hillebrand, formerly a professor of German at St. Cyr, spoke of "intellectual sterility in France." Mommsen's attitude during the war is well known; in 1872, he wrote in the *Vossische Zciitung* that "there does not exist, in France, a public opinion to which a German may appeal." For the polemics between Strauss and Renan, see the correspondence in *la Reforme intellectuelle et morale*, p. 167-187. In England, people were as a rule more equitable, though the theme of "French decadence" had become a habitual refrain with the Press.

¹ Without going into details, we may here recall M. Quinton's observation, and quote the names of the following Frenchmen : Lavoisier founded chemistry; Cuvier, comparative anatomy and paleontology ; Lamarck, philosophical zoology ; Geoffrey Saint Hilain, embryology; Bichat, histology; Claude Bernard, physiology; Pasteur, microbiology.

² Joseph Bertrand, a member of the Academie des Sciences and of the Acad&nie Franchise, b. Paris 1822, d. 1900.

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Darboux prefaced his many and varied works by his *Memoire sur les solutions singulieres des Equations aux derives partielles*, which earned him a prize from the Academy of Science in 1876.

A new arithmetic was being constituted, and the paradox of a new geometry, dissenting from the old Euclidian geometry ; but this was being developed in foreign lands. The names of Riemann,¹ Helmholtz,² Sophus Lie/ are not French names. It seemed as if France needed more rest, more stability before giving birth to the young and vigorous school flourishing at this day.

Astronomy Astronomy had not yet lost Le Verrier.⁴
After his famous disputes with Delaunay, his administrative career came to an end; he retired from the direction of the Observatoire, but his vigorous genius completed the tremendous work of his scientific life, the revision of his tables of planetary motion, practically speaking, the horarium of the system in which we live. He was still correcting the last proofs three months before he died, on September 23rd, 1877.

The spectroscope became an unrivalled instrument for the intimate knowledge of the sun and stars. The sun became the object of considerable studies, associated with the names of Father Secchi, Delaunay, Faye and Janssen. The photographer's plate became an auxiliary of the telescope ; a beam of light,

¹ Georg Bernhardt Friedrich Riemann, b. Breselenz (Hanover) 1826, d. 1866.

² Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand Helmholtz, b. Potsdam 1821, d. 1894.

³ Sophus Lie, b. Nordfjordejdet (Norway) 1842.

⁴ Urbain Le Verrier, b. Saint L6 1811, d. 1877, a member of the Academie des Sciences.

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arrested in its course through space, produced a permanent picture of the revealed astral world.

France did not hold aloof from the common effort of nations to study, in 1874, the rare event of the transit of Venus. The necessary funds (300,000 francs) were voted by the Assembly, and missions were sent to Campbell Island (Bouquet de la Grye, a member of the Academie des Sciences) ; St. Paul's Island (Admiral Mouchez, a member of the Academie des Sciences) ; Noumea (M. Andre, from the Paris Observatory); Pekin (Admiral Fleuriais, who was only a Commander at that time); Yokohama (Janssen) and Saigon (M. Heraud); each one adding its note to the scientific concert which was uniting all civilised nations in harmony.

Other international works took place, in which France participated. Colonel Perrier undertook to continue towards Spain the mensuration of the parallel arc, making it possible to determine the size and accurate lines of the Northern hemisphere.

In October 1872, an international congress met in Paris, with the object of introducing the universal adoption of the Metric System. When in 1881 a Commission, composed of the greatest electricians in the world, and called together on the proposal of the British Association of Sciences, constituted the system of units known as *absolute units*, applied to all physical qualities susceptible to mensuration, it adopted the French Metric System ; and the formulae " C." " G." " S." (centimetre, gramme, second) thus became the essence of a universal language for the purpose of a scientific unification of forces.

The same physical laws rule the Earth and the Heavens; the science of motion is the widest of

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sciences, and through it the secret of the Universe will perhaps be fathomed.

The great name of Sadi Carnot,¹ rightly drawn from obscurity by the works of Mayer² impersonates the theory and practice of that science which recognises an equal value in all the mysterious powers which dominate the world : Heat, Light, Electricity, and finally, perhaps, Chemical Action.

Then was founded a broader and clearer science of mechanics : dynamics. By generalising and combining the discoveries due to calculations and experiment with the theories of the emission of undulation, the hypothesis was reached of a universal substratum, which, though yet unknown, received a name : Ether.

Maxwell, the great Scotch scientist, said that the world was made up of Ether and Motion ; if it is so, what a step has been taken towards unity !

However it may be, physical mechanics and the physics of Ether were born from these discoveries. Helmholtz and Hertz,³ who were principally responsible for them, were not Frenchmen, but Lippmann, a member of the Academie des Sciences, published, in 1873, his works on the electro-capillary phenomena, and, soon afterwards, his studies on the conservation of electrical energy.

In practice, progress no less decisive was accomplished in France. Gramme was a Belgian by birth, but a French engineer, and it was in France that he invented and brought out the electric machine with a continuous current, the parent of modern electrical industry. His partner, Hippolyte Fontaine, assisted him in his

The
Electric
Machine

¹ Sadi Carnot, b. Paris 1796, d. 1832.

² Robert v. Mayer, b. Heilbronn 1814, d. 1878.

³ Heinrich Hertz, b. Hamburg 1857, d. 1894.

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researches on the transmission of force at a distance. Chretien applied the principles of the transmission of forces to the Sermaise experiments of electrical ploughing. Finally, Berges, by combining the working of high waterfalls with the transmission of force, created the industry which he himself, in 1878, called by the grand name of *white coal*. By this he endowed with an incomparable tool—electrolysis—another industry born at the meeting-point of so many great discoveries, and he guaranteed our planet once for all against the eventual exhaustion of the reserves of coal which lie accumulated in her bosom.

The admirable Dupuy de Lome¹ had renewed the science of naval construction ; in launching the *Napoleon* (1850) and the *Gloire* (1859) he had created an ironclad Navy. He now attempted the subjection of another element. In 1872, together with the engineer Zede,² he brought out the scheme and ideal plan of the coming steering-balloon.

The striking fact was now this : that each science overlaps the others. There are now no boundary lines between Physics, Chemistry, Biology. The meeting-point was still uncertain between Mechanics and Chemistry. It is evident that if Mechanics absorb Chemistry and Organic Chemistry with it, the Life phenomena must be included.

In April 1864, Pasteur opened his celebrated lecture at the Sorbonne by the following prelude, in which, as was his custom, he did not mince words: " Great problems are now being handled, keeping every thinking man in suspense ; the unity or multiplicity of human races; the crea-

¹ Charles Dupuy de Lôme, b. Soye (Morbihan) 1816, a member of the Académie des Sciences, d. 1885.

² Gustave Zede, b. Paris 1825.

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tion of man one thousand years or one thousand centuries ago; the fixity of species, or the slow and progressive transformation of one species into another ; the eternity of matter ; the idea of a God unnecessary. Such are some of the questions which humanity discusses to-day."

Chemistry People persuaded themselves **that** the solution of these problems was to be found under the knife of the physiologist or in the crucible of the chemist. Pasteur, by his early researches on crystals, on dissymetry and on the problems of polarisation, discovered prospects which terrified his first masters, Biot, Balard, Senarmont.¹

Mechanical chemistry was founded ; physical and chemical phenomena are bound up in the concept of vibrations. At least, it is to be supposed, if we admit with J. B. Dumas² that " simple bodies, like masses, only differ from each other by the number and motion of the atoms, or material points, which they contain."

Following out these ideas, Berthelot³ transformed thermo-chemistry and reached the law which he formulates thus : " When several bodies come into contact, that component is formed which corresponds to the greatest quantity of heat developed/" This is indeed the knot.

Around these propositions may be placed the varied studies devoted to the research of the laws of

¹ J. Biot, b. Paris 1774, d. 1862 ; A. J. Balard, b. Montpellier 1802, d. 1876 ; Henri Hureau de Senarmont, b. Broue* (Eure and Loir) 1808, d. 1862, members of the Academie des Sciences.

² J. B. Dumas, b. Alais 1800, d. 1884, Permanent Secretary of the Academie des Sciences, a member of the Academie Francaise.

³ Marcellin Berthelot, b. Paris 1827, Permanent Secretary of the Academie des Sciences, a member of the Academie Franchise.

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chemical equilibrium ; **the** works of **Sainte-Claire Deville**¹ and Debray on " dissociation " ; of Gaudin on the architecture of atoms ; those by which Wurtz and his school introduced into France, not without meeting with some resistance, the " atomic theory " partly borrowed from German science and from the doctrines of Gerhardt and Kekule.

Was it possible to advance one step further towards unity, the goal of all these efforts ? Again, chemistry accomplished this step; it is connected at one end with physics and mechanics, at the other with natural history : organic chemistry is the connecting bond.

Organic
Chemistry Organic Chemistry has elucidated this marvellous problem : namely the identity and restricted quantity of simple bodies which enter into the composition of living bodies, vegetable or animal ; it has proved that these bodies conform in their organic combinations to the same laws which regulate their inorganic combinations ; by researches into the two natures of ferments, it has determined the point of contact between animate and inanimate matter. On a higher plane still, it has thus been able to affirm the unity of matter and to suppress the intervention of what was called " vital force " which had long been the *nee plus ultra* opposed by biology to chemistry.

Before these new conquests, chemistry was but analysis, a " descriptive science " ; it now became transformed into an experimental science. It reconstituted bodies by a double method, taking for its instrument either the free elements or water and carbonic acid gas. In either case, it can re-compose

¹ Henri Sainte-Claire Deville, b. St. Thomas Island 1818, a member of the Académie des Sciences, d. 1881.

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fat bodies, alcohols, acids, aethers, and, generally speaking, most of the main groups of organic compounds ; its only instrument had been analysis ; it now possessed its test, synthesis.

Organic chemistry had its starting-point in the studies of Chevreul¹ on fat bodies. The fundamental synthesis was executed by Berthelot in 1862 ; it is that of acetylene, a direct union of carbon and hydrogen, accomplished under the influence of the voltaic arc. Since that time, Berthelot has not ceased to pursue his admirable career with an authority, balance, and unerring accuracy, which have made of him the experimenter *par excellence* of the laws of a unified universe.

To have doubled the field of chemistry by placing synthesis opposite analysis is a feat which would have been sufficient to render illustrious the land of Lavoisier. Also, to devote twenty-five years' persevering studies and undisputable demonstrations to the establishment of thermo-chemistry (or mechanical chemistry) completing by philosophic views and varied applications an intellectual life in which boldness of thought was only equalled by minute precision of experimentation, must be to extend the glory and utility of a life not only to one nation, but to the whole of humanity.

Claude Bernard Labours and results confirming the great unity of Science abounded in France and in other countries ; but it is interesting to glance at a few of the great group of Frenchmen who, like a constellation, illumined the field of research and discovery. Next to Berthelot, the great chemist, we have

¹ Eugene Chevreul, a member of the Academie des Sciences, b. Angers 1786. d. 1889.

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Claude Bernard.¹ the great physiologist. He had, in 1871, reached the zenith of his imposing career. His most important works had already appeared; for twenty years he had been giving at the College de France those lectures which were perhaps his greatest achievement. He had been teaching general physiology at the Natural History Museum since 1868.

Great scientists came out of his laboratory like heroes out of the Trojan horse. His renown was universal, and his kindly serenity added to his authority. He had already published his famous *Introduction d l'etude de la Medecine expirimentale*, of which Pasteur said : " Nothing so complete, so profound, so luminous, has ever been written on the true principles of the difficult art of experimentation. . . . This book will exert an immense influence on medical science, its teaching, its progress, its language even." There was a noble brotherhood of souls between these great masters.

The work of Claude Bernard is a double one ; method, and laboratory discoveries; for never did he separate reasoning from observation, or hypothesis from the study of facts. His many works can but be barely mentioned here : studies on the glycogenic functions of the liver, on the functions of the pancreas ; discoveries on the nervous system, on the vaso-motor nerves, the spinal nerves, the cord of the tympanum ; notes on animal heat, on the effects of the curare poison, on oxide of carbon.

His method is at the same time very bold and very supple ; it is purely Cartesian, founded on scientific doubt and personal examination. Claude Bernard

¹ Claude Bernard, b. St. Jullien (Rh6ne) 1813, a member of the Acad£mie des Sciences and of the Academie Francaise, d. 1878.

