

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.*

ITS CONSTITUTION, PROGRESS, POLICY,
AND PROSPECTS.

WE propose in this article to give some idea of the changes wrought in France since the fall of the Second Empire, of the distinguishing features of its present form of government, of the work it has done and is doing, and its difficulties, duties, and prospect of durability.

On the 4th of September, 1870, the Republic was proclaimed, and the Government of the National Defense was instituted. A decree of this government, issued January 29, 1871, provided for the election of Deputies to a National Assembly, which should meet at Bordeaux on the 12th of the following month.

This Assembly proceeded on the 17th of February to appoint M. Thiers "Chief of the Executive Power of the French Republic," his functions to be exercised subject to the authority of said Assembly. On the 31st of August, 1871, the Assembly enacted that the Chief of the Executive Power should assume the title of "President of the French Republic," but should continue to exercise his functions as its delegate, and be responsible as such.

On the 24th of May, 1873 (M. Thiers having resigned), the Assembly elected Marshal McMahon President; and on the 20th November of the same year the executive power was conferred on him for seven years.

On the 24th and 25th of February, 1875, laws were passed providing for the organization of the Senate and other public powers. On the 16th of July, 1875, the relations of the different public powers were fixed by enactment. On the 2d of August of the same year an organic law regulated the election of Senators; and on the 30th of November a similar law was passed concerning the election of Deputies.

* The authorities relied upon in the preparation of this article and the tables appended to it are as follows, viz., the French *Codes et Lois usuelles*, by Roger and Sorel, editions of 1866, 1875, and 1880; Glasson's *Éléments du Droit français*; the *Statistical Abstract presented to Parliament*, 1877; the *Bulletin de Statistiques et de Législation comparée*, published by the Ministère des Finances, 1879; the *Tables statistiques des Pays divers*, par G. Bagge, published by Hachette and Co., 1877; and lastly, several volumes of very thorough and admirably arranged educational statistics (printed in 1878 and 1880), which were very politely furnished the writer by the Minister of Public Instruction.

And finally, on the 30th of January, 1879, the National Assembly (consisting of both Houses) elected M. Grévy President, in place of Marshal McMahon, resigned.

We proceed to consider the mode of election of the President and members of the Legislature, and the functions of some of the other more important public bodies, calling attention, as we pass, to the changes which have been effected in the organization and powers of these latter.

The members of the Chamber of Deputies, now 532 in number, are elected by the people. Every administrative district (*arrondissement*) is entitled to elect a Deputy, and if its population exceed 100,000, it elects one Deputy for every additional 100,000 or fraction of 100,000 inhabitants. The Deputies hold their positions for four years.

The Senate is composed of 300 members, of whom 75 were originally elected by the National Assembly, and 225 by the departments and colonies. The department Senators are elected, however, not by a direct vote of the people, but by electoral colleges consisting of Deputies, Members of the *Conseil Général* of the department and of the *Conseils d'Arrondissement*, and delegates from the Municipal Councils. The Senators of the former category hold office for life, any vacancies occurring among them being filled by vote of the Senate itself. The Senators of the latter class are elected for nine years.

The President is elected for seven years, by a majority of votes of the Senators and Deputies convened in General Assembly.

Conseil d'État.—This body was formerly charged with the duty of preparing bills and administrative regulations, under the direction of the Emperor, and of supporting such bills before the Chambers, the councillors to whom this latter task was assigned being designated for the purpose by the Emperor. It doubtless helped greatly to prevent that kind of patchwork legislation from which we so often suffer in America. It was, therefore, and still is (as will presently appear), one of the most useful and honorable bodies in the state. All its officers were formerly appointed by the Emperor, who had also the power of removing them, such right of nomination and revocation being absolute and unrestricted.

The Government of the National Defense seems to have been jealous or distrustful of the Council existing at the fall of the Empire, for it immediately (by decree of September 15, 1870) suspended its members from their functions, and provided for a temporary commission to attend to certain of its more urgent business, the members of such commission to be appointed by the government upon the nomination of the Minister of Justice. The law of May 24, 1872, re-organized the Conseil d'État, and provided for twenty-two Ordinary Councillors, to be elected by the National Assembly; fifteen Councillors Extraordinary, to be nominated by the President; twenty-four *Maîtres des Requêtes*, to be similarly nominated; and thirty *Auditeurs*, of which those of the second class are appointed by the Conseil d'État after a competitive examination; and those of the first class are similarly chosen from out of the second class.

