

The crowd thickened, and went its way with wild cries. Meanwhile the boy Des Iles was lost, and madame in tears. They went on, asking questions, and hearing of the execution of Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just, and the rest. The thief said: "Let us go straight to M. des Iles's house."

At the door madame fell into her husband's arms; and soon after dusk the boy came running back with his father, who had gone out to search for him.

Then all was hastily made clear, and the long story told of Des Iles's release, and how he had found the dog, and in the cave the Jacobins both dead, and of his vain

efforts to discover his own people. They were fed and re clothed; and now, it being ten at night of this 10th Thermidor, François rose. "I must go," he said.

"You? Never!" said madame. "Our house is your home for life. You will wander and sin no more."

On this, François looked about him, from one kind face to another, and sat down, and broke into tears.

"It shall be as madame desires. I am her servant."

AND this is the end of the adventures of François, the thief. Let who will judge him.

THE END.

## AMERICA, SPAIN, AND FRANCE.

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EW histories are at one and the same time more tragic and more instructive than that of the Spanish people. No rule has been wider and more brilliant. Having prevented Islamism from overflowing Europe, the Spaniards themselves spread through the countries which they had preserved from the Mohammedan invasion. Before long they were everywhere—in Italy and the Low Countries by right of conquest, in Germany through election. The domination of their arms, customs, and literature was widely extended. They were on the point of giving a king to France, and they were represented in the government of Louis XIV. People dressed as they did, thought and felt as they did, and it was quite as much from Spain as from Rome that our great Corneille drew the inspiration of his sublime works. Everything came to their aid. An Italian turned Spaniard discovered a new world for them. The virgin soil received first the print of their feet, and they gave their name to the region. The sun never set on their empire.

There is nothing comparable to this magnificent development of power, unless it be the magnitude and rapidity of the decay which followed. Little by little the Spaniards were everywhere driven out of Europe. They lost Italy, the Empire, the Low Countries. But for all these successive losses and

European checks they found compensation in the New World, with its treasures, its fertile soil, its fruitful rivers, and its two oceans which commanded the commerce of the globe. But here too, though more slowly, a decline set in.

The history of Spanish colonization in America presents three phases. The first is wholly warlike in its nature. We see in it adventurers and conquerors who land on the unexplored shores, seize them, and exterminate the native population. The second phase is sacerdotal. The priest comes along with the captain, to convert, and also to mitigate the cruelties of the soldier. And then,—the third phase,—after the missionaries arrive the court favorites, sent out from the mother-country to enrich themselves, well typified by the Marquis of Branciforte, who sold decorations sometimes at even so high a price as ten thousand dollars, and by Iturrigarai, who trafficked in decrees and offices. The colonies, first tortured and then converted, become prebends for all the dissolute and begging good-for-nothings whom Spain wishes to get rid of.

So it was not long before America began to slip away from Spain, as Europe had done. In 1820 the colonies rebelled, one after the other, and at the end of a heroic struggle repelled the Spanish troops and proclaimed independence. First the United States, and then England, recognized the new nations. The importance of the event was seen by all the clear-sighted



public men of the Old World. Vergennes, the French minister who helped to free North America, said on the proclamation of the independence of the English colonies: "The Spanish colonies will some day become the prey of the Anglo-Saxons; and as sure as they have pushed back the Indians, they will sooner or later drive the Latin peoples from every part of America."

Nobody did more to bring about this result predicted by the minister of Louis XVI than Napoleon, then First Consul, when he ceded Louisiana to the United States. He hesitated a long time before deciding to do so. Two of his ministers were summoned to St. Cloud to a council on the subject. Decrès was strongly opposed to the cession. "If the Isthmus of Panama is cut through some day," he said, "it will occasion an immense revolution in navigation, so that a voyage around the world will be easier than the longest cruise to-day. Louisiana will be on the line of this new route, and its possession will be of inestimable value. Don't give it up." Barbé-Marbois, on the contrary, favored the sale of the fine colony as a war measure. A conflict with England was inevitable, and it was recognized as impossible, with the inferior naval force at the disposal of France, to keep Louisiana from falling into the hands of the English. He considered it wiser, therefore, to avert the disaster and at the same time to procure an important war subsidy.

The First Consul shared the view held by Barbé-Marbois, and remarked: "Perhaps somebody may object, on the ground that in two or three centuries the Americans may become too powerful for Europe to cope with. But my foresight cannot grasp such distant dangers, especially as one may count on future rivalries in the heart of the Union."