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affirms the determination of the laws of Matter, including organised matter : " There is," he says, " in reality but one science of Physics, one Chemistry, one General Mechanics, to which belong all the phenomenal manifestations of nature, in living bodies as well as in inanimate bodies." His books sparkle with luminous axioms. " Science is but that which is determined and that which is determinable. . . ." " If the environment is suppressed, the phenomenon disappears. . . ." " The *idea* which is connected with a discovered fact is what really constitutes the discovery . . ." And this phrase, truly admirable from the pen of one whose knowledge was so great: "*Man's power is greater than his knowledge.*"

Indeed, Claude Bernard knew the limitations of Science as well as he knew its greatness. His reasoning stopped wherever his observation met with a check. He wrote, with much frankness and clearness, the following passage, very French in its philosophy : " When a chicken develops within an *egg* . . . this grouping of certain chemical phenomena only takes place according to the laws which rule the physico-chemical properties of matter ; but the *directing idea* of this vital evolution belongs essentially to the domain of life and appertains neither to chemistry, physics, nor anything else."

From 1870 to 1878, when he died, he completed his work by a book which became, in France, the foundation-stone of general physiology. In this book, *Legons sur les phenomlnes de la vie commune entre les animaux et les vegetaux*, he disposes of the essential antagonism which a hasty hypothesis had supposed to exist between the animal and vegetable kingdom, the one accomplishing the phenomena of synthesis exclusively, and the other accomplishing

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equally exclusively the phenomena of functional destruction. By thus abolishing the celebrated vital dualism, as he had already put aside the hypothesis of the supposed vital force, Claude Bernard established the unity of life phenomena.

Paul Bert, ¹ One of Claude Bernard's pupils, Paul Bert, obtained, in 1871, the Chair of Physiology at the Sorbonne. His studies on barometric pressure applied to the conditions of life, on the respiratory and sensitive systems of plants, his varied researches on protoxide of nitrogen and on anæsthetics, his controversies and his position as scientific Editor of the *Republique Française*, had made his name famous, when he was drawn away from his studies by politics. His very busy life, almost too full, like that of all those men who undertake too many duties -at the same time, established a connecting link between the scientific efforts and the social tendencies of the country. He witnessed and inspired in Gambetta those measures which re-organised Higher Education in France. He was the *rapporteur* before the Assembly, in 1874, of the proposal attributing a pension to Pasteur, as a national recompense : a vote even more creditable to politics than to science.

A few years later, Paul Bert, seized by the whirl in which he had thrown himself, found his death in Tonquin.

Natural History
History Natural History ever found laborious toilers in France. Milne-Edwards² and

¹ Paul Bert, b. Auxerre 1833, d.1886, a member of the Académie des Sciences.

² Alphonse Milne-Edwards, b. Paris 1835, a member of the Académie des Sciences, director of the Natural History Museum, d. 1900.

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his school pursued minute researches into the life of rudimentary beings. The pupils of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire,¹ Antoine Serres, Coste, Gerbe, Balbiani, devoted themselves to the demonstration of the "egg law" which will perhaps appear one day as the initial terminus of Science and Philosophy. "Each animal, in the course of its development, merely reproduces the abbreviated genealogy of its species/" Already they were nearing the more mysterious problem of the cell and plasma.

Anthro- Lastly, a new science came into being :
pology Anthropology, the science of the know-
ledge of man. Claiming, as it does, to determine the conditions of the life of man on earth, it would lose itself in the immense domain of Science and History if its delimitations were not carefully observed. In 1825, Bory de Saint Vincent published his book, *l'Homme*. Between 1813 and 1827, Prichard brought out his *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*. In 1838, Antoine Serres instituted a Chair of Anthropology at the Museum.

But it was Broca² who practically founded this science by forming an Anthropological Society in Paris in 1859, the very year when Darwin brought out his book on the *Origin of Species*. Broca again gave a general shape to these studies by publishing, as early as 1862, his *Instructions Generates pour les recherches anthropologiques*. In 1869 he published his book on *l'Ordre des Primates*, and he opened a new and fruitful field for research by editing his *Instructions Craniotomiques*. At the Exhibition of

¹ Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, a member of the Académie des Sciences, b. Etampes 1772, d. 1844.

² Paul Broca, b. 1824, Sainte-Foy-la-Grande (Gironde), a member of the Académie des Sciences, d. 1880.

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1878, Anthropology produced the effect of a revelation by exhuming before the public the history of the most ancient humanity. Dead races survive in the immutable skeleton. They live again, and, with them, the strange environment in which they were evolved. The soil speaks to the geologist, the anthropologist, the historian, the sociologist. The law of man tends to become confused with the laws of nature ; the selection of species, the heredity of acquired characteristics, social selection, have worked irresistibly and have produced the phenomena which mark the beginnings of humanity and in which the progress of civilisation is manifested. Innumerable facts, unperceived and unexplained, are collected, classified, compared, and make of the Museum a depository of the ancient archives of mankind.

Boucher de Perthes, Mortillet, de Quatrefages, Topinard, Hamy and Vacher de Lapouge founded in France a school whose labours brought precious acquisitions to the study of the prehistoric world.

Pasteur The problem of life was therefore posited before the Areopagus of sciences gathered together to solve it. The date of these solemn Assizes might be attributed to the celebrated sitting of the Sorbonne (April 7th, 1864), when Pasteur¹ undertook to refute, before the scientific and even the worldly public, the theory of spontaneous generation. Pasteur, bold and infallible, affirmative and combative, sure of his thoughts and of the truth of his statements, was himself from that moment, and entered into possession of his kingdom. In 1870, he was the great master of the infinitesimally

¹ Pasteur, b. Dole 1822, a member of the Academie des Sciences and the Academie Francaises, d. Garches (Seine-et-Aise) 1895.

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small; his work realises, at the point of contact between life and inert matter, the scientific effort of the century.

This effort, until then, had been scattered. All felt that the secret of origins lay hidden in the apparition or the transformation of inferior organisms; but how was Nature to be caught in the act? Living dusts, phantasms of the mind or dream conceptions,—who would dare to proclaim the accession to science of those mysteries which stand on the very threshold of the being? An instrument of minute and penetrating research—the microscope—a method even more minute and more penetrating, the experimental method, set doubts aside and deciphered the mystery.

A general survey of the wide field over which scientific conquest now manoeuvred, shows us a flood of light thrown over everything, from the mechanism of the stellar system to the extreme progress of the highest and most developed organisms. Astronomy, geology, prehistoric paleontology, microbiology, general botany, histology, phenomena of fecundation—all these submitted to diverse doctrines, contrary principles, hazardous hypotheses, sectarian disputes, served to hasten the increase of rapidly-growing knowledge. Cuvier¹ was in the right, but so was his much maltreated rival, Lamarck. Pouchet² stimulated the genius of Pasteur.

The problem is as wide as the world itself. Yet it is now felt to be "not beyond human strength."

¹ George Cuvier, b. 17th 9, Montbéliard, a member of the Académie des Sciences, director of the Natural History Museum, d. 1832.

² Felix Archimede Pouchet, b. Rouen 1800, a member of the Académie des Sciences, d. 1872.

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The following passages are extracted from the note-book in which Pasteur¹ wrote down thoughts which he looked upon as a programme of work ; they are perhaps the most profound words uttered by man concerning the world which surrounds and crushes him : " To state that life is in the *germ* ; that it is but a transmission since the origin of creation ; that this germ has the property of evolution, whether in the development of the intelligence and the will, or, in the same way, in the formation and development of organs. To compare this evolution with that which is latent in the *germ of chemical species*, which is in the chemical molecule. . . . The evolution of the germ of the chemical molecule consists of crystallisation, in the form which it assumes, in physical and chemical properties. These properties are potential in the germ of the molecule in the same manner as the organs and tissues of animals and plants exist potentially in their respective germs. Add : nothing is more curious than to push the comparison of living and mineral species into the study of wounds in the substance of either of these species and of the healing of these wounds by nutrition ; a nutrition which, for living beings, comes from within, and for the others from without, through the medium of crystallisation,"²

¹ See concerning the works of Pasteur, M. Vallery Radot's complete and most interesting study, *La Vie de Pasteur*, Paris, 1900. English translation by Mrs. R. L. Devonshire, London, 1901.

² This idea of evolution, borrowed partly from German doctrines, which owed it to Spinoza and Descartes, haunts most contemporary brains. Here are three passages from Renan's *Avenir de la Science*, written in 1848, but only published in 1890, which give the counterpart, applied to Historical Science and to Philosophy, of the principle which Pasteur recognises in a scientific

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So, in this first passage, the progress of the **world** is seized in the *ovum*, followed out in evolution, and observed in the universal thirst for the survival of the type by healing or nutrition, and reproduction. To be, to evolve, and to survive, these alternately fruitful and preserving desires are universal; they become manifest as soon as matter is set in motion—and even in its mineral, motionless, condition—in order to reach organisation and life.

But we have here a still bolder view—indeed, an incomparable programme of studies, for which one human life was not long enough. There have been a few such men, whose genius surpassed their works, so that the latter remained unfinished : " I have begun some experiments on crystallisation which will lead to much if they yield any positive results.¹ You know that I believe in a dissymmetrical cosmic influence which presides over the molecular organisation of the immediate principles essential to life, and that, in consequence, the species of the kingdoms of life are, in their structure, their formation, and the disposition of their tissues, in relation with the movements of the universe. For many of those species, if not for all, the sun is the *primum movens* of nutrition, but . ' believe in

connection: " One more step, and it will be proclaimed that true philosophy is the science of *humanity* and that the science of a being which is in a perpetual state of evolution can only be its history " (p. 132). " The soul is taken for a fixed, permanent being, to be analysed like a natural body, whereas it is but the ever-variable resultant of the multiple and complex facts of life. The soul is individual evolution as God is universal evolution " (p. 181). " The great progress of modern fact has been to substitute for the category of the *being* the category of the *becoming* " (p. 182).

¹ See *Life of Pasteur*, p. 50 and following.

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another relationship which may affect the whole organisation^ because it is the cause of the molecular dissymetry which is special to the chemical species of life. I wish, through experimentation, to succeed in finding a few indications concerning the nature of this great dissymetrical cosmic influence. It must be, it may be, electricity, magnetism. I have several experiments to try ; if one of them succeeds, we shall have work for the rest of our lives, and in one of the greatest subjects that man can touch; for I should not despair of discovering in that way a very deep, unexpected, and extraordinary modification of the animal and vegetable species."

Pasteur thus discovered, at the very root of the being, a most striking phenomenon. This is a deduplication, a bifurcation, animate matter parting from inanimate matter, and beginning its "sinister" evolution through dissymetry. Full of hopes and also of light, the master's genius invokes the intervention of those cosmic forces which are already known—^solar heat, electricity, magnetism. Without daring to step beyond the threshold, he points, in the mystery of things, at a duel between two obscure principles, the *right* and the *left*, rest and agitation, stability and effort. Effort, which is life already, rises and draws upwards in contortions ; *evolutio contort a*. This seems like the wail of a suffering, new-born, being. What a scientific affabulation of the legendary Ormuz and Ahriman are these faint lines on-the pages of a note-book !

It is only gradually and through the testimony of years that it will be knowii how deep, how inexhaustible, was the genius of Pasteur. Proud and yet modest, his character reveals itself by the silence in which, until his death, he entertained

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these stupendous thoughts. The above **lines were** written in 1871, at the time when his valiant heart, wounded by the sorrows which crushed his country, still dictated to him words of hope : " My head is full of the most beautiful plans for work. The war had sent my brains out to grass. I am ready **for** new productions ; at any rate I shall try. . . . Come, we will transform the world with our discoveries. How fortunate you are to be young and strong! Oh ! that I had a new life of study and work before me ! Poor France, beloved country, if only I might contribute to raise thee from thy disasters ! . . . "

Here was France, so odiously stricken, despised, rejected! At the very moment when she was between the jaws of death she wrenched from life a new solution of the problem of life. In her anguish she did not turn from the religious and scientific anxiety which divided men's minds. Among the cries of the battle-field and the hospital, she remained cool and pensive in her laboratories, watching her crucibles.

Evolution- The fame of Darwin's¹ books is well
ism known. Nowhere did they provoke deeper emotion than in the land of Lamarck. The Positivist doctrine, which had spread into every mind, found therein an unexpected proof and illustration.

Now, nothing was beyond human knowledge : the process of creation was explained. Man, connected through filiation with the animal species, was dispossessed of his exceptional situation in the universe.

This was not only a scientific revolution, but a

¹ Charles Darwin, b. Shrewsbury 1809, d. 1882.