By the law of February 25, 1875, the President was empowered to appoint the Ordinary Councillors of State as vacancies might thereafter occur, the advice of the Council of Ministers being, however, required for their nomination or removal. The Conseil d'État thus constituted is still charged with various important duties. It acts as an advisory body in regard to such legislative measures as are proposed by the President or initiated by the Assembly, and which are submitted to it by one or the other, as the case may be. Presidential decrees regulating the public administrations can only be issued with the advice and consent of said Council. It gives its advice also upon all questions upon which the President or his ministers may see fit to consult it. It is likewise clothed with certain judicial functions in matters which concern the various public administrations, passing as a Court of Cassation upon their decisions when appealed from as being *ultra vires*, and upon conflicts arising between different administrative authorities; pronouncing as a Court of Appeals upon the decisions of the Ministers, the *Préfets*, and the *Conseils de Préfecture*; and as a court of first and last resort in certain other specified cases. It is also the highest tribunal in prize cases.

Haute Cour de Justice.—This court, which possessed exclusive jurisdiction in cases of high treason, and of crimes or misdemeanors charged against the princes of the imperial family, Senators, Council-

lors of State, etc., was abolished by decree of November 4, 1870.

Conseils Généraux.—Each department of France possesses its *Conseil Général*, charged, as a deliberative body, with the local interests of said department.

It exercises (under the law of August 10, 1871) exclusive authority in certain matters, such as the allotment among the communes of their respective shares of the direct taxes; the laying out of departmental roads, and making provision for their being kept in order; the acquisition and alienation of property belonging to the department; the plans and contracts for the execution of all public works to be paid for by the department; the direction and mode of construction of railroads of local interest; the receipts and expenses of asylums for the insane, and the creation and management of institutions for the relief of the poor of such department, etc.

Its decisions in these cases do not, as formerly, require the approval of the executive power, represented by the *Préfet*, though they may be revoked for illegality by Presidential decree upon demand of the *Préfet* made within twenty days of the close of the session. Its decisions in various other cases, specified by law, become executory if not suspended by decree within three months after its session has terminated.

These *Conseils Généraux* are, therefore, at all times very important bodies, and they might in exceptional circumstances hold in their hands the destinies of France, the law of February 15, 1872, providing that in case the National Assembly should at any time be illegally dissolved or prevented from meeting, the *Conseils Généraux* are to appoint delegates, who shall be charged with the general administration of the country until the Assembly shall recover its liberty of action.

The members of these department councils were formerly elected by the people, as they now are, but whereas their respective officers, president, vice-president, and secretaries, were nominated for each session by the Emperor, they are now nominated by the councils themselves.

The sittings of these councils were, moreover, first opened to the public by the law of 1871. The Emperor could dissolve the *Conseils Généraux*, and nothing in the law prevented his exercising this power arbitrarily, and dissolving any number of them at the same time. Now,

however, if the President dissolves any one of them, he must give an account of his action at once to the National Assembly, if in session; and in any event such dissolution can only be pronounced for reasons specially applicable to said council, and enumerated in the decree.

Préfets.—The Préfet of each department is still, as formerly, appointed by the chief of the state, and is his political and administrative agent or representative.

Maires et Adjoints.—The mayors and their deputies were nominated directly by the Emperor for all communes having a population of more than three thousand, and by the Préfet, in the Emperor's name, for those having a less population; and they might in all cases be chosen from outside of the Municipal Council.

These officers are now all elected by the Municipal Councils themselves, from among their own members respectively.

Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction Publique.—Under the decree of March 9, 1852, the Emperor appointed all the members of this council, then thirty-two in number, consisting of three members of the Senate, three of the Council of State, five bishops or archbishops, three members of the non-Catholic religious bodies, three of the Cour de Cassation, five of the Institute, eight Inspectors-General, and two members of the free scholastic bodies.

Under the law of March 19, 1873, this council is composed of the Minister of Public Instruction; three members of the Council of State (as before), elected by the Council; an army officer, named by the Minister of War, with the advice of the Superior Council of War; a navy officer, named by the Minister of Marine, with the advice of the Admiralty Council; four (instead of five) bishops or archbishops, elected by their colleagues; a delegate of the Reformed Church, and one of the Church of the Confession of Augsburg, elected by their respective consistories; a member of the Central Israelitish Consistory, elected by his fellow-members; two (instead of three) members of the Court of Cassation, elected by their associates; five members of the Institute, elected by its General Assembly; a member of the College of France, elected by his colleagues; a member of each of the faculties of Law, Medicine, Letters, and Science, elected by the professors of said faculties respectively; a member of the Academy of Medicine; a member of each

of the superior councils of Agriculture, of Commerce, and of Arts and Manufactures (all of them in like manner elected by their colleagues); seven members of the corps of public instruction, nominated by the President in the Council of Ministers; and lastly, four (instead of two) members of the body of free instruction, elected by the Council itself—making (exclusively of the cabinet minister who acts as its presiding officer) thirty-nine in all, of which only seven, it will be observed, are appointed by the President.

