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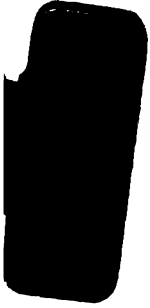
Paris in its splendor, by E. A. Reynolds



# PARIS

VOL. I

BY E. A.  
REYNOLDS-BALL

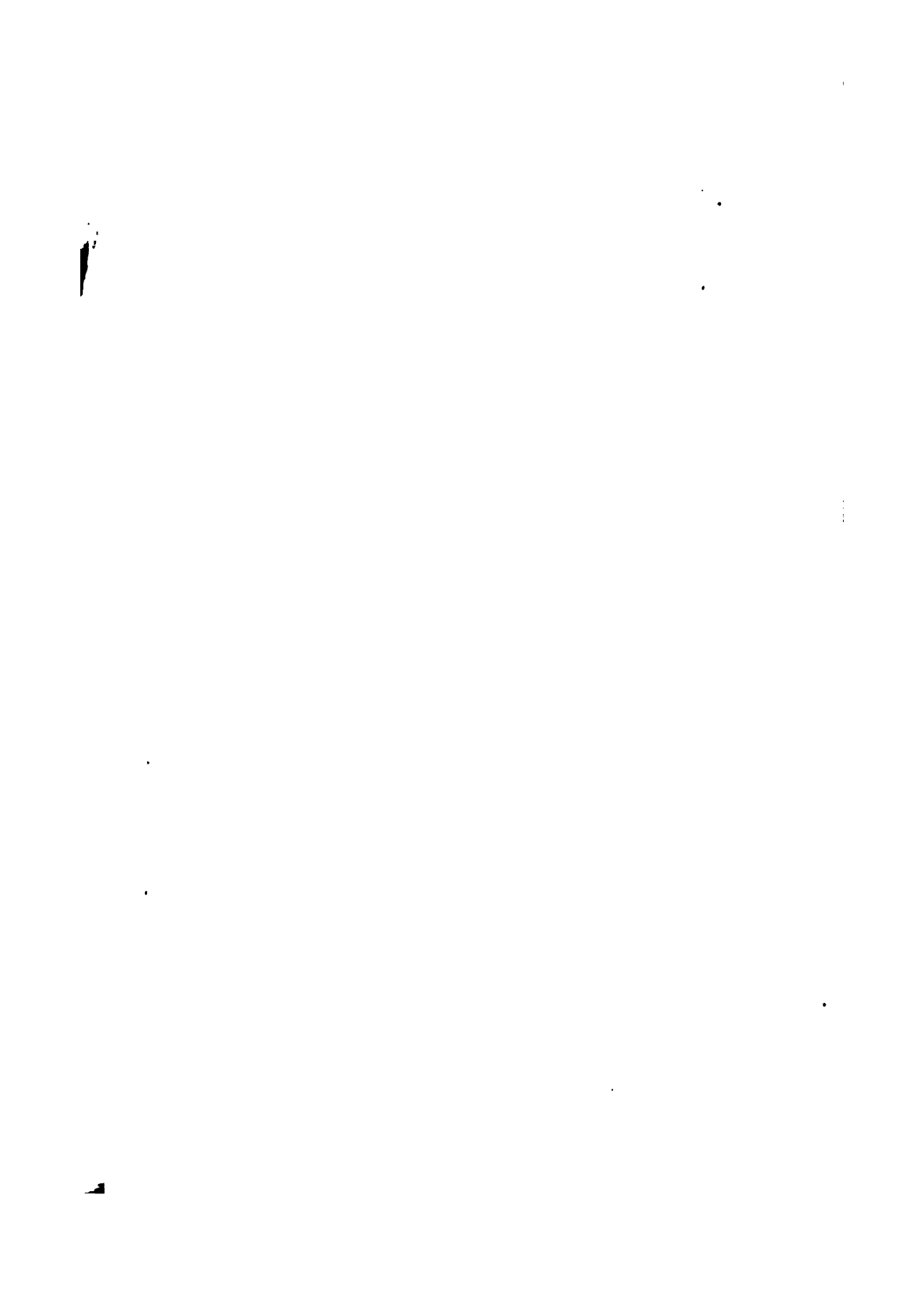


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**PARIS IN ITS SPLENDOUR**

**VOLUME I**



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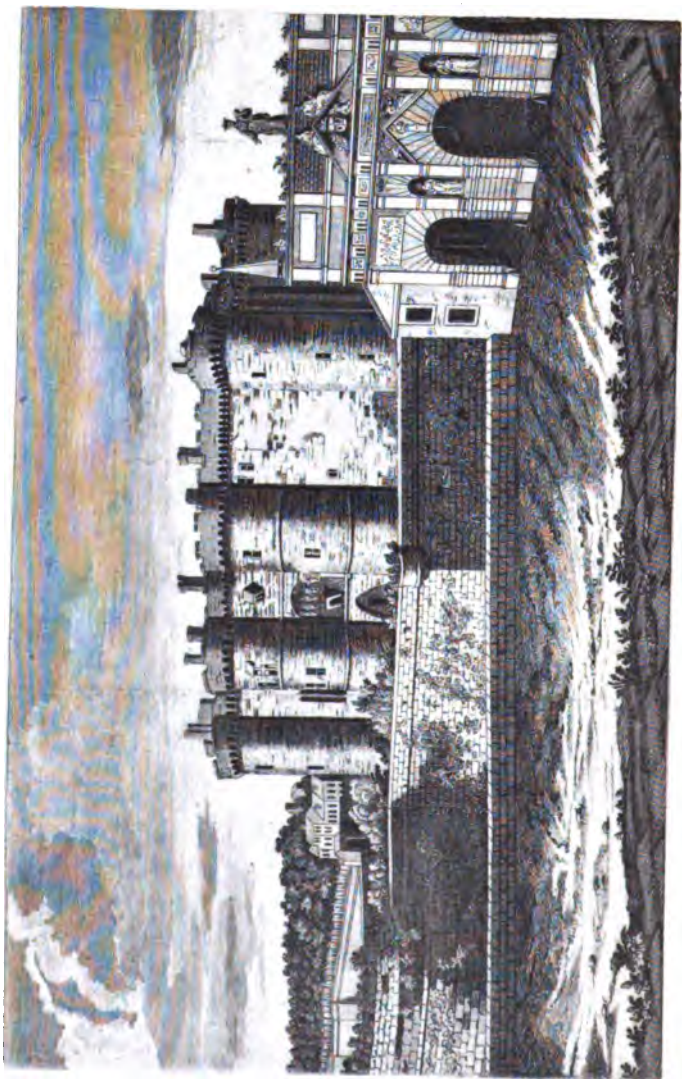
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# Paris