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religious commotion : the explanation of the **world** and the sense of Destiny seemed included in the pages, so lucid, so scientifically pure, of the *Selection of Species* and the *Descent of Man*.

Doctrine entered into the current scientific reasoning. Struggle for Life, Evolution of Species, Sexual Selection, Adaptation to Environment, Survival of the Fittest, all these formulae became part of the language of every-day life. It was admitted, without further examination, that the universe was submitted to the law of this "mechanical sorting" as Cournot had it, of this automatic *fatutn*, dictating the invisible progress of matter and of Life.

Science reigned. It was evidently the only interpreter of Destiny. Man, plunged in nature, is subject to cosmic laws. Determinism is absolute. The problems which are supposed to be insoluble will not resist human investigation. Knowledge, like Light, will fill the world.

It was in the midst of this universal exaltation that Pasteur's works burst forth, in full strife, if I may say so; but, by an unexpected consequence of the simple, broad, and frank method which was his, he stopped at the limit of the knowable and the unknowable. Pasteur, by his life and convictions alone, held in suspense the problem which hovers over this dramatic period of the history of humanity.

Others showed the progress of selection ; he discovered numbers in action. On one side, the *elite—here*, crowds. Swarming, crawling, incalculable, indestructible, untiring and invisible masses preside over the hatching of things and accompany their progress ; without them, nothing can be done, nothing can remain. The *Slite* could not emerge

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in its effort, if the swarming, anonymous crowd did not surround, press, and support it.

From that point of view, Pasteur's work is democratic. It is also hearty and human. He measured with a glance the high researches of abstract science, but they did not detain him. An admirable altruism always brought him back to places where men toiled and suffered, where good could be done immediately. The great scientist would have neglected Science itself for Charity's sake. What a model! He could have repeated the saying of Claude Bernard : " Man's power is greater than his knowledge."

His life was absorbed by the study of the diseases of silk-worms, the fermentation of yeasts and the diseases of beer, chicken cholera, infection in general, and vaccines. He became the creator of modern surgery, the creator of new hygiene and medicine, the organiser of the improvement of life, when he might have taught the laws of life.

It was through him, and after him, that Lister* created antiseptis ; it was through him, and after him, that Guérin inaugurated air-excluding dressings; by him, and through him, that, in view of the terrible mortality caused by hospital gangrene in army ambulances, surgery at last consented to make cleanliness and antiseptis the collaborators of operation. Air and Light poured in.

The microscope completed the work. Microbiology, with Charles Robin,² P. Bert, and

¹ Sir Joseph Lister, now Baron Lister, b. London 1827. See his splendid letter to Pasteur, dated February 18th, 1874 : *Life of Pasteur* vol. ii., p. 20.

² Charles Robin, b. Jasseron (Ain) 1821, a member of the Académie des Sciences, d. 1885.

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Roux,¹ does not merely study the inner **organism** ; not only does it pursue the search for protoplasm and the original cell, but it also studies the processes of death, as of life. In typhus, small-pox, tuberculosis, and all the great scourges which afflict humanity, it shows the microbe and the virus, multiplying the ever-constant menace of destruction against the work of repair and reproduction. As far as is possible, it indicates the remedy.

The remedy is chiefly preventive. Real medicine, prophylactic medicine, becomes constituted. It returns to its real name -Hygiene. Individual hygiene, public hygiene, the hygiene of cities, of houses, of clothes, of contacts. A wise and prudent organisation of private and social life will one day bring cleanliness, joy, and security into this short earthly passage.

Before the laws of international hygiene, a prelude to international peace, epidemics disappear. Already, leprosy has receded, cholera and the plague are arrested in the Red Sea and the Suez Canal and on the return of pilgrims from Mecca. We may foresee the day when other evils will be conjured.

Thus do Pasteurian principles penetrate medicine. If overwork and excessive vital tension do not overwhelm the coming generations with the nervous diseases studied at the same time by Charcot;² if man is not alarmed at the direct and truthful view which he now has of himself and the world,—a new humanity will arise by degrees.

¹ Emile Roux, b. Confolcns (Charente) 1853, a member of the Académie des Sciences.

² Jean Charcot, b. Paris 1825, a member of the Académie des Sciences, d. 1893.

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Social existence will be bettered when the laws of existence and society are better known. By trimming wounds, eliminating poisons, cleansing away pus, and everywhere uncovering living surfaces, Science shows us all lives bound and chained together by a close need of each other and a mutual control over each other.

Orderly effort, such is the law of Nature, and consequently of Humanity.

But has Science, the sudden revealer of this magnificent Unity, obtained a final and complete victory? Does Science hold under its yoke the whole of Man, his senses, his intelligence, his heart, his destiny?

Pasteur, the echo of a generation rendered prudent by its sorrows, does not break with traditional sentiment :—[^]

" There are two men," said he, " in each one of us : the scientist, he who starts with a clear field and desires to rise to the knowledge of Nature through observation, experimentation, and reasoning, and the man of sentiment, the man of belief, the man who mourns his dead children and who cannot, alas ! prove that he will see them again, but who believes that he will, and lives in that hope; the man who will not die like a vibrio, but who feels that the force within him cannot die. The two domains are distinct, and woe to him who tries to let them trespass on each other in the so imperfect state of human knowledge."¹

¹ *Life of Pysteur*, vol. ii., p. 28.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MORAL CRISIS.

- I.—Moral Law and society—Three risks : religious, economic and patriotic—Authority and liberty—Religion—Inner and outer crisis of Catholicism—Catholic France—Symptoms of disaffection.
- II.—Free-thought.—Philosophical systems—Philosophical opportunism—Ethical systems.
- III.—Economics—Saint-Simonism—The " orthodox " school—Economic Ethics—Disadvantages and benefits of Economism.
- IV.—Morality without sanction—The " generous " man—Non-constraint—Religion of the Fatherland—Theory of Opportunism.

I

HAVING recounted the material resources and intellectual production of France at the time of her recovery, it is now time to touch upon a deeper and more obscure problem; that is, to appreciate the intimate convictions of the social body when the crisis which threw off the last remaining consequences of the war and which determined a new vital process was at its climax.

No circumstance could have been more favourable to the historian, in order to seize the fugitive features of a nation, than the hour when they were contracted in an agonised spasm. The physiology, psychology, and, alas ! the pathology of nations can

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never study such moments too closely. Physical resources, moral reserves, everything is put to the test. What is the living value of this people ? It is time to put the question when it seems on the point of succumbing.

A nation, like an individual, is under the obligation and duty of preserving its existence, of improving its fate and of developing regularly in time and space.

If it merely watches over its own preservation it executes this law and strictly fulfils its duty. If it undertakes more, it runs a risk in proportion to the enterprise.

For every conscious being, this risk constitutes a constant and superior attraction. The value of a man and of a society could be measured by the answer given by them to the question, What risk do you run ?

There are times when the risk bears upon existence itself : existence is looked upon as an idea, an ideal, a conviction, an uncertain future, a share of Heaven. The risk is enormous : its greatness gives it a chimerical beauty. If the sacrifice were absolute, a prodigious expansion of earthly life would follow; the force of action, together with the force of abnegation, would be irresistible : "I believe men who die for their beliefs," But humanity would perish at the stake set alight by the inextinguishable ardour of its heavenly aspirations.

There are other circumstances in which the risk sacrifices the fate of the individual to the prosperity of the collective being : the citizen lives but for the city. These are epochs of ardent patriotism ; they are not rare in history. The individual, in giving

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up his life, follows the most natural, most powerful instinct: for he has a deep sense of the fact that he cannot live alone.

There are epochs when man scarcely risks his own activity, except in so much as it will profit his own existence. Routine, and the security of centuries, suppress the habit of sacrifice. Old age, or at any rate the immediate future of the family, is assured. Comfort is the object, the means to which is the accumulation of wealth by labour, order, and economy. These are prudent and timorous times, stable through their very stagnation. Society endures, but vegetates.

Nations are liable to perish through excess, either in one or the other direction. They provide for their conservation and maintain their equilibrium by a well-balanced constitution of authority and liberty. If authority had no counterweight, it would compromise the fate and happiness of the people for the caprice of one or a few ; if authority were annihilated or despised, everything would fall back upon individual interest; Society would perish : invasions are set in motion when discipline dies.

Here are, then, the two rival principles face to face—Authority, Liberty. Social order being none other than organised moral order, the strife between the two concurrent principles comes back to the antagonism of the two universal theses which divide philosophies: God, or the World ; a sudden Creation or a continuous Evolution.

Every religion, every Deism, teaches a " Decalogue," Man, in order to be righteous, need only put into practice the precepts already dictated by the Supreme Will. It is the principle of obedience, following on the principle of authority.

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Naturalism, on the contrary, knows of no other ethical spring than the effort of being : it is by its own volition, by its " will to live," that it has raised itself from Nothingness; through this volition it endures, propagates, improves, and raises itself. The moral law is not written, not revealed, but sought for and desired; not fixed once for all, but in perpetual progress. The Good is a *Better*. God is not above us, but within us; not behind us, but in front; man goes towards Him by creating Him day by day. To live, to live heroically, is to realise God.

Destiny willed it that a vital crisis should take place in France at the very time when the redoubtable alternative was being set before men's minds. The two systems, Deism or Pantheism, Authority or Liberty—the three risks, Religion, Patriotism, Economism—were present. It might have been thought that a supreme decision was submitting the dispute to the arbitration of this people, divested from any hindrances, thrown back on itself by defeat, free of its choice and of its future.

The
Catholic
Religion
in
1870-1880

At this critical hour in the history of the nation, the great mass of Frenchmen were living and dying in the Catholic Religion. The Catholic Religion secures the truce of hope in the wearying obsession of daily labour, and brings the consoling promise of a better future. No rival creed, no philosophic system, has ever displaced the influence which it has for centuries exerted over this people.

With the exception of a very short period in Revolutionary history, the Church had never broken with public powers. By the restoration of the

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Concordat, its supremacy was maintained. In 1872, France was still "the eldest daughter of the Church," The great mass of the people remained attached to its rites and dogma.

Religious ceremonies attracted the crowds and the aerial propaganda of the bells resounded from the parish church. Baptism, the first communion, marriage, were the consecrated halts of family life. The feasts of the Church were public feasts; the names of saints were anniversaries. The priest accompanied the dead as far as their last home and, in the name of all, bid them the last farewell. He held out, to soothe the sorrow of the survivors, the promise of the immortality of the soul. The Catholic religion envelops and holds in its sweet bands the daily life of the large majority of French people.

Catholicism, a revealed religion, fills with its faith the soul tormented with the problem of destiny, and thus binds Man to God. That is not all. Its ethical direction establishes a rule of common life into which ancient wisdom has gathered a superior law; and thus it binds man to man: this is the solid stone on which rests the edifice. The essence of the doctrine is practically summarised in a little book which children learn by heart: the Catechism.

By its antiquity, by its secular alliance with the government, by its powerful organisation, and especially by the scope of its teaching, the Catholic Church is, in France, the chief representative of the principle of Authority.

After 1871, the Roman Catholic Church was going through a double crisis, inwardly and outwardly.

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The inward crisis had taken place in the direction of concentration and a narrower discipline around the Papacy. The *Syllabus* had proclaimed, with more energy than ever, pontifical Absolution, and had placed the Church in direct antagonism with modern liberalism. The Council of the Vatican, by its adhesion to the dogma of Infallibility, had abolished the last resistance against the principle of unity.

Was this internal evolution the origin, or a consequence, of the external crisis ?

The
Syllabus
and
Infallibility

The two coincided. At the Vatican Council, the Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Darboy, had placed them together in a resigned statement which was at the same time a prophetic view : " I say it with sorrow : the Church is withdrawing from everything. It is absent from the congresses where peace and war between nations are discussed. . . . It is absent from public Assemblies, absent from schools, absent from laws, absent even from families, where morals are being corrupted by civil marriages. Almost all those who preside, in Europe, over human destinies, send us away or avoid us. In this poignant anguish of the Church, what remedy is offered to the world ? To those whose faith is staggering, a new and inopportune doctrine is offered, which had never been propounded until now. . . . The *Syllabus* has invaded Europe. What evil has it remedied ? . . . Far from destroying the objections and prejudices which keep men away from the faith, the independent infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff multiplies and aggravates them. Already many men who are not, at bottom, enemies of the Catholic Religion, contemplate Separation between Church and

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State ; it is certain that among those who preside over public business, many will embrace this thesis and be glad to seize the opportunity of the proposed decree in order to realise it. Now, whatever France does will in a short time be imitated by the whole of Europe; and I declare that it will not be without great prejudice to the Church and the clergy,"¹

The decision was taken in spite of this eloquent protest and the firm resistance of the greater number of French Bishops. In France, dissentients submitted ; a deferential and unanimous adhesion maintained 'Unity. But the crisis had not been less deep in Belgium, in Switzerland, and especially in Germany, and it had lasting consequences. And to what point did it not contribute to the European complications which ended in the defeat of France and in the suppression of the Pope's temporal power ?