It will be noticed, too, that the army and navy, the College of France, the four faculties, the Academy of Medicine, and the boards of Agriculture, Commerce, and Arts are now represented in the Council of Public Instruction for the first time. It is therefore less exclusive and aristocratic, and more independent of the chief of the state, than formerly. Its members, moreover, hold office for six years, instead of for one only, as under the Empire.

We may add that the right of giving instruction in the highest branches (*enseignement supérieur*) is no longer confined to appointees of the civil authorities, having been made free for the first time by the law of July 12, 1875, only the right of giving primary and secondary instruction having been declared free by the law of March 15, 1850 (passed, it will be observed, under the First Republic), which also provided that the children of destitute parents should be entitled to elementary instruction free of expense.

We proceed to call attention to the provisions of law governing certain matters which are of the greatest interest to the citizens at large, such as those relating to military service, the right of assembly, and the liberty of the press.

The Army.—Under the Empire a man might escape military duty by furnishing a substitute, or by the payment of a certain sum annually fixed by decree of the Minister of War; but by the law of July 27, 1872, it is declared that every Frenchman owes personal military service, the right of substitution being abolished. He is liable to such service from the age of twenty to that of forty, and forms part of the *active* army for five years, of the reserve of such army for four years, of the *territorial* army for five years, and of the reserve thereof for six years, making twenty years in all.

Any Frenchman, moreover, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, who has not been already conscripted, who is of sufficient height, able-bodied, unmarried, or a widower without children, and provided with a certificate of good conduct, may volunteer for five years' service in the army or navy.

A soldier may also re-enlist, upon the completion of his five years of active service, for a further term of two, three, four, or five years, during which period he is entitled to extra pay at the extravagant rate of eight centimes, or, if he be a non-commissioned officer, of ten centimes (two cents) a day!

As a further inducement to remain in active service, it is provided by the law of July 24, 1873, that certain civil and military employments are reserved exclusively for those who have been in the active army for twelve years, and during four of these years with the grade of non-commissioned officer.

The total effective force of the army in time of peace is 450,000, and in time of war 2,000,000.

We may add, in passing, that by the terms of a law passed August 1, 1874, horses and mules are duly enrolled, and are liable to conscription for military purposes.

The Press.—The laws which regulate the press continue to be very stringent, though some modifications of a liberal character have been introduced since the fall of the Empire. Thus all attacks on the constituted authorities, or on the religion of the state, or on either of the religions whose establishment is recognized by law, as well as all attacks upon the sovereign or other head of a foreign state, all publication of false news, all writings which excite to the commission of crimes or misdemeanors, or incite one class of citizens to hatred of another class, and all defamation of individuals, are punishable by fine and imprisonment, while the publication of merely insulting or abusive articles, not specifying any matter of fact, to the detriment of private individuals—*i. e.*, a simple *injure*, as distinguished from *diffamation*—is punishable by fine only.

The accused is not permitted to justify a libel by proof of its truth, except when it refers to some action of a public officer in the discharge of his duties as such. And only in this latter case is the publication of the proceedings at the trial al-

lowed, though, of course, the judgment may be published. This appears to us a very salutary provision of law, which might well be introduced in America.

The deposit of security (consisting of an actual payment in cash) in the hands of the government was abolished in October, 1870, but was re-established by the law of July 6, 1871, though the amount thereof is only about one-half of that fixed by the law of 1852, the sums now required being, for every periodical appearing more than three times a week, if published in the Department of the Seine, 24,000 francs, and in any other department 12,000 francs, if published in a city having more than fifty thousand inhabitants, and 6000 francs in other cases; and for all other periodicals (except non-political publications appearing not more frequently than once a week), 18,000 francs in the Department of the Seine, and in the other departments one-half of the amounts specified above. The sum so deposited as security is primarily applicable to the payment of all damages and costs awarded against the proprietor or manager of the paper which publishes a libellous article, or against the author of such article. The stamp duty upon newspapers, which existed under the Empire, was abolished by decree of September 5, 1870. Every publisher is still obliged to deposit two copies of every newspaper, or other periodical issued by him, in the hands of the public authorities. The law of December 29, 1875, provides that no administrative authority shall have the right to prohibit the sale on the public streets of any particular journal. But the most important change recently effected in favor of the press is that made by the law of April 15, 1871, removing press offenses from the jurisdiction of the *Tribunaux Correctionnels*, and submitting them to trial *by jury* before the courts of assize.