IN ITS SPLENDOUR

*By*

**E. A. REYNOLDS-BALL**

*Author of "Cairo, the City of the Caliphs," etc*

IN TWO VOLUMES

Volume I



**Illustrated**

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**"IMAGINE a city like Paris, where the greatest intellects of a great empire are collected together, and by this intercourse and emulation are instructed and elevated,—a city where the products of all the kingdoms of nature, where the riches of the arts from every quarter of the globe, are accessible to the student. Think of this universal city where each foot of ground recalls a great past, and where each street unfolds a fragment of history." — Goethe.**



***“Paris, la Métropole de la Civilisation Moderne.” — Lavallée.***

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## PREFACE.

A CAPITAL is often described as the heart or brain of a country, and the metaphor in the case of Paris conveys more truth than such epigrams usually express. But Paris is also more emphatically than some other European capitals its countenance as well. Paris, like London and Rome, is not only the political, commercial, social, and intellectual centre of France, but it is an epitome and reflection of the national life and an illustration of the past history. "In it," observes Mr. H. D. Traill, "the genius and the temperament of the people who built it and who inhabit it are almost always reflected; it bears in many cases the indelible marks of their historic experiences and the unbroken chronicle of their growth; it is the enduring monument of their labours and achievements; here and there it may reveal to us, as by the lines of care on the faces of the aged, the sombre vestiges of their calamities and crimes."

Anything like a full or adequate description of the beautiful city of Paris in its various aspects — historic, artistic, and social — would require a whole series of volumes. In these two volumes no exhaustive treatment of any of the various phases of the story of Paris has, of course, been attempted. I have merely tried to give a general impression of Paris past and present, and of the more striking features of the social life of Paris of

to-day. Though the subject, in the case of a city so much described as the French capital, necessarily lacks novelty, yet I have aimed at a certain variety in the treatment, and if those who take up "Paris in Its Splendour" consider that I have succeeded in suggesting fresh points of view, and have managed to throw new lights on old facts, I shall be more than satisfied. At all events, some readers may find these pages of some use as an introduction to a serious study of the fascinating city.

I have not hesitated to lay under contribution the valuable and enormous amount of topographical and historical material to be found in the works of English, American, and foreign authors. A list of many of the books consulted will be found in the bibliographical chapter.

E. A. B. B.

LONDON, March 27, 1900.

## CONTENTS.

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CHAPTER	PAGE
I. MEDIEVAL PARIS . . . . .	3
II. MONARCHICAL PARIS . . . . .	33
III. REVOLUTIONARY PARIS . . . . .	56
IV. PARIS UNDER NAPOLEON . . . . .	73
V. PARIS UNDER THE BOURBONS . . . . .	91
VI. PARIS UNDER LOUIS PHILIPPE . . . . .	105
VII. IMPERIAL PARIS . . . . .	119
VIII. PARIS UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC . . . . .	136
IX. MUSEUMS AND PICTURE GALLERIES . . . . .	173
X. MUSEUMS AND PICTURE GALLERIES ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	200
XI. NOTRE DAME CATHEDRAL . . . . .	227
XII. LA SAINTE CHAPELLE AND ST. DENIS . . . . .	247
XIII. SOME HISTORIC CHURCHES . . . . .	273
XIV. MONUMENTAL PARIS . . . . .	299
XV. MONUMENTAL PARIS ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	330



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

---

	PAGE
THE BASTILLE ( <i>Photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
STATUE OF ETIENNE MARCEL . . . . .	22
NAVE OF THE CHURCH OF THE MADELEINE . . . . .	44
CHAMBRE DES SÉANCES DU SÉNAT; LUXEMBOURG PALACE	66
FONTAINE DE MÉDICIS, IN THE GARDEN OF THE LUXEM- BOURG . . . . .	182
JOAN OF ARC MONUMENT (PLACE DES PYRAMIDES) . . . . .	142
HÔTEL DE VILLE, TAKEN FROM THE PONT ST. LOUIS . . . . .	154
VIEW OF PARIS FROM THE LOUVRE . . . . .	176
TOMB OF RICHELIEU IN THE SORBONNE . . . . .	220
CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME . . . . .	230
GRAND CORRIDOR, OPERA HOUSE . . . . .	264
PLACE DE LA CONCORDE . . . . .	286
HÔTEL DES INVALIDES . . . . .	298
ARC DE TRIOMPHE DU CARROUSEL . . . . .	308
LA PLACE VENDÔME . . . . .	312
AVENUE DES CHAMPS ÉLYSÉES . . . . .	330
GENERAL VIEW OF THE SEINE . . . . .	350



# HISTORY





# PARIS IN ITS SPLENDOUR.

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## CHAPTER I.

### MEDIÆVAL PARIS.

EXCEEDINGLY rich and complete is the monumental record of Paris, — in a sense one of the most “historic cities” in Europe. From the importance and continuity of its history, it is worthy to rank with Rome, Constantinople, or London, which Mr. Frederick Harrison, in a comparative survey of the great capitals of Europe, places in the first rank of historic cities. London, no doubt, has suffered least from violent shocks and breaks in its history. It has not been, like Paris, the scene of tremendous disturbances more varied and more revolutionary than those of any other city in the world, with the exception, perhaps, of Rome. London has never undergone a regular siege, while Paris has been subjected to at least a dozen investments, culminating in 1870–71 in by far the greatest siege in all modern history. London again has never been the seat of a revolution which can be compared at all with that of French history. On the other hand, “rebellion, massacre, and revolution, battles, sieges, and captures were familiar incidents in the long history of Paris from the days of the Cæsars

and of the Franks to the days of the German Empire and of the Commune."