Through a remarkable synchronism, these same short years saw those events which might be most damaging to the Church. The Papacy, more than ever master of the Church and of souls, lost its temporal power. The defeat of France consecrated the hegemony of Protestantism in Europe. This double fact was hurtful, in proportions which it is still too early to appreciate, to the Roman universality and propaganda. In Rome, the Church was less free ; abroad, it had less influence.

As Mgr. Darboy had foreseen, the position of Rome towards the Powers became difficult. Whatever palliative might be used, an antagonism now stood between the anathema of the *Syllabus* and

¹ Emile Ollivier, *L'Eglise et l'Etat au Concile du Vatican*, vol. i i., P. 297.

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the conditions of modern life. The latter are condemned; but a condemnation is not a solution. We must quote these words, uttered before the council: " What is the value of anathema if uttered by one whose authority is not acknowledged ? "

The Church now no longer claims temporal domination over governments, nor has it done so for a long time. Pope Pius IX took care to proclaim, immediately after the vote, that the dogma of infallibility in no wise included the right of deposing Sovereigns, or of loosening nations from their oath of fidelity.¹

In its relations with the Powers, the Church, through a striking evolution, appealed more and more to " liberty " and less and less to authority*. Now did not the rigour of the dogmatic thesis create a contradiction of language ? If the Church was resigned to accommodate itself in practice to the ideas of the time, were there not some serious disadvantages in meeting them with such arbitrary declarations of principle ?

These grave problems, of which the germ was contained in the decisions of the Council, only appeared to those minds which had the most clear perceptions. A Montalembert, a Darboy, had foreseen them, but the mass of the faithful, carried away by the impulse of the country priests, who had cordially adhered to the Roman initiative, had yielded without so much reflection. Never, perhaps, since the crusades, did the Church seem closer to France than during this period, when wounded souls were drawing near for comfort and consolation.

¹ See Emile Ollivier, v. ii., p. 374.

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This union was such that politics made a compact with faith. The partisans of the monarchical restoration, the Conservatives, the representatives of "interests," demanded help from that which is authority itself. The majority of the National Assembly affirmed religious sentiments at every opportunity. The two parties were bound: Mgr. Dupanloup eagerly worked for the "fusion"; 140 Deputies took part in the Paray-le-Monial pilgrimage. The building of the Church of the Sacred Heart at Montmartre was an act of national devotion.¹

But ethical direction, not politics, were in question here; now the Church never exerted it with more liberty, more confidence. Every hope seemed justified.

The vast edifice of the Church, erected by the secular piety of France, remained standing, more imposing than ever. Its resources were immense. The annual budget of Public Worship reached a sum varying from 52,216,074 francs in 1872 to 52,408,162 francs in 1880. The 36,097 Communes in France each had a public church, devoted to the celebration of the cult. In important centres, magnificent cathedrals, in the most modest villages, ancient and often precious monuments, preserved for the people the traditions of architectural beauty which had emanated from the soul of the nation.²

Here are the numbers of the ecclesiastical army. First, the secular clergy: 18 Archbishops and 69 Bishops, for 87 Dioceses; under their direction

¹ See above, p. 83 and following.

² The fund of the "fabriques" (ecclesiastical commissions) amounted to 94,000,000 francs, comprising a proportion of about 7-10 in rural property.

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185 Vicars-General, 750 paid Canons, 130 unpaid, 3,413 *Cures*, 4,578 habited priests, 29,308 officiating priests in *succursales*, 10,670 Parish Vicars, 2,659 Chaplains, 3,589 Directors and Professors of the great seminaries and of ecclesiastical schools ; altogether, 55,369 members of the secular clergy.¹

The recruiting of this " personnel," in spite of the severe restrictions imposed on human nature, was assured by the Seminary annexed to each of the 87 Dioceses.² These seminaries had in 1876 a scholastic population of 11,666 pupils, a figure rarely reached, and which had already fallen to 8,420 in 1880.

Each seminary, fed by the zeal of the *cures*, who in each village noted budding vocations, had from 100 to 150 pupils. The secondary ecclesiastical schools, adjoining the great seminaries and nurseries for the latter, had, in 1876, 1,970 pupils.

The Protestant cult (639 Reformed pastors and 67 Lutheran ministers), the Israelites (9 grand Rabbis, 26 Rabbis and 25 officiating ministers) can oppose but very small numbers to the army of 60,000 Catholic priests.³

¹ These are the official figures of 1876, including the ecclesiastical personnel of the three Algerian dioceses.

² The Direction and teaching in seminaries was entrusted, besides secular priests, to special congregations, notably the Lazarists, Sulpicians, Oratorians and Eudists. In 1880, the Lazarists managed twenty-two great seminaries, and the Sulpicians twenty-four. The latter also directed the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, the most important in France from the point of view of the number of pupils and the standard of the studies. Besides clerics of the diocese of Paris, this seminary also received foreign pupils, especially from Ireland, England, and North and South America.

³ Some time after the war a measure of unification was taken concerning the Reformed Churches in France: On November

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On November 30th, 1880, subscriptions to the Montmartre Church of the Sacred Heart reached 9,188,732 francs.

In the churches, the usual collections after services, in spite of the modicity of each offering, came to large totals. St. Peter's Pence alone provided important resources.¹

It is difficult to give an accurate account of the funds collected for all the works of charity, hospitals, asylums, orphanages, creches, etc., succoured in every shape by Catholic charity. Here are a few figures, however. In 1880, the hospitals and homes of the congregations relieved 114,199 persons; orphanages and girls' homes, 60,225 ; refuges and reformatories, 11,815 ; lunatic asylums, 14,361; in all 200,600 people.

But the results realised by Education, that of all its works which lies nearest to the heart of the Church, best show the breadth and continuity of the effort. In 1878 the elementary schools managed by authorised female religious associations numbered 16,478,10,951 of which were public and 5,527 private schools. Male authorised congregations directed

afterwards, it was proposed to build the Hospital of St. Joseph, with a School of Medicine attached to it. The capital for this already reached 2,500,000 francs in 1880.

¹ The institution of St. Peter's Pence, which assumed great development after the Encyclical of August 5, 1871, had been restored in 1860, after the invasion of the Pontifical states. I have been unable to ascertain the contributive share of France in the total receipts of St. Peter's Pence. It is well known that the Comte de Chambord sent 10,000 francs annually with the following words, " To the venerable Captive of the Vatican, the Exile's mite." It is also well known that the presents sent to the Pope on the occasion of the Jubilee in 1877, reached a total value of 15,000,000 francs,

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2,328 public elementary schools and 768 private schools ; total: 3,096. The total number of children educated in these 19,574 establishments was estimated in 1880 at 2,197,775, out of a general total of 4,949,591 school-children.

The Friars of Christian Schools numbered 800 in 1789, 4,000 in 1845, and 11,005 in 1878, with 1,856 schools in France, 46 in the colonies, and 312 in foreign countries. The last-named establishments harboured at that time 68,765 pupils.¹ In 1884 the Novitiates had 1,360 pupils ; in 1898, 2,282.

A diocesan committee, under the patronage of the Archbishop of Paris, was formed in 1879 " with the object of assisting the creation of free schools and of constituting, for the benefit of poor parishes, a common fund for the establishment and maintenance of their schools," From 1879 to 1893, private charity provided this institution with 28,000,000 francs. The annual expense represented about 1,800,000 francs.

The Society of St. Vincent-de-Paul was founded in Paris in 1833, " to safeguard, especially in young people, integrity of faith and purity of morals " ; its " conferences " multiplied in Paris, in the provinces and abroad; in France only, 2,768,261 francs were collected, and, altogether, 8,932,419 francs.

The Institution of Pilgrimages, founded in 1872, organised great journeys to Rome, La Salette, Paray-le-Monial, the Grande-Chartreuse, Fourviere, Lourdes, and a penance pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹

In 1871, the Union of Working Catholic Associations was created, co-ordinating the efforts to constitute working men's clubs, creches, homes, etc.,

¹ Emile Keller, *Les Congregations religieuses en France, leurs œuvres, leurs services.*

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etc. Catholic clubs, first founded in 1872, were, in 1888, 400 in number, of which 10 were in Paris.

The " Paris Catholic Committee " was created in 1872, under the presidency of M. Chesnelong. It was inspired by this thought, that " social duty is part of Christian duty, and that the cause of Catholic truth is also the cause of national salvation/ "

The " Hospitality de Nuit," inaugurated in 1878, received 19,412 guests in 1879 ; in 1892, 115,000.

The " Pauvres Malades dans les faubourgs " was initiated in 1872 by the future Cardinal Langenieux then Vicar-General of the Archbishopric of Paris. It was thought that " after the Commune it was necessary to go to the people and to give them the spectacle of charity exercised by members of society." This institution annually distributes more than 60,000 francs to the sick who are not cared for in the hospitals.

The " Catholic Committee of Military and Naval Institutions " was established in 1880, on the morrow of the suppression of military chaplains, by M. Baudon, President-General of the Society of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, " with the object of maintaining the Faith in the army, and of providing soldiers and sailors with religious assistance in the course of their dangerous career, and at the hour of death."

This was quite a renaissance, with a new orientation, which, after Ketteler and Le Play, brought the modern Church nearer to the people, and rendered her more attentive, not only to poverty, but to social organisation.

Abroad, the action of the Catholic Church collaborated constantly and universally with that of France. In the East,

The
Catholic
Protectorate

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especially in the "lands of capitulation," this collaboration took the precise form, recognised by treaties, of a "Catholic Protectorate." On distant shores, in far-away continents, the thought of France is present wherever church-bells ring. The services rendered by missionaries, up to the sources of the Nile and the Tibetan mountains, the establishments founded, the Word preached, the language taught, the good works done, belong to the national patrimony.

The institutions of the Propagation of the Faith, Holy Childhood, Eastern Schools, and African Missions, centralised the resources.

The " (Euvre de la Propagation de la Foi," founded at Lyons in 1822, collected, in 1880, in France and in Alsace-Lorraine, 4,404,987 francs, whilst the total receipts (for the whole world) were hardly more than 6,000,000 francs. The " (Euvre de la Sainte Enfance," the object of which is the "rescue, baptism and Christian education of children born of infidel parents, in China and other places," presented in 1878 a budget for the year of 2,339,756 francs. The " (Euvre des Ecoles d'Orient " received, in 1880, a sum of 283,790 francs.

Schools, homes, creches, orphanages, boarding-schools, colleges, faculties, novitiates, seminaries, refuges, Catholic communities of all sorts and objects, multiplied on the surface of the globe, keeping up French renown after its momentary eclipse, and preparing the work of expansion which was one day to secure for France the possession of a vast colonial empire.¹

¹ It is difficult to give the exact numbers of the establishments created, out of Europe, by religious congregations. Here are a few details for 1880 : The Lazarists had 64 establishments in the

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With this constant activity, external and internal, the zealous co-operation of the public powers and the open adhesion of the Parliamentary majority, the Church of France might think itself more than ever secure of the future. And yet certain alarming indications were already becoming apparent. In the bosom of the Church itself, some coolness, indifference, and disaffection were noticeable.

The census of 1872 still mentions the form of worship of each individual. The number of Catholics was 35,387,703 (98.02 per cent.); of Protestants, 580,757 (1.60 per cent.); of Israelites, 49,439 (0.14 per cent.); of other cults, 3,071 (0.01 per cent.). 81,951 persons (0.23 per cent.), declared that

East or in China, and 46 in South America ; the priests of Foreign Missions, 24 in the Far East; the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, 22 in Africa, the West Indies and America ; the Friars of Christian Schools had, in the Colonies and in foreign lands, 358 schools, numbering 76,375 pupils ; the clerics of St. Victor had 24 houses in America, with 3,200 scholars; the Little Friars of Mary had 36 schools, and the Friars of the Society of Mary, 31 schools, with 9,936 pupils ; the White Fathers had 17 establishments or stations, in Africa (Algeria, Kabylia, Tunis, Sahara, Tripoli, Uganda, Tanganika), in December 1880. They numbered 112 Missionaries, housed 80 orphans, taught 1,342 children, and nursed 4,000 patients. It was a Missionary of the White Fathers, Father D61attre, who founded the Museum of Carthage.