The Right of Public Meeting (Droit de Réunion).—This right is still subject to the restrictions imposed by the law of June 6, 1868, though we believe that a bill is now before the Legislature having for its object to remove or modify such restrictions. Under the present law a special authorization must be obtained for all public meetings of a political or religious character, but not for others. In every case, however, a declaration must be signed by seven persons, and lodged three days in advance with the proper authorities, set-

ting forth the object, place, and hour of the proposed assembly, and admission thereto must be allowed to the public functionary who may be delegated to attend it, and who is clothed with the right of dispersing the same if it become disorderly, or if its officers persist in permitting any subject to be discussed which is foreign to its avowed object.

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES.

(1) It will appear from what we have already said that there are great constitutional differences between these two countries as regards the mode of election and terms of office of the President, Senators, and Deputies.

(2) A still more important difference exists as regards the French and the American judiciary, in that all of the judges in France, save those of the tribunals of commerce, receive their appointment from the President, and hold office for life, or until retired on pensions, except the justices of the peace, who are removable at will. The judges of the Tribunaux de Première Instance and those of the Cours d'Appel may, of course, be removed for misconduct, but only after trial and condemnation by the Cour de Cassation. The judges of this latter court are retired on pensions at the age of seventy-five, those of the lower courts at seventy. Any judge may also be retired at any time by reason of serious and permanent infirmity disqualifying him for the discharge of his duties.

(3) There is no body in the United States which corresponds to the Conseil d'État, while, on the other hand, there exists in France no Supreme Court having authority to declare a law unconstitutional and void.

(4) The government* of the United States has no jurisdiction over the system of education, such as appertains to the government of France.

(5) There is no religion of the state in America, as in France.

(6) The army of France is an immense burden upon the country, while Americans have been led by an exaggerated jealousy of a standing army, and perhaps in unwitting furtherance of the unavowable designs of certain unscrupulous politicians, to reduce their military force to a ridiculously low standard, entirely out of keeping with the extent of their territory and the work required of it

as a protection against hostile neighbors and Indians, to say nothing of domestic foes.

(7) There exists a large and well-organized police force in France, under the title of Gendarmerie Nationale, the counterpart of which is not to be found in America.

(8) All the subordinate officers of the civil service throughout France hold their positions without fear of losing them, except for misconduct or infirmity, and with, on the other hand, a certainty of promotion as opportunity may offer. Hence it is that administrations survive though dynasties may perish, and that, in spite of war or revolution, the public service goes quietly on.

French Finances, Commerce, etc., since 1869.—For a variety of statistical information on these subjects we beg to refer our readers to the annexed tables. It will be necessary for them to bear in mind that France lost two populous and wealthy provinces by the war of 1870.

It will be observed that the increase of public revenue and expenditure from 1869 to 1876 was about fifty per cent.; that the imports for home consumption have increased in a much larger ratio than the exports of domestic produce; that the revenue from telegraphs has more than doubled; that the length of railways in operation has been greatly augmented; that the business of the Post-office, especially in the transportation of printed matter, is much larger than formerly; and that the ratio of deaths to births was greater and that of marriages smaller in 1876 than in the preceding years, which last fact is naturally one to cause serious inquietude, as tending to reduce the population and relative importance of France. We are unable to furnish the figures showing the expenditures of the Ministry of Public Works since 1876, and must content ourselves with referring to the declaration made by the Prime Minister, M. De Freycinet, at the opening of the Conseil Général of the Tarn-et-Garonne, on the 18th of August, namely, that the government had expended 100,000,000 francs for internal improvements in 1878, and 200,000,000 in 1879, and was to spend for the same object 300,000,000 in 1880, 400,000,000 in 1881, and 500,000,000 annually thereafter until 1890, when it was estimated that the whole system of public works now in progress would be completed.

FINANCIAL STATISTICS.