But modern transformation has done more to destroy the historic aspect of Paris than of London, for even the Great Fire has scarcely proved so destructive of architectural antiquities as the Hausmannising of the Second Empire and the incendiarism of the Commune. If, however, sites are to be considered equally with existing monuments, Paris is by no means a city of inferior historic memories. Paris is at least a century older than London, and indeed it can claim nearly two thousand years of continuous historical record. In Roman times Paris was a more important provincial city than London, while the history of its great early foundations, civil as well as religious, was more complete and trustworthy than anything of the kind in the English capital.

At the same time it must be admitted that historic remains are more completely screened in Paris than in London. The effort to recall Old Paris in the modern city is one which demands a serious strain on the imagination, and demands the possession of the historic sense. It is hard to realise that in this gay and splendid metropolis was shed the blood of some ten thousand victims of the Revolution, from Louis XVI. and his heroic consort to Madame Roland and Charlotte Corday, "and that every bright terrace, every bridge, and every tower had echoed with the roar of cannon and musketry, the shouts and screams of battle and massacre, not once or twice, but back through the stormy times of the Revolution and the Fronde and the League, St. Bartholomew, the Civil Wars, the English conquests,

feudal faction fights, the Counts of Paris, the Franks, Gauls, and Romans."

It is natural in the case of a great capital to inquire into its origin, and to try and ascertain to what it owes its structural development. Most great cities owe their existence to certain natural advantages of site. Even the least observant must have noticed the connection between great cities and great rivers, even if cause and effect are confounded, as in the case of the innocent author who noted the strange geographical coincidence that rivers always seemed to flow past great cities!

The origin of Paris is like that of Madrid or Berlin, mainly due more to artificial or administrative causes than to its adaptability as a commercial centre, for, though it stands upon an important navigable river, it can hardly be said to command the Seine valley in the same sense as Rouen, which in mediæval times was the real port of the Seine. "The modern city owes its special development as a town, first to its Roman conquerors, then to its bridges, next to its mediæval counts, last of all to the series of special accidents by which those counts developed at last into kings of the nascent kingdom of France, and inheritors of the traditions of the Frankish sovereigns. It is thus in part a royal residential town, depending mainly for prosperity upon its kings, its nobles, its courts of justice, its parliaments, its university, its clergy, and its official classes; comparatively little, till quite recent times, upon the energy and industry of its individual citizens. We say, as a rule, that Paris is the capital of France; it would be truer to say that France is the country which has grouped itself under the rulers of Paris."

The twofold character of the genesis of Paris — an administrative centre as well as a commercial emporium — is well symbolised in the arms of the city, which consists of a ship under full sail, surmounted by the lilies of the French kings, and bearing as a crest a mural crown.

The germ, then, of modern Paris was but a small stockaded island village which was conquered by the Romans in the year 53 B. C.

It was originally known as Lutetia Parisiorum, but gradually the first name was dropped and the town was described as Parisii,<sup>1</sup> from the name of the tribe whose stronghold it was.

Many derivations have been suggested for Lutetia and Paris, some more ingenious than scientific. For instance, one savant gives *par* (Celtic ship) and *ys* (man), but probably the mediæval coat of arms inspired this etymology. Spon goes to Ancient Greece for his etymology, and claims a derivation from Par and Isis. But to make this fit he attempts to show that the ancient inhabitants practised the cult of Isis. There seems more authority for the derivation proposed by Carlyle, though it is not likely to be adopted by the Parisians, viz., from the Latin *lutum* (mud), — certainly rather appropriate for a city which sprung from a marsh.

To resume the story of Paris. Early in 53 B. C., Cæsar had a conference in the Cité of Paris, then called Lutetia, with the Gallic chiefs, who had headed a movement to free Gaul from the power of Rome. At this

<sup>1</sup>The first official record of this new name appears in a charter of 860 A. D., convoking a Church council at Parisea Civitas.

meeting the clans seemed reconciled, but the rebellion soon broke out again, and it was not till 51 B. C. that Cæsar, by the conquest of the Gallic chiefs under Vercingetorix, finally pacified Gaul, — pacification being the approved expression for conquest! According to Plutarch, Cæsar had to fight three millions, of which one million perished, one million were made prisoners of war, while only one million remained free.

Under Roman rule, the people to some extent prospered, in spite of oppression. At the beginning of the Roman conquest they possessed scarcely a town or road. By the end of the fifth century there were several fine cities and many excellent highroads, — some of these highways are, indeed, in use at the present day. But Provence naturally was more subject to Roman influence than Northern Gaul and Marseilles; Aix and Narbonne were splendid cities in comparison when Lutetia was but a swamp. "At one time," observes Dean Kitchin, "it might well have been a question whether Lyons or Paris should be the chief city of France; the northern influences, however, were the stronger."

So Paris became the capital, only to lose this honour under the next emperor, Augustus, who made Lyons the capital of Gaul.

The conversion of Gaul to Christianity began sometime in the third century, but at first the progress was slow. About 250, the Roman Church sent a special mission under Dionysius (St. Denis), who settled at Lutetia and founded the church of Northern France (see St. Denis chapter). From this time the Christian doctrines made great progress, and almost all Gaul

had embraced the faith by the middle of the fourth century. Indeed, "the final struggle between Christianity and paganism was, in reality, fought out on Gallic soil."

About the middle of the fourth century, the island village of the Seine became famous in history, thanks to the predilection of the Emperor Julian for Lutetia. The Apostate Emperor lived during the winter of 357-8 in the palace (whose ruins can still be seen at the Thermæ) which the Emperor Constantine Chlorus had built.

Julian is indeed the real founder of Paris. He loved his "darling Lutetia" dearly, and praised its situation, its pleasant sea-breeze, its vineyards and fig-trees.

The next hundred years marks the decay of the Roman power in Gaul, the last shreds of the imperial robe being figuratively shed by Odoacer, the Goth, in 476, when the seat of the empire was transferred to Constantinople.

By the end of the fifth century the Franks (a German race) had established their King Clovis (Louis), the first of the Merovingian dynasty, and Gallia became Francia (with Parisii for its capital). It comprised about the third of modern France, being bounded on the south by the Loire and by Burgundy, and on the west by Armorice (Brittany).