Female communities : Sisters of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul had 58 establishments in the colonies, and 997 in foreign lands. The following figures concerning their work in China and in the East have been published : 1,185 orphans educated; 5,641 children taught; 337,231 patients taken care of. Sisters of the Bon-Pasteur, 90 establishments for 15,000 children. Ladies of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, 42 establishments. Augustine Canonesses, 80 establishments, educating 16,200 children. In Algeria, the Sisters of the Christian Doctrine and the Trinitarian Sisters have, respectively, 66 and 32 establishments. See Keller, *les Congregations Religieuses* and the important work of Father J. B. Piolet, *Les Missions Catholiques Frangaises au XIX^{eme}* Steele.

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they belonged to no religion, or else their **religion** could not be ascertained. After 1876, the census contains no indication whatever concerning religion ; we have therefore to be content with partial and very insufficient observations.

Paris is the greatest Catholic centre in the world. The importance of its population, its wealth, its intellectual influence, the activity of its religious societies and eminent clergy, have earned for it an authority second only to that of Rome. Now, in 1875, on a total of 68,090 births (53,878 legitimate, and 14,212 illegitimate) there were 45,769 baptisms (86·6 per cent.). The difference is 11,009 ; however, account must be taken of children born in other cults, and especially of those taken into the country to be reared and who are baptised there. In 1885, the total of births was 78,000 (61,400 legitimate and 16,922 illegitimate), 15,631 children were sent out to nurse. Now, the number of baptisms fell to 44,596 (72·6 per cent.).

In 1875 there were 18,184 marriages, of which 15,839 were Catholic (87 per cent.), and in 1885 20,265, of which 14,321 were Catholic (70·7 per cent.). If we take Protestant and Jewish marriages into account, we find that one wedding out of every four takes place without a religious ceremony.

The number of funerals in 1882 was 59,786, of which 43,266 were celebrated by the Church, making a proportion of 19·5 per cent, without a religious ceremony. In 1885 there were 55,343 funerals, of which 39,525 were Catholic, and 21 per cent, without a priest. •

If it were possible to know the number of " practising " Catholics, we **should** see the **real state of things, not only in what concerns traditional customs**

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but also the zeal of the faithful. Taine, who was collecting materials for his book in 1880, gathered certain precise facts : " At Bourron (Seine-et-Marne), which, in 1789, contained 600 inhabitants, the number of Easter communicants was 300 ; now, with 1,200 inhabitants, it is 94," A well-informed ecclesiastic wrote to Taine in 1890 : " I estimate the number of Easter communicants in Paris roughly at 100,000." Here is the opinion of another ecclesiastic : " I know a Bishop, who, when he arrived in his diocese, happened to ask himself how many, among the 400,000 souls in his charge, were Easter communicants ; he found 37,000. Now (1878), after twenty years' efforts, there are 55,000. I know a town *cure* who has 17,000 inhabitants in his parish : 3,000 take the communion at Easter,"

This disaffection was recognised and deplored by the members of the clergy.

" Our peasants," said one of them, " would not for the world let their children grow up without making their first communion. It is a rite which cannot be dispensed with ; but it is little more than a rite. After that, boys may become farm servants, and the girls enter into domestic service," " Formerly," says another, " there were Christian morals ; now there are merely Christian practices. The greatest inconsistency, fifty years ago, was to believe without practising ; now it is usual to practise without becoming better," The future Cardinal Guibert, then Archbishop of Tours, addressed to Mgr. Pie, in 1870, these striking words : " There is nothing to expect from men ; but we may hope that if God deletes, it is in order to write afterwards. No principle remains, even in the minds of our rulers. It is not only the religious, but the moral sense which is

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obliterated. I do not think so many truths have ever been uttered as are daily sown around me. People listen with deference, but do not understand. *We Christians form a Society, a people apart, which, no longer being in communion of ideas with the immense society which surrounds us, is becoming disintegrated and is in fact in full process of dissolution. It is a world nearing its end.*¹

Times were coming nearer when an author, usually accurate, wrote, with some exaggeration it is true : " France offers the almost unique example of a people which is, on the whole, altogether free-thinking."²

A no less threatening symptom appeared in the difficulty of recruiting experienced by the clergy. In 1876, Monseigneur Bougaud published a book which sounded the alarm. He signalled the growing scarcity of vocations, the lack of priests in a great number of dioceses. In 1877 there were in France 2,568 parishes without a priest; 1,500,000 Christians without a shepherd.³ How would it be possible to supply the demands of the evangelised world, constantly appealing to France ?

To most of the departments could be applied the following statement from the diocese of Reims : " Since the war, Reims has seen a deplorable diminution in the number of calls. The great! seminary had had an average of 100 clerics: in 1877, there

¹ Paguelle de Follenay, *Vie du Cardinal Guibert*, vol. ii., p. 442.

² Fouillee, *Idee moderne du droit*, p. 103. Taine said, in his forceful, sometimes excessive manner : " By an insensible and slow backward movement, the great rural mass, like the great urban mass, is gradually going back to Paganism."—*Regime Moderne*, vol. ii., p. 151.

³ Abbe Bougaud, *Le Grand peril de l'Eglise de France*, p. 38.

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were 55. The little seminary used to have 230 scholars: in 1877 there were but 150."

The empty gaps in the ecclesiastical orders were no longer filled by the rich or educated classes. " In 1789, out of 134 Bishops or Archbishops, there were but 5 commoners ; in 1889, out of 90 Bishops or Archbishops there are but 4 noblemen,"¹ " Among the 40,000 *cures* or officiating clergy, more than 35,000 belong to the working classes, of artisans or peasants." ² To quote the pessimistic conclusions of the most zealous defenders of the Church : " It is easy to see that the clergy and the nation live side by side, scarcely brought together by a few acts of life, and never penetrating each other at all." ³ ^{€i} The first clergy in the world ! . . . In reality, we are the very last. . . . " " An immense force which comes down from Heaven still moves the machine, but the machine is worn out. The clergy is no longer regarded in this country as one of the representatives of science, and that is an absolutely new fact in its history. We should be blind in the face of evidence if we could not see that the human mind is now thoroughly freed, and Society emancipated.*

II

In effect, the Church had been, almost for a century, meeting with a growing resistance. An enigmatic force, never bending, never retreating, was constantly attacking it and making way against it. The Church called this force a Satanic one ; it did not understand it, for powers in possession never

¹ Taine, *Regime Moderne*, vol. ii., p. 65.

² Abbe Meric, *Correspondent* of January 10th, 1890.

³ *Le Clerge Fran çais*, p. 13.

⁴ Abbe Bougaud, pp. 17, 90, 92.

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have understood **or borne with opposition.** This was a rebellion, an independence, attractive to free minds and to young people ; its name is *Free Thought*.

Free
Thought In the sixteenth century, free examination was the origin of the Reformed schism. A grounding of Protestantism will ever remain in European free thought, and there is a narrow connection between the two theses ; the formula which binds them together is the *no Popery* cry.

The seventeenth century had hesitated on the verge of rupture. The eighteenth century accomplished it with a joy, a cavalierly impertinence which astonished, amused and seduced the world. The first part of the nineteenth century attempted to repair the ruins. But the Pagan Catholicism of Chateaubriand found more applause than echoes. In the climacteric year of 1851, the attempted *rapprochement* failed. The Church of the *Syllabus* and of Infallibility saw the rise against her of the Europe of Universal Suffrage and the philosophy of Unity.

Every doctrine in reality does but project the soul of a people into the domain of reasoning. A system is the reflection of the social conscience. A position is taken first of all ; philosophising comes afterwards. Thinkers undertake to provide an argument when the fact is accomplished : they preach heroism to the victor, resignation to the vanquished.

After the war of 1870, during the period of disorder and uncertainty which followed the Commune, Thought was like a broken mirror ; like social order itself, it was reduced to atoms. The hour was a critical one, an anguish, a negation, a sort of anarchy due to impotence and disgust.

The eclecticism of Victor Cousin was still reigning over the school, and the Positivism of Auguste Comte

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still influenced general opinion. But the latter, in the hasty attempt which he made to substitute a "demonstrated" religion for a revealed religion, met with complete failure. Nothing remains of his works but a pure and simple negation. This contempter of the Unknowable only would believe facts ascertained by experiment or by external science, He did not even recognise the only science which is certain, since it is the very basis of knowledge, the science of consciousness. He never reached the masses.

Littre With narrower and shorter views, his disciple, Littre, tightened the circle closed by Auguste Comte. Philosophy is for him nothing but a "dry atheism." It warms itself only before the sight of the greatness of the universe. He has the piety of the universal mechanism, the emotion of that "Ocean of the world, in which we have neither ship nor sail/' Even in this enthusiasm there is an avowal of impotence. The world is vast, but closed. Man can but fall back on himself : *Tecum habita et noris quam sit tibi curia supellex*.¹

Positivism, in fact, proclaiming and limiting the progress of science at the same time, sees the world widened and man diminished. It has neither discovered nor even sought for the point where Thought and the Universe touch and blend with each other. The depth of the abyss only increases the despair of the spectator.²

Evolutionism Auguste Comte did not believe in the success of the biological sciences, which, however, were yet about to give unexpected power and de-

¹ See Foultee, *le Mouvement positiviste*, p. 10.

² Littre, *La Science au point de vue philosophique*. See preface and last chapter.

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velopment to his thought. Darwin, completing Lamarck, and, after Darwin, Herbert Spencer, fix Man like a link into the chain of Evolution ; thus was Evolutionism founded. Natural selection, and the conservation through heredity of acquired characteristics, claimed to bring a simple solution to the problem of life.

Man explains himself by his descent; he is nothing more than a vertebrate, a mammal, not very different from an ape. Why take so much trouble to make up for him a special lineage, a unique destiny, and to make of him the centre of the universe. An unnoticed wavelet in the stream of existence, it is enough that he should pass for his destiny to be fulfilled, his existence justified. The right of the strongest, of the most gifted, elegantly expressed by the theory of the *elite*, crowns this eminently Agnostic conception. Its power of penetration is enormous because, as Roberty expressed it, it " is clever enough to place itself carefully under the shelter of the experimental method."⁰

The last word was said when the German scientist Haeckel, Darwin's strictest disciple, in his lecture on " Monism," published the " profession of faith of a naturalist," The world was not originally created by a conscious volition. It is the object of a continuous and rectilinear evolution, starting from a primary, unperceived motion in Ether, towards a goal of which none possess the secret. To the hypothesis of a fall, the hypothesis of progress is substituted. Matter cannot exist or act without Mind, nor Mind without Matter. There is but one substance, Ether, of which only one property, Vibration, is known. Ether, vibrating, diffused in space, is the creating principle. " Each atom is provided

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with Soul, and likewise, cosmic Ether." God may be defined as "the infinite sum of all atomic forces and all the vibrations of ether." This Ether-God is opposed to the God of tradition, who, convicted of anthropomorphism, is nothing but a superstitious dream, a transitory image, deleted by the advent of Science.

French idealism The French mind resisted these bold simplifications. A new school marked a return to Idealism. Ravaisson, in his masterly report on *La Philosophie en France au XIX^{ime} Siecle*, had, in its wide enquiry, maintained the rights of an absolute Spiritualism ; he had subordinated the idea of substance, far from allowing it to invade the domain of Philosophy, and he had reserved the pre-eminent *role* of Thought.

Renan and Taine held back from the ultimate consequences of the naturalistic doctrine. After 1870, they established their doctrine on the frontiers of a less rigorous determination. Renouvier, with a singular authority and perseverance, restored the critical method, and declared himself an adversary of Comte and Littré, Taine and Renan, Cousin and Spencer. He had returned by a by-road to the "categorical imperative" and to the Kantian "*a priori*" postulate.

Finally, two masters, trying to appease dissent, to attenuate divergencies and controversies, were imposing themselves as the representatives of the spirit of transition, of transaction and compromise. These were MM. Lachelier and Fouillee. Lachelier¹, a Professor at the Ecole-Normale from 1864 to 1876,

¹ J. Lachelier, b. Fontainebleau 1832, a member of the Institut.