REVENUES.					
	1869.	1872.	1874.	1876.	1878.
Direct taxes, state or general.	332,439,520	334,715,118	378,372,368	387,839,491	} 688,448,700
Direct taxes, local	243,794,356	269,795,974	268,217,279	290,358,030	
Registration and stamp duties	456,983,648	571,212,107	582,556,000	624,548,000	646,251,000
Customs duties	144,612,874	181,571,727	222,384,000	287,446,000	309,769,000
Excise duties on alcoholic liquors, salt, and sugar, sale of tobacco, powder, etc.	} 627,379,876	771,599,737	947,659,000	1,074,586,000	1,068,750,000
*Post-office					
Miscellaneous	165,840,989	281,477,187	237,172,592	260,776,259
Total ordinary revenue	2,087,246,578	2,582,526,419	2,803,037,509	3,096,127,770
EXPENDITURES.					
	1869.	1872.	1874.	1876.	1878.
Public debt and dotations, less Sinking Fund	534,012,422	1,132,833,601	1,205,417,012	1,178,365,000	
†Ministry of War	420,899,097	463,787,062	462,203,640	535,214,000	
Ministry of Marine	181,991,505	143,848,252	151,973,396	170,878,000	
Ministry of Public Instruction and Worship	93,072,152	105,146,266	108,631,186	105,169,000	
Ministry of Interior	255,753,523	302,213,536	292,102,746	307,625,000	
Ministry of Public Works, Agriculture, and Commerce ‡	} 97,827,332	107,646,133	116,731,325	102,530,000	
Total ordinary expenditure					
IMPORTS—MERCHANDISE.					
	1869.	1872.	1874.	1876.	1878.
General	4,008,700,000	4,501,600,000	4,422,500,000	4,908,800,000
Special (i. e., for home consumption)	} 3,153,100,000	3,570,300,000	3,507,700,000	3,988,400,000	4,400,974,000
Exports—MERCHANDISE.					
	1869.	1872.	1874.	1876.	1878.
General	3,993,600,000	4,756,600,000	4,702,100,000	4,547,500,000	} 3,369,807,000
Special (i. e., those of domestic produce)	} 3,074,900,000	3,761,600,000	3,701,100,000	3,575,600,000	
REVENUE FROM TELEGRAPHS.					
	1869.	1872.	1874.	1876.	1878.
Home	5,785,627	6,796,488	7,977,135	9,396,495	} 21,120,000
International	4,581,458	5,385,910	6,495,850	8,051,273	

N.B.—All the above figures represent francs.

In the Budget of 1880 the total receipts are estimated at 2,749,716,800 francs, and the expenses at 2,749,485,756 francs.

MISCELLANEOUS.					
	1869.	1872.	* 1874.	1876.	1878.
Length of railways in operation (kilometers)	16,973	17,776	19,081	20,316	23,163
Sailing ships (tonnage)	931,714	911,613	842,726	792,836
Steam-ships (tonnage)	142,942	177,462	194,546	218,449
Births	948,526	966,000	954,652	966,682
§Marriages	303,482	352,754	303,113	291,366
Deaths	864,320	793,064	781,709	834,074

Population in 1866, 38,067,094. in 1876, 36,905,788

Number of letters sent through Post-office in 1869, 364,746,650. in 1877, 393,843,000

Number of printed papers in 1869, 367,186,800. in 1877, 468,898,000

The official returns for the first eight months of 1880 show that the imports amounted to 3,252,173,000 francs, of which articles for consumption as food equalled 1,346,628,000 francs (which is double the figure for ordinary years), while the exports for the same period aggre-

* The Post-office rates were reduced May 1, 1878.

† The expenses of this department amounted in 1870 to 1,275,620,555 francs, and in 1871 to 1,224,305,860 francs.

‡ The figures for the other departments show but little variation from year to year.

§ The number of marriages in 1870 was 223,705; in 1871, 262,476.

gated only 2,154,151,000 francs. As this year's harvest is a fair one, there will doubtless be a large reduction in imports the coming year, while the exports (to the United States, at all events) are likely to increase.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION.

Primary Instruction.—The salaries of the public-school teachers, both male and female, have been considerably increased within the last few years, and the government has pursued a wise and liberal policy in regard to education. The results are not yet all apparent, but an examination of the tables hereto appended will show that, on the whole, there has been a marked progress, which gives promise of better things to come.