The Franks were of course pagans, but Clovis had become a Christian, and the Frankish nation, now that Rome had perished, became the "Sword of the Church," — a fit title for the nation which is still known as "eldest son of the Church." King Clovis was baptised in Rheims Cathedral, together with three thousand of

his warriors, the imposing ceremony being performed with the greatest pomp and splendour. According to Gregory of Tours, the Archbishop Remigius indulged in a burst of rhetoric, exhorting the royal convert to "bow the head! Burn that thou hast adored, and adore that thou hast burnt!"

From the beginning of the sixth century to the end of the seventh century, the history of France is mainly made up of incessant struggles between the Merovingian kings and their powerful chieftains, known as the mayors of the palace, represented by the family of Pippin. This perpetual war of factions ends in the triumph of the great Caroling dynasty.

The first mention of Kings of Paris in history is in connection with the partition of Clovis's dominions on his death, one of his sons having Paris and the surrounding country, with the title of "King of Paris." It is in the reign of Sigebert (561-575), the husband of Brunhild, that we first hear of this important functionary, — the mayor of the palace. This was an officer elected by the chieftains to watch their interests, and also to act virtually as a kind of regent to the sovereign. The power of the mayors soon began to eclipse that of the kings. The office was Teutonic in origin, but the derivation of the name has baffled all philologists. The mayor was at first named by the king; afterward selected by the chiefs. The office was held for life, and its holder had the command of the army as well as of the royal household.

"From chamberlain to regent, from regent to duke, from duke to king, from king to Emperor of the West, — so rose the fortunes of the office with the great aristo-



cratic family which held it, until it reached its highest in the person of the great Charles, inheritor of the imperial name and of almost more than imperial power.”<sup>1</sup>

Dagobert, the first sole king of Francia since Clovis, was a kind of mediæval Louis XIV. He established a magnificent court at Paris, which was again made the seat of government, for in previous reigns Orleans, Soissons, or Toulouse had taken the place of Paris as the residence of the sovereigns. Under Dagobert the monarchy of the Franks reached its highest splendour. The Merovingian king was indeed the only king of note in the West, and consequently the Emperor of the East was eager to form an alliance with him. Dagobert was the first Frankish king who seriously took in hand the embellishment of his capital. He also founded and built the magnificent Abbey of St. Denis. But there was no element of stability or permanence in the Merovingian throne, and on his death the power of the succeeding members of his dynasty faded away, and that of the mayors of the palace increased. Finally, in 752, Pippin the Short, son of Charles Martel, who was mayor of the palace to the last Merovingian king, Chilpéric, deposed his nominal master, and thus began the great dynasty of the Karlings. We have now, to quote Guizot's aphorism, reached “the bridge between barbarism and feudal life.”

Charlemagne, son of Pippin, became King of the Franks in 771. In 800 he was named Emperor of the West, and in 814 he died. He was more a German emperor than a Frankish sovereign, and more Teuton

<sup>1</sup>G. W. Kitchin.

than Frank. Paris has indeed little to do with the reign of Charlemagne. Aix-la-Chapelle, not Paris, was the emperor's usual residence, and not one of his councils was held in the former capital.

At the time of Charlemagne, the only churches in Paris were St. Germain l'Auxerrois, St. Vincent (St. Germain-des-Prés), Ste. Geneviève, and St. Laurent.

During the feeble reigns of the later Karlings, the north of France was continually subjected to the raids of the Northmen, or Danes, who in 885 beleaguered Paris itself. The capital had shrunk back into the Cité, but Eudes (Odo), Count of Paris, carried out a brave resistance for eighteen months. At last the feeble king (Charles the Fat) came with an immense army, which he camped on Montmartre. From here the king looked down on the heroic defenders of Paris and the besieging hosts. "The hollow-eyed citizens rejoiced to think that their pagan enemies would be scattered to the winds; nothing of the kind happened; the feeble king had no energy, and did but beg the Normans to name their price; they were willing to retire for seven hundred pounds of silver. The fierce citizens, with a cry of disgust, refused to be parties to such shame; they rushed forth and drove the Northmen from the Seine, compelling them to drag their boats across a neck of land before they could embark."

The effete dynasty of the Karlings was under the despicable Charles the Fat at its last gasp, and on his death in 888 the barons chose Odo (Eudes), Count of Paris, as their king. But the princes of the Karling house were not yet done with, and the Clerical party at Rheims, which was the religious centre of France,

as Paris was its political centre, elected Charles III. (Le Sot), a cousin of the late king, while the interests of the chiefs were safeguarded by the appointment of Robert, brother of Odo, as Duke of France, who acted virtually as a mayor of the palace to the feeble king. The one king who might have been able to stave off the accession of the Capetian dynasty, Ludwig III., died, after a short reign, in 954. With the death of his grandson, Ludwig V., significantly termed *le Fainéant* (a title which was only too well deserved by all the later Karlings except Ludwig III.), the succession of the representatives of the dukedom of France, Hugh Capet, followed as a matter of course. He was the most influential, as well as the richest, of the great barons of Northern France.

Nine hundred and eighty-seven, the year of the accession of Hugh Capet, is one of the most important landmarks in the history of mediæval France. In fact, most historians, ignoring the Merovings and Karlings, make this year the starting-point of French history. The Karlings had been more Teuton princes than Frankish kings. Their language was German, not French, and the feeble later kings of this dynasty invariably took refuge with the emperor when unable to maintain their authority over the great chieftains. "From the days of Hugh Capet all is changed. Hugh was a Frankish baron, Count of Paris and Duke of the Franks. This latter title was not connected with a definite duchy, but appears to have given its possessor a vague military authority over the provinces surrounding his own county of Paris. We must always remember that the names France and Paris had not their modern significance ;

Paris was but the chief town of a petty dukedom, France the name of a narrow district, overshadowed by greater lordships, and almost unknown across the Loire."

The accession, then, of the Capet family marks the real beginning of the modern kingdom of France, and the Duke of the French became King of the French. Paris became the actual capital of the kingdom, and no longer had to share this privilege with Laon or Rheims. Paris itself enters very little into the history of France until the reign of Philip Augustus (1180-1223), the first of the great makers of Paris.