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attempted in his teaching a reciprocal penetration on the part of modern philosophy and religion. According to him, the life of the Entity has a triple character: mechanical, organic and moral; these three states are the triple essence of the complete being. The being is free, since it has the intuition of its liberty. As to the principle of things, it can only be known by "belief," which itself rests on the intimate notion of "duty." It is the Kantian thought over again, but ending logically in an act of ethical and religious faith. The whole of the doctrine conforms, says M. Fouillee, "to a state of mind very frequently met with at that time, giving satisfaction to the double need to doubt and to believe,"

M. Fouillee,¹ whose doctor's thesis in 1872 made a great sensation, attempts an even wider and more difficult conciliation, that of freedom and determinism.

He unites Mechanism and Spiritualism in his notion of the *Idea Forces*. A whole philosophy, far-reaching in its developments, rose on this basis. The individual is free, as the bee is free, though subordinate to the "spirit of the hive." The whole world with one accord is going towards a future state, which it only discovers on reaching it: "The ideal is but the deepest sense and the anticipation of future reality," "We must go as far as to say that existence itself is social and that the universe is an infinite society of which the essential law is the reciprocity of action and volition, that is, Solidarity, the first degree of Love." "Philosophy, having reached its last stage, considers the idea of

¹ Alfred Fouillee, b. La Poueze (Maine-et-Loire) 1838, a member of the Institut.

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the Universal Society of Consciences as the basis of what was formerly called Nature."

To the Ether-God is opposed the Bee-hive World. Conscience knows the latter as Science determines the former.

Philosophical Opportunism In an anxious, balanced age, the masters of conciliation, half-way between Science and Metaphysics, inaugurated philosophical opportunism.

What is the real bearing of these abstract conceptions ? Most of them remained within the precincts of the schools. Positivism alone ventured out over the great sea, but the waves closed over the wreckage. As to the other systems, floating spars carried hither and thither by the flood and tide of contradiction, they were engulfed as soon as they emerged. The public knew them not.

The penetration of ideas, however, became more and more rapid, more and more deep ; no civilisation ever was more impregnated with reading. From the most austere book to the most popular journal, infiltration promptly takes place. A thought is barely conceived before it becomes public property.

Some modes of ideas and custom become propagated in a few days from the spheres where they are born to those where they are copied. The law of imitation is one of the most powerful instruments of civilisation, especially when crowds, abandoned without a rule to their own instability, are subject to the effect of every passing breath.

Agnosticism, Evolutionism, Naturalism, whether descended from Philosophy down to Society, or extended to Philosophy from the social movement, exist at the same time in books and in daily life. Only, in daily life they become diffused ; in books

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they are condensed. Life attenuates, books exaggerate. Every system is a paradox ; to explain is to choose, to eliminate, to narrow. Life is more ample, more supple, more juicy than that fruit of art, which, in order to endure, has voluntarily hardened its kernel.

With these reservations, we may look for the relations between philosophical doctrines and manners and customs. The ethics of the Catholic Church remain on the whole, the rule of social life. Its cosmogony, its dogma, the historical tales of Holy Scripture, are shaken in their affirmations and authority. The exegesis of Strauss,¹ Havet, Renan, d'Eichthal, Ledrain, Soury, Colani, gave point to polemics which Voltaire had merely touched upon. The creation in six days could not stand the attack of geology, paleontology, comparative anatomy and anthropogeny. It is an understood thing that the Christian religion, in its traditional form, is mere ignorance.

But the ethical block holds together. The boldest among evolutionists scarcely dare to reproach Catholic morality with its "mercantilism" which bargains with God, its uncompromising dogmatism, the mother of inquisitions, its celibacy, of priests which, through an inverted selection, annihilates beforehand the race of the best.

The masses, which hold nothing but a deferential belief, mingled with an old residue of traditional customs, remain in subjection to the rules of the catechism, having, when all is said and done, no other guide.

*

Moreover, what do these exalted philosophical

¹ Friedrich Strauss, b, Ludwigsburg 1808, d. 1874,

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systems offer instead of it ? It is not sufficient to destroy; rebuilding is necessary.

The last and best-known disciple of the German school fetched from far-away India the most depressing of negative doctrines, in order to advocate Nirvana and to crush man under the blank burden of a discouraged pessimism. Schopenhauer, by his logic, his humour, his paradoxes, often borrowed from the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, had some success in France. His works were translated and commented upon. Alfred de Vigny had already written the psalm of this fierce resignation by singing " the Death of the Wolf." An eminent Frenchman, a passionate lover of letters, a great orator, a member of the Academie Frangaise, and President of the Senate, Challemel-Lacour, left in a posthumous book {*Etudes et reflexions d'un pessimiste*) the secret of a celebrated, discouraged and disillusioned life. These were literary pastimes.

An ephemeral association, of which the most notable members were Frederic Morin, Proudhon, Massol and Mme. Coignet, tried, in a spirit of controversy, to found a school of practical teaching after the rules of the *Morale Independante*. It remained without an echo and without a future.

Another school took up the formula of the ancients : to live in conformity with Nature. But that is a very vague law for the complex necessities of modern life. Everything tends to draw civilised Man away from Nature : this brings him back to it at the very moment when Science no longer recognises in it anything but the law of numbers and the right of Might.

Professors recalled the names of the great Moralists who, in classical antiquity, immediately pre-

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ceded the advent of Christianity, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius; these are again literary pastimes. To prove that Epictetus helped to prepare St. Paul does not mean that we must go back to Epictetus[^] passing over St. Paul. The very best lost themselves in all this ; discouragement oppressed them before the rising tide of victorious brutality and triumphant evil. Zola, who had declared himself an adept of Positivism, sees but one rule of life to appease " the torment of the Infinite " : work, the labour of an ox in the furrow. Alexandre Dumas *fils*, now an old man, seeks a refuge in Love, " the madness, the rage of Love." Michelet, by an equally belated sentimental evolution, reaches the same morbid and alarming spasm.¹

Others find in the Beautiful the rule of the True and the Good. Higher life is an aesthetic life, the " ego " must be unceasingly developed until it blossoms out in a full exuberance of luminous beams.

Dilettant- The most intelligent, most penetrating,
ism subtlest of all, Renan, was at the same
time the most discouraged and most discouraging. His leading words hold contradictory solutions in a balance ; he keeps within a smiling scepticism. Much sought after in mundane gatherings, frequently applauded at social banquets, he professed dilettantism, his eyes half-closed under his grey lashes, his hands crossed over his monkish corpulency.

But this cheerful appearance was deceptive, and hid deep perturbation: the dreamy Breton, the former priest, the unfrocked *cure*, hung, like Pascal,

¹ Jules Michelet, *Letires inedites adreeses d Mile. Mialaret* (Mme. Michelet).

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over the abyss gaping by his side. Perhaps no more bitter words have ever been uttered than the following : " A man who is consistent in his life system certainly has a narrow mind. For I defy him, in the present state of the human mind, to co-ordinate all the elements of human nature. If he wants a wholesale system, he is forced to deny and to exclude.' ' . . . " There are some centuries which have been condemned for the ulterior good of humanity, to be sceptical and immoral . . . " A whole generation was suckled with the bitterness poured out by the modern adapter of Ecclesiastes.

III

The Christian religion and the spiritualistic philosophy promise a future life to the human soul: existence on earth is but an ephemeral meeting with a perishable travelling-companion, the body ; when the latter has been left to dissolution, the immortal being continues its way towards durable realities and higher sanctions.

But, if Man rejects these dogmas and beliefs, if he limits his ambitions and his hopes to the short period of his planetary existence, he must find in it the reason for his conduct and the complete orb of his destiny. *Portio mea est in terra viventium.*

This logical sequel of metaphysical negation had been brought out with perfect clearness, with its ethical and social consequences, on the morrow of the French Revolution, by one of the most powerful initiators of modern thought, Saint Simon.¹

He places Heaven on earth, and frankly and effectively teaches, before Auguste Comte and the German

¹ Comte Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, b. Paris 1760, d. 1825.

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philosophers, the religion of Humanity. This religion has no other object than the harmonious development of human Society by the establishment of *Justice* and the increase of *well-being*, or comfort.

Work is the law of Man ; it is the utilisation of the globe, conducted in such a manner as to secure, as much as possible, " the rapid improvement of the physical and moral existence of the greatest number, particularly of the poorer and more industrious classes."

This methodical utilisation of the globe is to be undertaken under the high direction of the corporation of *Artisans*, *Scientists* and *Engineers*, these holy functions relegating to the past the relics of all other authorities. The process is the substitution of *Universal Association* for *Universal Antagonism*. The only legitimate owner is the *Collectivity* or *State*. The distribution of riches and of working tools shall be accomplished by means of a good system of generalised National Banks. A High Council shall watch over the observation of rules and of social conduct, more particularly the physical, moral, and intellectual education of childhood and youth. Thus will be preserved and perfected these *Social Ethics* which are at the same time a tradition and a precaution ; they will constitute, through love and harmony between man and man, the *New Christianity*, the *Religion of Humanity*.

Saint Simon and his school have impressed deep traces on the characteristic movements initiated in the nineteenth century,—not only Positivism, but Economism, Industrialism, Socialism.

At bottom, this doctrine brings Morality back to the consideration of the collective interest. The spirit of Love and Sacrifice is drawn from the force

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of social instinct. The first duty and the first recompense of man lie in the accumulation of wealth through Labour, and in the increase of universal comfort by an equal division of the common benefits.

These principles are narrowly related to the progress of Science and Industry. The prodigious increase of private and public wealth in Europe during the years 1830-1875 had been foreseen by Saint Simon. His disciples transposed into facts the master's visions; their remarkable creations, inspired by his posthumous work, the *Systlme Mediterranéen*, modified the surface of the planet.

The applications of scientific discoveries, the development of great Industry, the construction of railways, roads, canals ; financial operations, the *regime* of Societies and Co-operations—a whole social and economic revolution took place at the same time. Humanity, carried away and overwhelmed by such rapid progress, almost succumbed ; it suffered cruelly, and is still suffering, from it. Attention turned towards economic problems ; men wondered at the contempt in which they were held by anterior ages. The science which deals with their study, Political Economy, took rank and precedence ; a science with ill-defined boundaries, immense claims, and uncertain results, and which, like the philosophy of Pythagoras, tends to reduce the movement of human things to a play on numbers.

We can only here recall the sagacious observations or the hasty affirmations of the forerunners, Turgot, Malthus, Ricardo, Adam Smith, Jean Baptiste Say, etc. The famous " iron law " declaring as an irrefutable fact that the workman's wage is fatally reduced to the sum required by man for his subsistence, this " law," proclaimed without being

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tested, accepted without being demonstrated, has filled the century with darkest pessimism, whilst another supposed law, the " law of Malthus," spread a sort of permanent panic concerning the nourishment necessary to Humanity.

The outburst of the different Socialistic schools in the years which led to the Revolution of 1848, Proudhon's books, his celebrated passage on Pauperism, the drowsy "*laissez-faire*" of the Emperor Napoleon III., the drama of the Commune—everything contributed to introduce into the study of social relations and individual or collective interests the same disorder which had already perturbed beliefs and doctrines.

Modern Economics were at once revered and cursed : alarming in their impossibility, terrible in their prognostications. A school originating from England, where the commercial law of "*laissez faire, laissez passer*," answered to everything, the " orthodox school " had fought the Saint-Simonian organisation in the name of Individualism and Freedom.

This School was triumphant; its reigning tools were Statistics — figures, figures, and yet more figures. Excess of analysis led to imbroglios; scientific dissertations scattered doubt; so difficult is it to reason coldly on that which is the essence of the human condition, Suffering.

Did the short experience of one century, falsified, moreover, by incomplete accounts and hasty generalisations, warrant the formulating of laws and conclusions ? The school persisted, full of confidence; in spite of contradictions of facts and errors, it made gradual progress, and, little by little, showed some valuable results. Its most celebrated names, in France, after Michel Chevalier, were: Courcelle-

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Seneuil, Clamageran, Le Play, de Laveleye, Baudrillart, Hippolyte Passy, Dupont-White, Leon vSay, Paul Le Roy Beaulieu, de Foville, Rene Stourm, de Molinari, and Eugene Rostand.¹

The tendency of the school was almost exclusively Liberal. However, the economic and ethical intention of organisation is very marked in the Christian Economists Le Play and de Laveleye.