Thus it will be seen that, though the number of communes was less in 1876 than in 1863, the total number of schools had increased by 2786 (the number of private schools having diminished by 3790, while that of the public schools increased by 6576); that of the total number of children from five to fifteen years of age the proportion entered on the school lists has steadily augmented; and that the number to whom instruction is given gratuitously has been rapidly growing, more particularly in the lay schools. It will be observed, too, that while the sums received by way of donations and legacies and from the pupils themselves have remained almost stationary, the amounts contributed by the communes, the departments, and the state (or, in other words, by the tax-payers at large) for the sup-

port of the public primary schools have increased from 19,637,027 francs in 1863 to 51,892,476 francs in 1877! And, as a natural consequence of the efforts thus made, the proportion of wholly illiterate men and women has been very considerably reduced.

Superior Instruction.—The salaries of the inspectors and professors engaged in the highest branches of education have also been recently augmented.

There have been created under the Republic two new faculties of law, one at Bordeaux, the other at Lyons; three new faculties of medicine, of which one is at Lyons, one at Bordeaux, and one at Lille; nineteen new professorships of science, physics, and natural history (such as of differential and integral calculus, astronomy, mechanics, chemistry, organic and applied, botany, and zoology); one of Greek poetry; three of geography; and four of archæology.

And lastly, the amount appropriated by the state for the different faculties and the higher schools of pharmacy increased from 3,895,521 francs in 1868 to 9,165,330 francs in 1878!

The facts and figures we have cited sufficiently show that the republican leaders fully realize the vast importance of the educational question.

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.

Number of communes.....	in 1863, 37,510..	in 1876-77, 36,056
Number of public schools.....	" 52,445..	" 59,021
Number of free schools (<i>écoles libres</i>).....	" 16,316..	" 12,526
Total number of schools.....	" 68,761..	" 71,547
Number of schools for boys alone.....	" 22,683..	" 25,418
Number of schools for girls alone.....	" 27,267..	" 29,126
Number of mixed schools.....	" 17,811..	" 17,003

The public schools comprised:

Lay schools (<i>écoles laïques</i>) for boys.....	in 1863, 35,348..	in 1876-77, 36,399
Lay schools for girls.....	" 5,998..	" 9,417
Schools under direction of religious } for boys.....	" 3,038..	" 3,365
communities (<i>écoles congréganistes</i>) } for girls.....	" 8,061..	" 9,840

The private schools comprised:

Lay schools for boys.....	in 1863, 2572..	in 1876-77, 1750
Lay schools for girls.....	" 7637..	" 4091
Religious community schools for boys.....	" 536..	" 907
Religious community schools for girls.....	" 5571..	" 5778

Number of children in France from 5 to 15 years of age in 1866-67, 6,529,271.

Number of children in France from 5 to 15 years of age in 1876-77, 6,409,087.

The proportion of children enrolled in schools of all kinds to the total number of children between the ages of 5 and 15 was:

In 1863, 66.6 per cent.; in 1867, 69.1 per cent.; in 1876-77, 73.6 per cent.

The proportion of non-paying pupils to the whole number attending the public schools was as follows:

In the lay schools. in 1863, 29.0 per cent. ; in 1867, 32.8 per cent. ; in 1876-77, 53.0 per cent.
 In the religious communities. in 1863, 57.9 per cent. ; in 1867, 59.0 per cent. ; in 1876-77, 66.3 per cent.

The ordinary resources of the public primary schools were as follows:

	1866.	1872.	1876.	1877.
Donations and legacies	339,170	940,868	949,516	997,837
Received from pupils.	15,077,087	17,539,894	18,857,886	18,825,372
Contributed by communes	13,735,273	23,110,315	30,995,314	31,660,365
Contributed by departments	2,843,322	5,548,921	6,842,642	8,081,347
Contributed by general government.	3,058,432	9,049,101	10,505,260	12,150,764
Total ordinary resources	35,053,284	56,189,099	68,148,618	71,715,685
Extraordinary contributions from departments. .	3,781,924	5,273,934	7,789,802	8,059,008
Extraordinary contributions from the state	2,815,181	6,298,171	7,389,315	9,884,995
Grand total.	41,650,389	67,761,204	83,327,735	89,659,688

Proportion of men able to read out of those who were enrolled on the conscription lists, and whose educational condition was verified:

From 1866 to 1868, out of 895,168 enrolled, 704,014 (78.6 per cent.) could read.
 " 1871 " 1875, " 1,423,323 " 1,167,909 (82.1 " ") "
 " 1876 " 1877, " 562,593 " 474,761 (84.4 " ") "

Proportion of men and women who signed the marriage register, the rest declaring that they were unable to do so:

From 1866 to 1870, 75.0 per cent. of the men and 62.3 per cent. of the women signed.
 " 1871 " 1875, 77.8 " " 66.3 " " "
 " 1876 " 1877, 81.2 " " 70.6 " " "

POLICY AND PROSPECTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

We will now venture to express some opinions, and offer some suggestions on this the remaining branch of our subject.