With this broad-minded monarch a new era dawned for Paris. A new wall marked the first great stage in the expansion of Paris. This new enceinte started from the Louvre Donjon, which Philip had built for his residence on the supposed site of Dagobert's hunting lodge.

It is usually reckoned as the second enceinte of the eight which have girdled Paris, from the Gallo-Roman wall to the fortifications of Louis Philippe, which still form the barriers of Paris. Philippe's wall was a substantial piece of masonry, about ten feet thick and twenty-eight feet in height. Its western boundary on the south side of the Seine was the Tour de Nesle (the eastern wing of the Institute marks the exact site), and its eastern limit was exactly opposite the eastern end of the Ile St. Louis. Southward the boundary is marked by the Church of Ste. Geneviève, and includes the University Quarter. On the north side (La Ville) the wall extended from the Louvre was continued northward in a semi-circle which ended at the Seine, near the spot where the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal now stands. At that period

the walled portion of Paris comprised only a third of the area of Paris within the walls at the time of Etienne Marcel's ramparts, some 160 years later, showing the enormous expansion of the city in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In fact, it occupied a space not much larger than Hyde Park with Kensington Gardens. The contour of the city at this period has been aptly and picturesquely compared to a butterfly, the island of La Cité representing the body, and the northern and southern extension (La Ville and Université) forming the wings.

During this reign, aqueducts, fountains, and markets were built, and the building of Notre Dame was continued. One improvement, which had an important effect on the health of the city, was the paving of the principal streets. Hitherto the streets of Paris had been common sewers, dirty, dark, and malodorous.

The king was not, however, free from the bitter prejudices of that epoch against the Jews, and they were all expelled from Paris, and most of the houses in the Parisian "Ghetto" pulled down.

Among the churches and abbeys which were begun or completed in Paris during Philip's reign, were the Churches of St. Etienne-du-Mont and St. Sulpice, nearly a dozen other churches of which no trace now remains, the convents of the Jacobins and Cordeliers, and the Abbey of St. Antonie des Champs. Considerable progress was made, too, in the building of Notre Dame.

It is not known if Philip himself was a scholar, but he at all events must have the principal credit for the enlargement and improvement of the great Paris university, which made Paris a great intellectual centre,

and did for France what the Universities of Bologna and Salerno did for North and South Italy.

Early in the twelfth century Paris began to be recognised, under the teachings of Abélard and his disciple, Peter the Lombard (afterward Bishop of Paris), as the leading school of the Church. This century was, indeed, a period of great intellectual activity, and students flocked to Paris, attracted by the fame of Abélard, the father of scholastic theology. Though Paris had become a great teaching centre in the reign of Louis le Gros (1108–37,) the first record of any distinct university organisation dates from about 1170.

“The university was originally simply a guild formed by the growing body of masters who, licensed by the chancellor of Notre Dame, taught men in classes beneath the shadow of the cathedral, or on the bridges which connect the Island Cité with the southern banks of the Seine. In 1200 the Society of Masters received their first charter of privileges from Philip Augustus, who confirmed the traditional right of the scholars to be treated as clerks, and tried by the ecclesiastical judges. It is not till twenty years later, when the schools had begun to extend on to the Mount of Ste. Geneviève, — the centre of what is still known as the ‘Quartier Latin,’ — that we trace the first germs of the elaborate organisation which was nearly complete by almost the middle of the century.”

The University Course was divided into four faculties, Theology, Law, Medicine, and Arts, the three former being considered Supreme Faculties, corresponding to the Honour Schools of Oxford and Cambridge of the present day, while, to complete the parallel, the inferior Faculty

of Arts was a kind of "pass school," the students only proceeding to the three higher faculties after a course of study in Arts. The School of Law was confined to canon law, for the study of Roman law was forbidden by the Pope,—it has been suggested from jealousy for the claims of theology proper. The Faculty of Arts was divided into the four nations (see sketch of Collège de France in Monumental Paris chapter), France, Normandy, Picardy, and England, but the head of each nation (which corresponded roughly to the college of an English university) was a proctor, while the whole Faculty of Arts was presided over by the rector, who eventually acquired the position of head of the whole university. There is a significant difference between the origin of the great Bologna university and that of Paris. The former had been founded by the scholars, while Paris was a university of masters. The colleges were originally charitable institutions founded to shelter the poorer classes of students, but soon they accepted paying boarders or commoners, and engaged lecturers and tutors. There were about sixty of these colleges before 1500. The best known and the most important among them was the Sorbonne, established by the chaplain of Louis IX., in 1257. Here the Faculty of Theology used to meet, and hence the decisions of this faculty were commonly called the Judgments of the Sorbonne.

The history of the University of Paris, down to the last of the Valois kings, which marks the close of the mediæval period, may be briefly touched upon. Gradually this great educational institution exercised a great influence, not only in scholastic and ecclesiastical affairs, but in general politics. Just as the French nation was

styled the eldest daughter of the Church, so the university was proud of calling itself "the eldest daughter of the king." Under the feeble rule of Charles VII., the university reached the height of its political importance, and at this period it was able to negotiate with Pope and emperor as if it were a great European power. In 1430 the university covered itself with infamy by abetting the persecution of Jeanne d'Arc, and voting for her being handed over to the Inquisition.

The attitude of the university toward the revival of learning, whose influence had reached Paris about the middle of the fifteenth century, was that of apathetic indifference. The governing body seemed infected at this time by what, in comparison with the intellectual activity of the Italian universities, was a kind of scholastic torpor.

Charles XI. was a special patron of the Paris university, true to his policy of supporting the towns and checking the feudal instincts of the nobles. In the reign of Francis I. the Renaissance influence had its effect even on the cut and dried scholasticism of the university, and especially of the Sorbonne. Regius professors appointed directly by the Crown replaced the regent masters. The new professors, the exponents of the New Learning, were bitterly opposed by the professors of the Sorbonne, and the king's scheme for establishing some kind of higher education in his capital had little permanent result.