Though the more specially political *personnel*, faithful to the liberalism of the latter years of the Empire, still followed the doctrine of Free Trade, resistance was beginning to arise. M. Thiers had preserved the physiocratic tradition ; he was an avowed partisan of rural production, and, in general, of a national market. The textile and metallurgic industries, which had suffered so much from the treaties of 1860, opened the struggle, and their defenders faced the holders of the orthodox doctrine, in the memorable debates which determined the basis of the taxes necessitated by the war. In France, as in most of the rival Powers, the first symptoms of Protectionism were dawning, together with the spirit of particularism and nationalism which became exalted under the " armed peace " regime.

An economic policy was now accompanied by

¹ Michel Chevalier, b. Limoges 1806, d. 1879 5 J^{ean} Gustave Courcelle-Seneuil, b. Seneuil (Dordogne) 1813, d. 1892 ; Henri Baudrillart, b. Paris 1821, d. 1892; Hippolyte Passy, b. Garches-Villeneuve 1793, d. 1880 ; Alfred de Foville, d. Paris 1842 ; Eugene Rostand, b. Marseille 1843, members of the Institut.

Leon Say, b. Paris 1826, d. 1896, a member of the Académie Française. J. Clamageran, b. New Orleans 1827, d. 1903 ; Frederic Le Play, b. Havre, 1806, d. 1882 ; Rene Stourm, b. Paris 1837 ; Gustave de Molinari, b. Lidge 1819.

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economic ethics. One of the principal writers of the orthodox school, M. de Molinari, has promulgated its ethical laws. Morality, such as he conceives it, is the *ensemble* of the acts which Man has a right and a duty to accomplish in order to preserve the individual, to secure the salvation of the species, and to conform to the destinies of the universality of beings.¹

Another economist gives this definition : " Morality is the art of living rightly ; to live rightly is to work for the preservation, augmentation, and extension of the life in mankind through civilisation." ²

In both of them, as in Saint Simon, the predominating idea is that of collectivity : i.e., human collectivity ; i.e., the universality of beings. The care and salvation of the collectivity being the supreme pre-occupation of Economic Ethics, it is easy to understand the importance attached to the constitution of wealth and its distribution. Every collectivity rests on labour, that is, on individual effort, free as far as possible, and organised as far as possible, in order that it may be produced by all and bring equitable benefit. This is what Courcelle-Seneuil calls, by a singularly felicitous expression, *equal liberty*, which he insistently distinguishes from the simple words *equality* and *liberty*, placed in juxtaposition. " Equality exists nowhere," he says ; " from the sentiment of Justice comes this * equal liberty' which is all that the individual may claim from the collectivity, and all that the latter need secure for him."

Economism, carried to an extreme, ends either in

¹ de Molinari, *La Morale économique*, p. 22, 23.

² Courcelle Seneuil, *La Société Moderne*, p. 183.

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and divides the cost of progress among the generations which are to profit by it.

Goaded by competition, trade becomes ingenious and creative. It introduces comfort everywhere, warms, feeds, and supports the anaemic social body. Lastly, the very boldness of socialist invective castigates old society in its contented routine and imposes upon it, with threats and terror, the sentiment which it had lightly uttered : Fraternity.¹

Thus between religious ethics and economic ethics, so different in their principles, a latent agreement exists. They come into contact at the point where begins that which the one calls *Charity* and the other *Solidarity*.

Whether Heaven be opened or closed, Man suffers here below, and everyone recognises that we must first of all lighten on his shoulders the burden which his courage bears and which he transmits to his successors, together with the ever-renascent illusion of life.

IV

Besides, do we need so many doctrines ? Has not Humanity, for a guide, a right instinct, a feeling of justice, from which comes everything that pulpits or schools have taught ? Philosophy, like Geometry, is but the art of deducing consequences from natural principles, and, if we may say so, of " emptying out " words.

An inner law exists, we recognise it ourselves ; we call it the " voice of conscience," or, more ambitiously, the " categorical imperative." The conciliation of

¹ A subsequent volume will contain an exposition of Socialist systems.

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the two systems lies there. Whether it be Religion or Nature, Conscience unifies everything, embraces everything, comprises everything. Also, the practice of life tempers the universal law with a certain indulgence, breadth of view and discernment, which will always be lacking in a system, weighed down by definitions, dogmatism, and controversy.

A long religious past, a habit of living in common, a convention, a tradition of sympathy, have cultivated the instinctive social dispositions and determined the character and customs of the nation. Familiar authors, men of great sense and firm reason, Rabelais, Montaigne, La Fontaine, Moliere, have marked the outlines and rounded off the angles. The habitual tension of energy has educated the organs of action and of thought, and rendered them supple. Thus has a rule of conduct become established, a collective training, a reflex civilisation.

This rule is tacitly observed by everything which adheres to the social compact; if it is ignored, it strikes and excludes trespassers of its own accord.

Generally speaking, French thought has remained faithful to the opinion of Jean-Jacques that Man is naturally good.¹

The extraordinary success of the Genevese philosopher was probably due to his confidence in Humanity, so much does the latter need a friendly caress of the soul, a constant redemption.

³ "The fundamental principle of every Morality, which I have expounded in all my writings, is that Man is a being naturally good, loving justice and order; that there is no original perversity in the human heart, and that the first natural impulses are always good."—J.J. Rousseau, *Lettre d' Christophe de Beaumont*, Archbishop of Paris, For the opposite point of view, see Le Play, *Reforme Sociale*, v. hi. p. 652.

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Man in absolute freedom and " fresh from the hands of the Creator " might be good. Necessity, Chance, various attractions and the defects of the social framework, are the causes which deform and misshape him, throwing him, from fall to fall, into falsehood, vice, and crime. Society has a large share of responsibility in individual degradation. Let it repress the evil done to it—that is its right; but let it work to prevent this evil—that is its duty.

The triple authority which had hitherto claimed collective obedience, religious, social and political authority, had assumed the responsibility of general and particular conduct. Did the results obtained justify such claims and such an imperious domination ?

On the morrow of the war and the Commune, the answer to these questions was doubtful, to say the least of it. The repressive system had not succeeded. Caesarism, in spite of its alliance with the Church, had not restored morals ; it had ruined the country and compromised prestige, that secular accumulation of influence. Everything had been put into its hands, only to be wasted. It was the bankruptcy of authority ; a past which now had to be liquidated.

The insurance premium exacted by the rulers had been very heavy, if measured by the service rendered.

What were those much-extolled competence and aptitudes, those superb specialities ? We were no longer to be taken in by them.¹

¹ Taine wrote, on March 28th, 1871, when Paris gave 224,000 votes to the Commune : " The principle of the electors is this : celebrated specialists have governed us as ill as possible. Let us try the contrary method and take unknown men: they will do no worse."

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Dogm^a perishes and becomes disintegrated. Old cosmogonies break down. Science is the only temple where intellects can meet, led by conviction and reason towards the real Unity. Only in the principles and laws proclaimed by Science can agreement be found ; everywhere else, war goes on ; the history of dogmas and beliefs is that of a battlefield.

We repeat it, the human soul has within itself a spring powerful enough to lead it towards the Good. Can we not conceive of a mode of being and living, which, independently of any religion and without claiming an ultra-terrestrial sanction, by the expansion of each liberty and the reaction of other liberties, would constitute the rule of individual lives and the equilibrium of social life ?

This rule exists in every latitude ; everywhere it makes honourable men and good citizens. We need not look far to find it, the type is here. It is born and bred in the atmosphere which surrounds the nation. Descartes has given it a name : it is the " generous man."

He is not a hero, a sage, a saint, an ascetic or an " Overman," such as other times and other peoples have imagined him. His physiognomy is calmer, less tense, more tranquil ; he is an honest man who is at the same time brave and loyal, kind and indulgent. The crowd makes no mistake about him ; it recognises him and calls him a " good man." This universal consent is the criterion of his wisdom and virtue.

He knows from the first that life is short, and he enjoys its flower ; he knows that it is sweet as milk if not embittered by hatred and envy ; he sweetens it yet by his smile. The distress of others finds him

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prompt, the peril of his country finds him brave, and the caprice of fortune leaves him unchanged. If he suffers, he is silent. The plaint of others resounds in his heart, but they know not his. He is persuaded, like Descartes, " that man cannot exist alone, and that we are, in effect, one of the parts of that earth, of that State, of that Society, and of that family, to which we belong by birth, oath, or habitation," He knows that " each man is obliged to procure, as far as in him lies, the good of all others, and that to be useful to nobody is properly to be worth nothing."¹

These precepts come from ancient tradition and sound every-day sense : they suffice for the short moments of Man's life. An easy temper, a benevolent tolerance, the will to do the nearest good because it is known, then the desire to come out of one's self and to understand others, that is, to love them,—all this is a practical Reason, caring little for the Beyond, it is true, but abhorring sects and fanatics because it is no longer lured by a chimerical perfection. According to the programme traced by Auguste Comte, " man has become, without scruples and without boasting, within certain limits, the only arbiter of the whole of his*destiny."

This disposition, this inclination, mixed perhaps with a little weariness, drew after them many willing souls, without distinction of religion, beliefs, or doctrines. Those few figures who rose above the crowd, and which, within the measure of human forces, came near the type, realised an ideal very pleasing to the nation, whilst the great nineteenth century, so active and so convulsed, was nearing its end.

¹ See M. Fouillee's book on *Descartes*, p. 145 and following.

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If a society could exist where Good should flow from the heart, where wit, by its vivacity and uprightness, should fashion morals, where conventionality, example, a silent look from a good man, should restrain the wicked, where evil were repulsed as ignoble and brutal—such a society would indeed make life sweet.

Now the France of 1875, diminished by defeat, anxious as to her future, losing hold of her faith,, disgusted with ambitious systems, indignant at odious or ridiculous rulers, had dreamed that Humanity might improve of its own accord if left to the sincerity of its natural progress. Having no faith left in the discipline imposed, she tried a new rule of life in which the spontaneous practice of duties would become balanced by the mutual respect of rights.

Vanquished, perhaps for that reason, she adopted the optimistic hypothesis. She thought that, if the sum of evil had overbalanced the sum of good, the world would already have perished. She placed her hopes in the ultimate efforts which save from a wreck. She admitted that, in natural or social evolution, the best evicts the worst, even more surely than the strong crushes the weak, for the strong has within him a curb to his violence, which is Love.

Therefore the conduct of men might be left to Nature, to experience, to the family, to education. Morality is the catechism of lessons transmitted from parents to children for the conservation of the species; let the latter preserve this traditional patrimony.

The bankruptcy of authority, which, in politics, leaves room to Democracy, ended, ethically speaking, in the system of free development and intentional non-constraint.

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Such is the lesson which France drew from her disasters, the attempt she was about to make, according to her custom of trying experiments for the benefit of the rest of humanity. The future will tell whether this conception of duty and of Ethics can suffice to the individual, Society and Humanity.

From the moment when this doctrine becomes manifest it is easy to point out its lacunae. Altogether virile and civic, it aims specially at men, and amongst men at citizens, at the *elite*. The well-balanced sage of its dreams has gathered to himself the traditions of classical antiquity. Willingly would he limit the world to the contemplation of his tranquil horizon. Like *Candide* he "cultivates his garden." Prudent and sceptical, he easily controls passions which do not move him very deeply.

But that numerous portion of humanity which is moved by passionate impulses only, which lives in a perpetual thirst for love, belief, faith, and enthusiasm, youth, women, the masses ! . . . how cold this altruism seems to them. Is not this prudent equilibrium of vital forces which is preached pure selfishness, atony and death ?

To this question, the answer was forthcoming. Between the three risks, the religious risk, the economic risk, and the civic risk, this age had made its choice. The country was suffering ; she alone was to be thought of. Michelet said it : " We shall teach France ; France, the land of sacrifice, the apostle of fraternity,"

The " religion of the Fatherland " is enough for man. He does not run his risk for a share of Heaven or for the future of a vague humanity. Reality urges him on. He leans on the paternal soil **and**

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from thence he soars. "The deeper Man enters into the genius of his own land, the better he takes part in the harmony of the globe ; he learns to know his country, both in its proper value and in its relative value as one instrument in a great concert; he takes part in it through her ; in her, he loves the world."¹

Plus je me sens Francais, plus je me sens humain²

It is not only thinkers, educators, or poets, who speak thus. Practical men and politicians draw their strength and action from the thought of the country.