There is no longer any adverse party, or possible coalition of purely political parties, at all able to cope with the Republic. But it still has great difficulties to encounter in the radicalism of some of its adherents, in the natural opposition of the priests and the large property-holders, in the infidelity of some and the ignorance of others of its citizens.

The priests do not like a government which, impelled by a sense of patriotic duty as well as of political interest, curtails their power, resents their intermeddling in non-religious matters, and seeks to educate and enlighten the masses of the people. We do not mean to deny that the Roman Catholic Church may have exercised a salutary conservative influence in France during the turmoils of the past century, nor that many excellent men and good citizens are to be found within its pale. But we do assert that (speaking in general terms) its rulers and guides have not profited by their opportunities as they ought. We believe that by their greed of gain, and of political and social influence, they have disgusted many; and that by their opposition to the

enlightenment of the masses, their proclamation of papal infallibility, and their encouragement of gross superstitions, they have disgusted more, and driven many thousands into practical infidelity. And it is, we fear, largely due to the absence of a pure and reasonable faith in the great God and Father of all, and a consequent want of confidence in one another, that French society has been so unstable, unreliable, and difficult to govern.

Men are, beyond all question, the better for such a faith, even though they may not live completely up to its requirements; while the utter want of it certainly takes away from man his highest incentive to good conduct, his greatest solace in affliction, and support in adversity. Its possession tends to make him more honest and truthful, and to increase his respect for himself and his fellow-men. Without it he becomes either indolent or self-seeking, with but little regard for the rights and interests of others; and assuming, as he does, that they are equally selfish, he naturally has no confidence in their professions of interest in his welfare, and in their apparent zeal for the public good.

Another source of embarrassment to the republic is to be found in the national characteristic of an unwillingness to assume responsibility, which may spring directly from a want of faith, and from the

spirit of selfishness and unwillingness to labor for others which such want of faith engenders, or from a want of self-reliance occasioned by the excess of government initiation and supervision which has so long existed in France. Whatever its cause, its influence may be observed in both small matters and great. Thus, a Frenchman sees a poor fellow hanging by the neck, and instead of cutting the cord, he goes off to inform the Commissary of Police. Millions of Frenchmen see their country invaded by the Prussians, or their capital seized by the Communards, and only a few hundreds, if any, volunteer for the liberation of either. Hence also it is that when an emergency arises, power passes readily into the hands of the exceptional man or men who have the audacity to grasp it.

But, on the other hand, there is a danger that many of the republican politicians will not realize the full measure of the responsibility which they have assumed. They must remember that it is their duty to build up, and not merely to destroy. They must endeavor to educate the people morally as well as intellectually, and not be content with mere material progress. The late Emperor was satisfied with the latter; and what was the result? The introduction of greater facilities for elementary education is a very important and necessary work, but it is not enough. Such education should, in our opinion, be made obligatory; and more instruction should be given in the higher schools concerning the geography, history, and resources of other countries. The ignorance of the French, as a people, upon these latter subjects is as surprising as their want of interest in everything occurring abroad; while their laws and jurisprudence, the comments of their press, and the action of their business men, often evince a very illiberal and stupid jealousy or distrust of foreigners. This should, if possible, be changed, and foreign ideas, inventions, enterprise, and capital be welcomed and protected. A few unenterprising people might suffer from foreign competition, but the nation at large would soon be immensely the gainer.

The bishops and priests of the Romish Church should be given to understand that they must confine themselves to their religious duties, and that they must exhibit the true spirit of religion in tolerance and charity; and further, that when they do

this, they may count upon not merely the protection but the hearty good-will and co-operation of the state. The spread of Protestantism should be encouraged, as furnishing men with a rule of action calculated to make them good and enlightened citizens, and also as providing an additional power of resistance against any future aggression on the part of Rome.

Marriages should be facilitated; first by diminishing, as far as possible, the trouble and expense of the formalities attending their celebration, and secondly, by making those provisions of the code which require the consent of parents or grandparents inapplicable in all cases where the party has attained the age of twenty-one years, and by repealing the laws which require the consent of the military or naval authorities to the marriage of an officer of the regular army, the gendarmery, or the marine. This would lead to an increase in the number of marriages and of legitimate children.