Louis IX. (1226 - 1270) proved an even greater benefactor of his capital than Philip Augustus. It had supported him from the first, and made common cause with him at the beginning of his reign in his struggle



with the rebellious barons. Soon after the coronation of Louis at Rheims, in 1226, the barons had mustered their army at Corbeil, and threatened to cut off the young king from his capital. "Thence the queen sent messengers to Paris begging help. The citizens with great willingness came forth in arms to bring them on their way. From Montleheri to Paris, the road was filled with folk, armed or unarmed, who cried to our Lord to give the king long life, and to defend him from his foes: and so did he. And thus the king came safely to Paris, none daring to withstand him, and was welcomed heartily by his devoted burghers, who, from the time of their great benefactor, Philip Augustus, had been warmly attached to the king's party."<sup>1</sup>

The usual residence of Louis was not the Louvre, but the Palais de la Cité. His greatest monument is, of course, the beautiful Sainte Chapelle, which will be fully described elsewhere.

Though Louis IX. was a benevolent despot, and, by some historians, indeed, is regarded as the real founder of French absolute monarchy, yet he did much to foster the growth of civic liberties in Paris. One of his most important works was the founding of the Parliament in 1250. In his reign it first held regular sessions in the royal palace. The Parliament, though it still retained some of its administrative powers as a department of the court, — it supervised the water-supply, hospitals, and colleges of Paris, — became more and more a court of justice, and ultimately a kind of final court of appeal. "It was more than a mere law court," observes Dean Kitchin, "and less than an English Parliament." Its

<sup>1</sup> *La Vie de St. Louis.*

original aim was not so much to provide justice and check crime, but to act as a kind of judicial barrier between the king and his aggrieved subjects, and, secondly, to defend the rights of the king's subjects against all comers. But the scope of the Paris Parliament was soon widened. "No law court in Europe has had a greater or more honourable history than the *parlement* of Paris; none, since the time of the Romans, has developed a more complete and consistent body of law; none has followed out the maxims of its original with more effect, or accomplished more remarkable political results. For the French monarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the true heir in spirit of the Roman Empire,—not that effete and disunited polity which claimed its name; and the French monarchy, at its height of power, is largely the work of the *parlement* of Paris."<sup>1</sup>

The population of Paris at the end of the reign of the "Saintly Louis" was about one hundred and twenty thousand.

His son Philip's reign was uneventful, and it is not till Philip the Fair (1285–1314) comes to the throne that there is much to add to the story of Paris. Since Philip Augustus the aspect of the city had changed considerably. The churches, hospitals, and religious houses built by Louis IX. had filled up the wide uninhabited plots of ground included in Paris by Philip's new line of fortifications, and new suburbs had been formed around the abbeys outside the walls.

The Cité, a labyrinth of dark, winding, and narrow lanes, was connected with the Ville and the Université

<sup>1</sup> Professor Prothero, *English Historical Review*, 1898.

(as the northern and southern portions of Paris were called) by two bridges. The northern (called Pont au Change) one was defended by the Grand Chatelet, then the residence of the provost, while the southern bank was linked to the Cité by the Petit Pont, where an Octroi had been established. The citizens, encouraged, perhaps, to some extent by the rapid development of Paris, and by their admission into the new States General, took up an independent attitude with regard to the heavy taxation imposed upon them by Philip IV., and in 1306 the city rose against their sovereign, who withdrew from his palace in the city (the official residence) and entrenched himself in the Temple, which was then outside the walls. The rising was, however, futile and easily crushed.

A far more formidable revolt of the Paris burghers broke out during the disastrous period which followed the battle of Poitiers. This municipal revolution of Etienne Marcel, which was prompted by a desire to obtain the civic independence of Paris, is one of the most important events in the history of the capital. Etienne Marcel, the Provost of the Merchants, was the one great statesman of his age in France, though his efforts to reduce the absolutism of the royal power ended in failure. During the captivity of King John in England, the Dauphin (afterward Charles V.) acted as regent, and was alternately on the side of and opposed to Paris and the States General, of which Marcel was the chief representative. In order to defend Paris, which had outgrown the wall of Philip Augustus, Marcel raised a new line of fortifications around Paris north of the river, for the former ramparts were thought sufficient in the

Université quarter. The new wall included the Louvre, the Temple, and the Bastille, and extended northward as far as the Portes St. Denis and St. Martin. At first Marcel attempted to reconcile the regent with the popular party and the States General, and for a time succeeded. The provost became the actual head of the government in Paris, and established the headquarters of himself and his council in a palace in the Place de Grève,—afterward the Hôtel de Ville. But Marcel was not well supported by the States General, who were jealous of him, nor did the new movement for civic reform command the sympathies of the other great towns.

Finally the breach between the regent and the city increased, and the former withdrew with his party from Paris. It was now open war between the citizens and the regent, who straightway besieged the capital. The provost soon after fell by treachery, and with the death of their leader the cause of the city was irretrievably lost. Three days later the regent entered Paris and took grim vengeance on his enemies. "This attempt to govern France from Paris, in many of its features so like the modern revolutions of that city, failed because there was no civic strength in France, nor any yeoman-class in country places, nor any great patriotic churchmen to keep alive the belief in the nation's life, nor any popular party among the nobles, nor any true germ of parliamentary government. Experience had shown at Ghent, when Jacquemart Van Arteveld perished, that the burgher-nature was not broad enough or strong enough to rule over a nation, or indeed to rule itself; and if it failed there, far less hope for it in Paris."

The Regent-Dauphin, who became king in 1364, though he promised to be one of the worst and most tyrannical of the Valois kings, not only proved himself to be possessed of considerable ability for governing and apt in statesmanship, but actually left France with enlarged boundaries and at peace. It seems that the character of the king was a little enigmatic. He undoubtedly possessed great force of character, though as Dauphin he showed little promise as a ruler of men or as a statesman. "The truth was, he was a shrewd lawyer, patient, unscrupulous, sagacious; and he knew his times. He saw that the day of chivalry was past, that the old forces of the world were wearing themselves out; he knew that by waiting he could outstay them."