The cession was therefore made, and as soon as the papers were signed, the plenipotentiaries arose, shook hands, and Livingston, the American representative, whose face revealed his satisfaction, said: "We have lived a long time, but this is the finest act of our life. To-day the United States enters the first rank among the powers. One day France will find in the New World a natural friend, whose strength will go on increasing from year to year, and who cannot fail to become powerful and respected on all the seas of the globe. It is the United States that will restore the maritime rights of all the nations of the earth, usurped to-day by a single one, the English nation. The

documents which we have just signed can bring tears to no eye, but, on the contrary, must prepare centuries of happiness to innumerable generations of human beings. The Mississippi and the Missouri will see them follow one another and increase in the midst of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition, the curse of bad government, and thoroughly deserving the attention and cares of Providence."

The emancipation of the Spanish colonies completed the expulsion of European domination from America. The English prime minister, Canning, who sanctioned it, regarding it as an offset to our successful Spanish expedition of 1823, was as contented as Livingston on the day of the signing of the Louisiana treaty. He said proudly: "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old. *Novus rerum nascitur ordo*—a new century begins." "It is democracy," added Chateaubriand, prophetically, "that rises up before the decrepit monarchies of old Europe." "Henceforth," said Abbé de Pradt, "there can be no mistake; America will no longer suffer Europe to interfere in its affairs. What remains to Europe in that continent is neither important nor secure. Would the Moors have been able to hold a few cantons in Spain as dependencies of African princes? Can the Antilles remain European at the very threshold of America become American again? Havana will be independent; without Mexico, of what use will it be to Spain? Santo Domingo is free; Porto Rico will follow Havana; what do the rest of the Antilles amount to?"

To save what remained to her of her American colonies, to keep Cuba and the Philippines, Spain should have studied the best interests of the inhabitants with redoubled zeal. She should have ruled with a velvet hand, whereas she was harder than ever. More than ever she turned those wonderful lands into battenning-fields for her ruined nobles, for her fortune-seeking favorites. It was notorious that they went to Cuba to get rich. Consequently the outcry against Spanish domination has not ceased for an instant since the emancipation of South America. The attentive ear has always heard it more or less distinctly. In 1870, when I was minister, I received a deputation of Cubans, who came to beg me to remedy their ills and to intervene in their behalf. And now, the discontent having reached the highest degree of intensity, Cuba revolts, and calls for help, and the emancipative movement begun in



1820 approaches fruition. What Spain still holds is on the point of being torn from her. All America, with the exception of a few little islands of no consequence, is to belong to the Americans. The republican continent, freed from one end to the other, will become more and more hostile, or at least stand in opposition, to the old continent, where still prevail dynasties and monarchical systems.

Should any complaint be made at the final expulsion of Spain? Should there be an objection to the emancipation of Cuba, and should it be looked upon as a misfortune? Certainly not. We should see in it only the just decree of Heaven.

The Spanish nation has brilliant qualities. It is chivalrous, intrepid, and never wanting in patience and courage. It is never astonished at its misfortunes, and never doubts its ability to triumph over them. To blustering indolence it joins immeasurable pride and pitiless hardness of heart. Nothing that has existed is comparable to it, and it considers itself superior to everything. Whoever disputes its supremacy is held to merit suppression, and its whole history is but an incessant extermination. It blotted out the Moors and the Indians, and at home, in order to go on exterminating, it became the people of the Inquisition, of the auto-da-fe; it exterminated the heretic as in no other Christian land. In this passion for destroying, striking, ravaging, even the capital of its faith was not respected; so that when the hordes of Charles V fell upon Rome, they committed more spoliations and sacrileges, caused more ruin, than did even the barbarians of the North. Rome still bears the marks of this abominable devastation; for it has not been possible wholly to obliterate the marks of the nails driven in the frescos of Raphael at the Vatican, on which halberds were hung.

Now, proud exterminators cannot be civilizers. They do not assimilate peoples. They only make them suffer, and exploit them till they exasperate them and force them to revolt.