Divorce should also be re-established for sufficient cause, and without any invidious distinction between husband and wife. This would prevent much of the scandal and domestic infelicity which now exist, and enable many suffering and innocent people to recommence life with a greater prospect of happiness for themselves and their children.

And of course every effort ought to be made to reduce the number of men called into active service in the army, as well as the period of such service. It is marvellous that France can stand such a drain upon it as is occasioned by the withdrawal of so many of its citizens, in the very flower of their youth, from their various avocations and from the influences of home, and by depriving them of the desire and opportunity of marrying. In fact, the number of non-producers within its borders is far too great. Its tendency to impoverish the country is, however, counteracted by the industry of the women, and the habits of economy and saving which generally prevail.

The Republic must be careful not to alienate the property-holders, and others who are conservative either by nature, from education, or from interest, and who have naturally been somewhat alarmed by some of its measures, and still more so by the doctrines proclaimed by certain of its adherents. In particular should every suggestion having for its object to abolish

the Senate, or to deprive it of its independence, as well as every proposition in favor of an elective judiciary, or of one appointed for short terms, or removable at will, be strenuously resisted, an independent Senate being absolutely essential as a conservative safeguard against the passions or precipitancy of a purely popular assembly, and it being also of the highest importance that every citizen should at all times feel assured that the laws will be faithfully administered by judges who are responsible only to their country, and not to President or party.

The Republic is now fully conscious of its strength; let it recognize it as its highest duty and unquestionable interest to use that strength with moderation. The country at large wants no very adventurous policy either at home or abroad. It requires all the ability of French statesmen to bring about a complete recovery from the effects of the Franco-German war and Communistic insurrection, and of the deficiency in the harvest and wine crop of the last few years.* The balance of trade has been largely against France for some time past, and the consequences of this must inevitably be felt.

Let the republican leaders recognize the importance of working rather than of talking, and of working in such a way as to re-assure the timid, and secure the co-operation of all the reasonable and patriotic men to be found among their former opponents; and let these latter remember that it is infinitely better for them to make their influence felt by such co-operation than to sit apart in sulky discontent, and leave it to the radicals and extremists to get the upper hand. There are undoubtedly to be found in the Chamber of Deputies, as in all other legislative bodies in free countries, many obstructive and many destructive members.

This is all the more reason why all who are interested in the steady progress of society and the safety of the state should unite and stand by the able and patriotic men upon whom the responsibility of government principally rests. The chiefs of the existing government of France certainly combine to a remarkable extent great dignity and integrity of character, a thorough knowledge of men and affairs,

* The wine crop of 1879 amounted to only 25,700,000 hectoliters, being 23,000,000 less than that of 1878, and 30,000,000 less than the average of the past ten years.

moral courage, largeness of view, and a desire for progress, energy, tact, and eloquence, while the ability displayed by the French ministers of finance since the close of the Franco-German war has been the wonder of the world. The success of the republican form of government was primarily due to the fact that it was the one which divided Frenchmen the least. The recent elections would seem to show that it is the one to unite them the most.

Let it be honestly accepted by all, without any vain repinings for an irrevocable past, and with a sincere desire to do it justice, and to assist it in its work of reconstruction and consolidation, and there need be no fears concerning the future tranquility, welfare, and glory of France.

HANDS OFF.

I.

I WAS in another stage of existence. I was free from the limits of Time, and in new relations to Space.

Such is the poverty of the English language that I am obliged to use past tenses in my descriptions. We might have a verb which should have many forms in different to time, but we have not.

It happened to me to watch, in this condition, the motions of several thousand solar systems all together.

It is fascinating to see all parts of all with equal distinctness—all the more when one has been bothered as much as I have been, in my day, with eye-pieces and object-glasses, with refraction, with prismatic colors, and achromatic contrivances. The luxury of having practically no distance, of dispensing with these cumbrous telescopes, and at the same time of having nothing too small for observation, and dispensing with microscopes, fussy if not cumbrous, can hardly be described in a language as physical or material as is ours.

At the moment I describe I had intentionally limited my observation to some twenty or thirty thousand solar systems, selecting those which had been nearest to me when I was in my schooling on earth. Nothing can be prettier than to see the movement, in perfectly harmonic relations, of planets round their centres, of satellites around planets, of suns, with their planets and satellites, around their centres, and of these in turn around theirs. And to persons who have loved