Charles embellished and improved his capital, and the chief monuments which Paris owes to the king's love of architecture and engineering were the Hôtel St. Paul, which was to replace the royal castle in the Cité (to be shortly given up to the Parliament), and the Bastile. He also enlarged the Louvre and completed Etienne Marcel's line of fortifications. His love of learning was manifested by the foundation of a royal library, the germ of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

His son Charles VI., who proved a deplorably weak sovereign in spite of his early promise, and who earned the title of Beloved (*le bien aime*) probably more from force of contrast with his much dreaded father than from his personal merits, continued this repressive policy as regards the Paris municipality. In this reign, we first hear of an official called the Provost of Paris, whose function was apparently to act as a counterpoise to the Provost of the Merchants.



**STATUE OF ETIENNE MARCEL.**



The leading event of Charles the Sixth's reign was the internecine warfare between the two hostile parties headed by the Count of Armagnac, who had the support of the burgesses of Paris as well as the nobles, and the Duke of Burgundy, respectively. Though the Burgundians were at first supported by the mob, the other side afterward became (through its opposition to the English, who were then allied with the Burgundians) the National party. In 1420 the marriage of Catherine, daughter of Charles VI. (two years before his death) to Henry V. of England, in accordance with the terms of the famous Treaty of Troyes, brought the English king as regent (Charles VI. being hopelessly insane) to Paris, where he was at first welcomed by the citizens and the Burgundians. The two years' rule of Henry V. was firm and tempered with justice. The death of Henry, followed a few weeks later by that of the unfortunate demented Charles VI., encouraged the party of the Dauphin, but Paris continued to be ruled by the Duke of Bedford as regent for the minor Henry VI. of England, until his death in 1435. In 1431 the young Henry VI. was crowned at Notre Dame at the age of ten.

“The English rule was a mild one, but it was not signalised by the execution of any of those works of utility or ornament so characteristic of the Kings of France. The choir of St. Severin, however, shows a style of architecture peculiarly English, and Sauval relates that the Duke of Bedford erected in the Louvre a fine gallery decorated with paintings. Without assuming the mission of delivering Paris, Joan of Arc, remaining with Charles VII. after his coronation at



Rheims, led him toward the capital, but the badly conducted and abortive enterprise almost proved fatal to the Maid of Orleans, who was severely wounded at the assault of the gate of St. Honoré on the 7th September, 1429." <sup>1</sup>

Jeanne had been badly supported by the royal troops, and was taken prisoner by the Burgundians, who had been left to garrison the city while the Duke of Bedford was holding Rouen. The Burgundians basely handed over the Maid of Domrémy to the English at Rouen, where she was condemned as a witch, and burnt alive at the stake as a "relapsed heretic" in 1431.

"Betrayed by the French court," writes Dean Kitchin, "sold by the Burgundians, murdered by the English, unrescued by the people of France, which she so much loved, Jeanne Darc died the martyr's death, a pious, simple soul, a heroine of the purest metal. She saved her country, for the English power never recovered from the shock. The churchmen who burnt her, the Frenchmen of the unpatriotic past, would have been amazed could they have foreseen that nearly 450 years afterward churchmen would again glorify her name as the saint of the Church, in opposition to both the religious liberties and the national feelings of her country."

The death of the Duke of Bedford was the final blow to the English arms, and on November 12, 1446, Paris tardily opened her gates to her rightful sovereign, Charles VII. The king, however, spent little time in Paris, but when residing in his capital he usually made the Hôtel St. Paul or the Tournelles Palace, which had been acquired by his father, his headquarters. It will be remembered

<sup>1</sup> Anthyme St. Paul.

that the ancient royal residence in the Cité had for some time been made over to the Parliament.

Louis XI., who succeeded to the throne in 1461, though one of the greatest sovereigns of France, and one who has left an indelible mark on French history as the founder of absolute monarchy, did not do much to develop his capital, and, indeed, during the last years of his reign, he never visited Paris, living in gloomy seclusion in the Castle of Plessis-les-Tours. Though not a man of learning, he showed some favour to the university, and it was during his reign that the first printing-press in France was set up in the Sorbonne.

The reign of Charles VIII. inaugurates a new phase of history, in which France begins to play a part in international politics. But the more striking characteristic of the early part of the sixteenth century is the extraordinary influence of Italy on France. Up to this period France had been rather outside the influence of the Renaissance, but the Italian expeditions of Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I. gave a great impetus to the spread of the Renaissance doctrines. "France set forth on a kind of voyage of discovery, and lighted on the new world of Italy, a paradise ablaze with all the glories of intellect and art, and warm with the sunny pleasures of sense. The effect was electrical; she awoke to a strong desire for culture, which showed itself first of all in the royal family and the court."

From Charles V. to Francis I., Paris, though it had not enlarged its boundaries, had made considerable progress architecturally. During this period several new bridges were built, among them the Pont Notre Dame, and portions of the river banks were lined with quays.

Charles V. had even attempted some system of drainage, and sewers were built in the quarter of Paris known as La Ville, where the Menilmontant torrent was utilised for this purpose. These public works were rendered still more necessary by the frequent epidemics of plague which broke out in Paris during the first half of the sixteenth century, — “*la peste fut, pour ainsi dire, en permanence,*” observes a chronicler of the time. Under Francis I. the works for the improvement and adornment of the capital were vigorously continued. The Collège de France, an appropriate institution for the “king of culture” to interest himself in, was founded, and the Churches of St. Germain l’Auxerrois, St. Gervais, and St. Méry were restored. Among the numerous great architectural plans which Francis was only able to begin was the rebuilding of the Louvre and the building of the Hôtel de Ville.

Francis did much to foster the great intellectual and artistic movement which is popularly known as the Renaissance.

The printing-press of Paris was encouraged by the king, and under the management of the famous bibliophiles, the brothers Estrenne, many valuable books were produced. Urged by the Sorbonne, whose influence was very great in all ecclesiastical and educational affairs, the king was compelled, however, to act contrary to his convictions, and “muzzle” the printing trade with a censorship.

But though the artistic and literary progress of the capital, under the earlier “Renaissance kings,” is very marked, its municipal and civic development was crushed and repressed. During all this period no meet-

ings of the States General were summoned, and the royal councils which replaced them were composed of nobles nominated by the king. Taxation was arbitrary and excessive, and occasionally levied by force. Men's thoughts were no more free than their pockets, and any attempt at overt expression of opinion was sternly repressed by the Church and by the lawyers.