The French, too, after having spread over Europe more widely than the Spanish, were pushed back within their own boundaries. But on retiring they left behind them, like the Nile after an inundation, a fertile deposit. There is not a nation where the French have been which has not preserved to this day some visible trace of their civilization. So true is this that their great man, Napoleon, has remained the great man

of all European peoples, and his memory is still kept green in the most distant villages of the lands where he ruled even for the moment. But when the Spaniards retired from the countries which had come under their dominion, what did they leave? Nothing but a very disagreeable guttural aspiration, such as was introduced, in Italy, into the soft Tuscan dialect. They would like now to exterminate the Cubans, and make them suffer the fate to which they subjected the Moors, the Indians, and the heretics; in this connection it is only necessary to recall the horrible tragedies associated with the name of Weyler.

Is it surprising that the Cubans object to being exterminated; that they struggle and resist; and that, feeling themselves too feeble, they cry out for help? Is it astonishing that the Americans, who hear these despairing calls, who receive those escaped from such carnage, who listen to their groans and supplications—is it astonishing that this people, which is not devoted simply to trade, but which reads its Bible and is religious, should have felt in its heart the deepest indignation, and should have stepped forward to put an end to this scandal to civilization, this veritable outrage on divine law, paraded at its very doors and before its very eyes? How dare anybody pretend that such an act of humanity is a violation of the rules of international honor, of the prescriptions of justice and the exigencies of law!

Such reproaches would be unjustified and iniquitous coming from any quarter; but coming from France they would be absolutely incomprehensible. Is not the whole history of France the apostleship of enfranchisement by word, by counsel, and by dint of arms, for the benefit of oppressed peoples striving to break away from a cruel domination?

From the earliest times, according to the language of an old chronicler, the kings of France considered it "a very royal and magnificent thing to take up arms to avenge a whole people unjustly oppressed, and to deliver it from tyranny." When, by chance, the kings of France showed themselves hostile to this august mission, as, for example, Louis XIV in the deplorable Dutch war, was not the world astonished? "Often in former centuries," says the German historian, Ranke, "conquered and persecuted peoples turned to France for protection. But to whom could they now address themselves, since the powerful protector had herself become an oppressor?"

This deviation was simply an accident.



Louis XVI returned to the true national tradition in sending aid to Washington. Since then this generous French policy has been continued everywhere throughout the world. Was not the French Revolution a general liberator? Did it not declare that each nation has alone the power to give itself laws, the inalienable right to change them, and to govern itself in its own way? Did it not go forth in every direction, destroying feudal and despotic servitude, and did it not promulgate the Rights of Man for the whole race? Elsewhere the governing principle is to do nothing gratis. In France, however, the rule is to do nothing with a selfish motive. What did she gain by freeing Greece, Belgium, Rumania, Italy? and what was the cost to her of her incessant efforts in favor of Poland?

When the South American uprising of 1820 occurred, the French conservatives, partisans of the old European system, gave it the cold shoulder, refused to recognize the new states, and pronounced the movement a violation of law and of the principles of legitimacy. But the liberal portion of the nation passionately approved the movement. Bolivar became a national hero. There were hats à la Bolivar, and his exploits were recounted everywhere. Many even went so far as to say that he surpassed the Washington of the North. At that time it would have been as impossible for a liberal to declare himself against the South Americans in revolt as to condemn the uprising of the Poles against the Russians.

During the present century France has done more than practise a policy of generosity and enfranchisement. She has discovered its judicial formula by enunciating the principle of nationalities. Care was taken to distinguish it from the barbaric theory of the law of races—an idea which, according to the modern French international theory, is an exclusive and retrograde idea, having nothing in common with the large, sacred, civilizing conception of country. A race has limits which cannot be overstepped. Country has none. It can spread and develop without stop. It may embrace the human race, as in the time of the Roman Empire. For centuries races have been welded into countries, and it would be impossible to put an end to the mysterious working from which have sprung the fine results that this fusion has produced, and which are nowhere more striking than in the United States.

It has been the mission of civilization to destroy primitive groups, in order to constitute

by free attraction conventional groups which are much more closely knitted together than those born of chance. There is an ineffable sweetness in the word country, for the very reason that it expresses, not an aggregation brought about by fate, but a free and affectionate creation into which for centuries millions of human beings have put their hearts. The will of the people is, therefore, the dominating, sovereign, unique, absolute principle from which is to be developed in its entirety the modern law of nations, by a series of logical deductions from, as it were, an inexhaustible spring. It is the substitution in international relations of the principle of liberty for geological and historic fatality.