France drew back on herself, warned by her isolation. Dreams tempted her no more. It is worthy of note—and the observation has been made by one of the leaders of the positivist school—that between weakened religious doctrines and predominating economic systems, France clung to the patriotic idea as to an anchor of salvation. "The desperate resistance of 1870 gave back to France herself the sense of her collective individuality, which she was inclined to lose in the intoxication of a triumphant economism, of which the low aspirations and cowardice were vainly hidden under the appearances of a deceitful philanthropy,"³

It is impossible at this point not to think of Gambetta. "A patriot before everything else," as he himself called himself. He restored faith in the future. "Such was," says M. Pierre Laffitte again, "the first service rendered by Gambetta to his country,"

Gambetta, born of doubly Latin blood, had in his veins the love of the city; the city, having grown

¹ Michelet.

² Sully-Prudhomme.

³ Pierre Laffitte.

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larger, demands to be yet more closely beloved; its distress requires sacrifice and abnegation.

It was at Thonon, during that fruitful year 1872, a few days after uttering at Grenoble the speech which prepared the advent of Democracy, that Gambetta announced this cult of a new epoch, Patriotism.

His hearers will remember the ample gesture with which he repulsed the insinuation of a M. Dubouloz, who, echoing certain separatist ideas, had turned his eyes towards the Swiss Republic, saying : 'There, where Liberty is to be found, there is the Fatherland.'¹ It was then that Gambetta, taken entirely unprepared, rose and said, " We must reflect deeply when we speak of the patrimony of France. . . . There is not only glorious France, revolutionary France, France the emancipator of mankind ; there is also another France whom I love not less, who is even more dear to me, that is, unhappy France, France vanquished and humiliated, crushed France, France dragging her leaden weight, crying and calling to Justice and liberty ; the France which is calumniated, outraged in her defeat. Oh! this France, I love her as one loves a mother ; it is to her that we must sacrifice our lives, our pride, our selfish pleasures, it is of her that we can say, There where France is, there is the Fatherland,"

A cry of "*Vive la France!*" answered this admirable piece of oratory. This cry burst from the very soul; there was at that time in every heart a warm and sincere feeling that nothing, not Time even, seemed likely to wear out or to extinguish.

Later, at Cherbourg, Gambetta proposed a toast to the progress of this city " as much from the economic point of view as from the military point of view, *which comes first*"

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Civic duty, military duty, the necessity for **the** nation to be ever ready, not only for the defensive, but, if the case arose, for an opportune offensive, such was the predominating care of Gambetta **and** of those who surrounded him. They did not limit politics to internal progress, nor social preoccupation to the increase of comfort. Paul Bert wrote in his *Manuel d'Education Civique* : " Not for a long time will wars come to an end ; we shall see many more, and so will those who come after us. We must therefore remain armed." And, in his speech (1882) on civic duty, he summed up the whole system when he exclaimed : " . . . That is indeed a religion—the patriotic religion, a religion which has had and will have its saints and martyrs, but a religion which in no way demands the sacrifice of reason." *

Need any more be said? These are yesterday's facts.' The idea of "*revanche*" persisted dumbly in many hearts. The great thought of the new *cursus* was to wed Liberty with Force. One word summed up this programme, at the same time civic and military: the "armed nation." They wanted the nation to impose on itself, if need be, during several years, the sacrifices necessary to

¹ On this point, the Republican party, after 1870, was un-animous. M. Jules Ferry has expressed himself fully and frankly on the subject: " Do you remember," said he, at Bordeaux (August 30, 1885), " that under the Empire we did not speak well of militarism ? Do you remember the vague aspirations towards general disarmament, the manifest detachment from the real military spirit, that tendency towards the creating of a sort of universal National Guard which characterised the democracy of those days ? Those ideas had their partisans. Many of us have professed them, inclined towards them, been taken in by them. But, I ask you, is there a single one now who has not been converted by events ? This country has seen the war of 1870, **and** has turned its back for ever on perilous and deceiving Utopias."

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restore the integrity of the territory and to protect, through re-conquered prestige, the ideas and liberties of which it is the guardian. It was thought that the influence and propaganda of France suffered from her defeat. Everyone would have agreed with Victor Hugo's line :

Quand nous serons vainqueurs, -nous verrons !

From this feeling resulted the universally admitted necessity of military duty. It comes first, as Gambetta said. " He was," as his historian (J. Reinach) remarks, " passionately interested in politics, in the triumph of his party ; but he became indifferent to it all if military questions were brought forward," . . . Another writer says, even more forcibly, of Gambetta, that " he had elected himself the representative of the army and the Tribune of the soldiers,"

Thus in the social and moral order, as in the aesthetic and intellectual order, from the crisis of 1871 came forth a transactional doctrine which will preserve in History the name given it by its contemporaries : Opportunism.

Here again, politics came before metaphysics. In fact, the orators of the Left, especially Gambetta, whose voice was of all the most sonorous, were first to express the aspirations latent in the bottom of hearts. The acclamations which greeted his words before he uttered them came from the certainty in which people were that he was about to say what his vast audience was thinking.

On June 24th, 1872, at Versailles, at the banquet for the anniversary of General Hoche, he pronounced a doctrine-speech, a lay-sermon, in which moral preoccupations were the dominant note.

The choice of a military name in itself had a wide

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signification. Every point, carefully chosen, carried and drew a picture. The soldier, first: " Respectful of the rights of each, knowing the value of men, Hoche never allowed himself to follow errors or chimeras ; he knew that men are not reckoned merely because they have been given a gun and equipment, but by their education, their personal abnegation, their cohesion in masses, their discipline, and their military spirit,"

Then the man : " In spite of his constant pre-occupations, study, work and meditation, his truly Gaelic nature appeared and made him bear his situation with true strength of mind and a great serenity ; he gave himself up to his friends, dragging himself away from his occupations, and perfectly able to bring, in his relation with them, some familiarity and all the intellectual attractions which were possessed by the gentlemen of the old monarchy. So much indeed that, in the *Gardes-françaises*, he was already noted for his wit, by ladies who wanted to make of him a General." . . . Is this not already a sketch of the citizen of the "Republique Athenienne" ? Now, in one simple phrase, the method: " I remember another formula which General Hoche had made his own : *Ago quod ago*. Let us indeed do what we are doing, do not let us try to solve everything, to think that a means exists of making general happiness uniform, to solve all the problems at once ; *ago quod ago*. . . ."

Finally, at the culminating point of the speech, the broad and open sentiment which ennobles the doctrine and seems an answer to the appeal of Spuller, when he wrote to Gambetta : " It belongs to you to reconcile the two Frances" : " Hoche," said **the** orator, " adhered to another policy, a very bold one

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at that time : he said and wrote, 'In this country, you will only attain peace and calm in the future, through religious tolerance.' He did better than to write and to say it, he put it into practice. " It is," said he, " the secret of the ' pacification.' "

This apologetic speech contains the Holy Word, the Gospel of Opportunism. It is like Morality in Action.

What, then, is Opportunism ? It is easy Opportunism to explain it now : it is a compromise, a search for balance, for measured equilibrium among the shocks and rents which have dispersed and jeopardised the unity of the country.

It reacts against the abuse of authority, hence its declared anti-bonapartism and anti-clericalism ; but it takes care not to break with discipline, and it sees in tolerance the only control of moral unity. It is well known how the famous formula : " Clericalism, there is the enemy ! " has been limited, attenuated, eased off, by the no less celebrated phrase : " Anti-clericalism is not an article of exportation."

From the economic point of view, Opportunism does not allow itself to be frightened by socialistic vindications ; in this firmer and more open than the wily neo-Caesarian tactics: "There is not one, but many, social questions." " Do not let us think that the means exist of making general happiness uniform." Apprehending disorganisation under the famous projects of military organisation, it remains firm concerning individual liberty and hereditary property; it respects the supreme resources of the country in the wealth of the rich and the savings of the poor. Absorbed by other cares, it does not concern itself much with the evils which result from

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an unequal division of riches and the disadvantages of excessive appropriation. On the other hand, its ideal of an individualist democracy is constantly threatened by the constitution of a plutocracy.

Opportunism is eminently patriotic. The Collectivity *France* is enough for it; there it limits its ideal. The problem of which "men should never speak, but of which they should ever think," is the problem of the frontier. Between the three risks, Opportunism has chosen; it has thrown itself with absolute conviction and ardent faith towards the patriotic risk. Why deny it? At the bottom of Opportunism lies Nationalism. Gambetta said, on May 9th, 1872, to the Alsatian delegates: "The Republican feeling is an essentially national feeling. . . . Those things which we must reject are those equivocal things which have taken the taste away from the national sentiment."

Anticlericalism and tolerance, democracy and plutocracy, civicism and Nationalism, such are the antitheses included in the system and among which the prudence of statesmen must seek the rule of Equilibrium and Progress.

The history of the third Republic, of the "Representative Republic" in France during the twenty-five years which completed the century, is but the development of the drama of which the principles are here laid down.

Opportunism, taught by the brutal lessons of the war and the Commune, tends towards greatness through equilibrium and measure. For twenty years at least, its voice was the guide of France-

It has had this honour, in a time of faintness and uncertainty, of representing a conception, somewhat

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short perhaps, but sufficient, of collective and individual life. Opportunism is a method, and therefore a philosophy. It is related to Cartesian precepts, and notably to the *second rule*. "To divide each difficulty in as many parts as would be possible and necessary in order the better to solve them."

It came forth ready armed from the soul of the nation. It had within it a living portion of this soul, and, assuredly, was not unworthy of the heavy task which fell upon it, when, on the morrow of the catastrophe, it assumed the responsibility of the future.

The future ! This thought was ever present in the mind of its founders. They gave Credit to Time. They thought that, later on, things would be bettered, corrected, revised, but that sufficient unto the day was the task thereof, and that the Better must be given up not to jeopardise the Good. A prudent disposition, in which some faith was hidden.

This faith rested on the future generations. They were counted upon ; they would be ready, not taken by surprise. They would be shaped according to the ideal, of which a glimpse was to be seen. But, together with restored resources, Liberty must be left for them. Through them, France might again be great.

Thence the different process applied to the two problems : Education for the future, a Constitution for the present.

Men could be content with a little if much was to come later. For the education of future generations, the preparation of democracy, of* the Sovereign, no sacrifice was too costly. It is through education **that** France was to raise up the double heritage, the **two** unities, **that of the** Fatherland and **that of the**

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doctrine. France and Science, such is the **motto**. Education, a public, lay, national Education, such is the supreme hope, the supreme thought.

Hear Gambetta again. He said, still in 1872, " This land must be rebuilt, its customs renovated, the evil which is the cause of all our ills, ignorance, must be made to disappear ; there is but one remedy, the education of all. . . . We have been beaten by adversaries who had on their side foresight, discipline, and science. . . . We must rid ourselves of the past ; we must rebuild France. . . . What I ask is that Science should come away from books, libraries, academies and institutes ; I ask that those who possess it should give it to those who are in need of it ; I want Science to come down to the public places, to reach the humblest schools ; we must resolutely know and put into practice the higher truths of Science and Reason."

This programme was placed under the invocation of Auguste Comte. Gambetta propagated with the authority of his voice, the precepts of Positive Philosophy, which, in fact, hovers above the whole generation.¹

The Constitutional work demanded more immediate realisations and more rapid decisions. It was imminent at the moment when the Due de Broglie left power, after seeing the chances of a monarchical restoration perish in his hands, and **the**

¹ The undertaking of popular teaching, and, in more general terms, of national education, does not properly belong to Opportunism, and we have no desire to ignore the efforts of Mgr. Dupanloup, or of Jules Simon. But it is Opportunism which ends in realisations. We will, moreover, expound the question of Education *a propos* of the great debates which so often took place in Parliamentary Assemblies.

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influence of the middle classes becoming exhausted.

The majority of the National Assembly was delivered without a compass to the caprice of events, or rather to tenacious and wily pressure from those who had formed the intention of snatching a Republican vote from this monarchical assembly. The debates were about to open which, logically and inevitably, ended in that vote.

The past of this ancient land, its recent disasters, its hopes blossoming again, a long elaboration aided by science, stimulated by conviction and enthusiasm, a certain tumult in the nation itself rising to claim its rights and dues—everything weighed down on these sittings when an Assembly, tossed between its convictions and its necessities, was in quest of a solution. The forces were equal: none could say which would carry the day. It was only through concessions and compromises that this conflict could come to an end, for such was the fashion of the time. The whole epoch is, as it were, summed up in the constitution of 1875, a work of compromise and equilibrium if ever there was one.

After a long and anxious search, it combined and associated rival elements, instead of separating them. National, durable by its very wisdom, it found its law in the moderating principle which the profound genius of Pascal discerned as the base of all human order : " The multitude which is not reduced to unity is confusion ; the unity which depends not on the **multitude** is tyranny.

»

END OF VOL. II.

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