This is the theory which the Americans are putting in practice. They take their inspiration from this tradition, and are making it their own. They too wish to give themselves the royal pleasure of going to arms to avenge a people unjustly treated, and to deliver it from tyranny. They also wish the will of the people to prevail over the right of conquest, over the blind fatalities of race; they wish to aid some of their fellow-beings in creating a country for themselves. Can France blame America for this?

Nobody can doubt that the Americans will ultimately secure material success in this contest. They were taken unprepared; they were not ready for war. The Spaniards are brave, tenacious, and the climate is their auxiliary. It is possible that the struggle will not be ended by a single crushing blow, but may drag on longer than was expected. But there cannot be any question as to the final result. As soon as America throws into the balance the inexhaustible resources of her powerful vitality, she will be irresistible and victorious.

And, more important than the material victory, the moral result of this success, whatever happens, will be favorable to civilization and humanity. Spain once driven out of Cuba, the United States will be content either to leave the Cubans free to establish an independent and autonomous republic, or, for certain reasons, the enfranchised island will be annexed and become a new State in the Federal Union. In either case the Cubans will be gainers. In the first instance, they will be the masters of their own destiny; in the second they will become living free members of a great country devoted to liberty and progress. And, taking everything into consideration, I am not certain whether, in their own interest, the realization of the second hypothesis would not be preferable.



It is a dangerous transition from the obscurity of servitude to the light of liberty. The eyes are dazzled, and one is apt to lose one's way. The example of the other South American republics, which, having thrown off the Spanish yoke, have never ceased to oscillate between dictatorship and anarchy, would seem to indicate that the Cubans might find it to their advantage to accept the protecting tutelage of a people already habituated to the ways of liberty, who would guide them along the path of self-government, still new to them, and save them from more than one hard trial and cruel experience.

Spain herself will profit by her inevitable defeat. At the moment when France lost Canada one of her statesmen said: "If some day France is deprived of her insular possessions, as she has been of her continental colonies, she will be found to go on prospering by means of her own resources, just as well as those states which have kept their colonies. In fact, she may surpass them in happiness and tranquillity." This prediction would unquestionably be true if applied to Spain. Cuba, which cannot be pacified, is like a devouring canker in her side which exhausts her resources and sterilizes her efforts. When she shall have been cured of it, and then falls back on herself, she may succeed, perhaps, in checking that downward tendency which is leading to a most threatening decay.

Since the fall of Napoleon, Spain has become what Poland was—a field of discord and anarchy. She has orators, jurists, poets, writers, but they are all, in greater or less degree, tinctured with anarchism. No one seems to have a firm, sure, and practical idea of government. Some exaggerate liberty to the point of license; others plunge headlong into a dictatorial despotism which ends in oppression. Nowhere is to be found that peaceful working of liberal institutions which renders a people prosperous and powerful. Happily for Spain, she is not surrounded,

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as was Poland, by neighbors eager to dismember her. Otherwise, a victim to her continual dissensions, to her incapacity to establish a regular and wisely constituted state, she would long ago have experienced the fate of Poland.

How, then, would it be possible for Spain to govern well her colonies, when she is so manifestly incapable of governing herself? How could she display beyond the seas a wisdom which she has never shown at home? The loss of Cuba may perhaps be to her a salutary warning, a *memento mori*. Grasping at last the fact that within herself lie all the vices that have driven Cuba from her, she may learn to mend her ways, and again become in the concert of Europe a harmonious rather than a discordant note.

Frenchmen hope that such may be the case. They have much to complain of in regard to Spain. They cannot forget that it was through the perfidy of the men who governed her in 1870 that was hatched the abominable plot of the Hohenzollern candidature, which forced France into the field of battle, where she lost for a time her military supremacy. Notwithstanding this poignant recollection, Frenchmen would not hesitate to pronounce in favor of Spain if it were just to do so, for their judgment is not influenced by a grudge or a hate. Their fault, alas! is rather to forget to hate what should be hated.

We do not hesitate, therefore, in the name of justice and right, of humanity and liberty, to range ourselves on the side of America. That certain interested motives and unacknowledged considerations may be mingled with the generous impulses which have prompted her to take sides with Cuba is quite possible; but this impure alloy cannot blind us to the general character of the enterprise. However covetous some of her citizens may be, the United States in this instance is not a freebooter. She is a liberator, and the Eternal will be just in crowning her arms with victory.



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