The impulse given by the Renaissance to the physiognomy of the capital is very marked, and the influence of this artistic revival is seen in the new churches and palaces which sprung up in Paris during the sixteenth century. The Medician domination can be clearly traced in the architecture of the Louvre and the Luxembourg, in particular. The transition is very abrupt, for of course in France the Renaissance was an exotic growth and was introduced at its full development, whereas in Italy it was a gradual growth.

Francis I., like his predecessors, did not reside much in his capital, preferring his châteaux at Chambord, Fontainebleau, or St. Germain; but when he was in his capital he lived chiefly at the palace of the Tournelles in the Place Royale (now Place des Vosges), which since Charles VII. had replaced the Hôtel St. Paul as the official Paris residence of the sovereigns.

Francis's son, Henry II., who succeeded in 1547, "had all the faults of his father, with a weaker mind." His reign was short, and was put an end to through an accident at a tournament. This entertainment took place at the Hôtel des Tournelles, and was given in honour of the marriage of Elizabeth of France with Philip II. of Spain. The king, who wore the colours of his mistress, Diane de Poitiers, was tilting with Comte

de Montgomery, the captain of the royal body-guard, when his opponent's lance broke and a splinter lodged in the king's eye, the wound proving mortal. After this catastrophe the ill-omened palace was abandoned as a royal residence, and was a few years later razed to the ground by Charles IX. The unfinished Louvre became afterward the royal palace, the Queen-mother Catherine laying the foundation of the Tuileries, then outside the walls, as a lodging for herself.

With the reign of Charles IX. began the long period of civil strife and court factions, in which the *odium theologicum* infused into the intrigues and disputes between the court party and the Huguenots culminated in the awful massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. After the death of Charles IX., in 1574, Paris took an active part in the civil war which the massacre of the Huguenots had precipitated, and sided with the Duke of Guise (who was fondly called the King of Paris by the burghers) and the Catholic League. The ruling spirits of the League were indeed known as the Sixteen of Paris, one representative being chosen for each of the sixteen districts into which Paris was then divided. In 1588, Henry III., who throughout his short reign was never more than king *de jure*, found himself compelled to come to terms with the League, but soon after withdrew to Chartres. Immediately after his escape he broke with the League, had the Duke of Guise assassinated, and marched on Paris, where he was himself assassinated by a fanatical priest. "The king had only time to commend Henry of Navarre to his courtiers as his heir, and to exhort him to become a Catholic, before he closed his eyes, and ended the long roll of his

vices and his crimes. And thus in crime and shame the house of Valois went down."

It will be convenient at this juncture to consider the general aspect of Paris under the last Valois kings. Its population in the time of Henry III. was between half and three-quarters of a million. The principal trading streets were the Rues St. Denis, St. Honoré, St. Martin, and the Pont au Change and the Pont Notre Dame. The former, like the Ponte Vecchio at Florence at the present day, was mainly confined to goldsmiths' shops, and here was collected an amount of rich treasure in the shape of gold and silver ware, jewelry, etc., which was not to be equalled in any other European capital at that time.

The royal representative was the *Prévôt de Paris*, who presided at the Grand Chatelet, facing the Pont au Change, whose portal was still called the Gate of Paris in spite of the expansion of the city, just as in the days when justice was administered and taxes collected by Roman provosts in the name of Cæsar.

This great functionary, the "ears and eyes" of the sovereign, was naturally in chronic conflict with the representative of the civic power at the Hôtel de Ville, the Provost of the Merchants, who was virtually the Mayor of Paris.

The antagonism between the royal and civic magistrates has been perpetuated for centuries in Paris. Indeed, the present rivalry between the representative of the central power, the Prefect of the Seine, and the municipal council — for the mayoralty of Paris is virtually in commission (see chapter on Municipal Paris) — seems a survival of the historic and tra-

ditionary antagonism between the sovereign and the city.

The various religious foundations had also extensive temporal jurisdictions under the Valois kings. They had their prisons, judges, and courts of justice. The most powerful and influential of all these ecclesiastical foundations was that of Ste. Geneviève. Her ecclesiastical court was independent, not only of the Bishop of Paris, but of the Primate. Even the Pope, whenever he visited Paris, repaired to the shrine of Ste. Geneviève, and swore to respect the privileges of her community.

The severe laws which regulated the consumption of food during Lent and on Fridays and other fasts were no doubt due to the influence of the Church. Under Francis I. women were burnt alive for indulging in meat on Fridays!

Up till the sixteenth century the duty of succouring the poor was performed by the Church and the nobles, but under Francis I. a new system of state aid was inaugurated. In 1544 the municipality of Paris started a *Bureau des Pauvres*. This seems to have been the germ of the modern poor laws, so that Francis I., and not our Queen Elizabeth, should perhaps have the credit of the initiation of state relief for the poor. Under the regulation of the new bureau a commission of burghers and ecclesiastics was appointed to collect alms, and to act as relieving officers in the sixteen *quartiers* into which Paris was divided for administrative purposes.

“With equal zeal,” says the author of a history of Paris published in 1725, “did the bureau attack their supplementary task, the repression of mendicancy. They rigidly struck off their lists unworthy claimants

for aid, including those who neglected to wear on the right shoulder the red and yellow cross that was the pauper's badge. Strolling and penniless waifs were returned to their own provinces, 'for Paris cannot support the poor of the whole kingdom.' Able-bodied, but incorrigible, beggars were imprisoned at night, and by day were chained together in couples and taken out to work as scavengers."

Great changes in the social life of the Parisians had taken place by the beginning of the seventeenth century. Little more than a score of years had converted Paris from a town of wood and plaster houses into a substantial stone-built city. The *hôtels* of the richer bourgeois were sometimes four and six stories in height, while the windows were often glazed. The streets were lighted by candles suspended from every first floor window.

Even in the houses of the rich tradesmen silver cups and plates were in common use, while in the houses of the nobles the buffet was loaded with gold and silver utensils, and Turkey carpets in the principal salons replaced the straw and matting of mediæval times.

But though Paris interiors were comparatively clean, the streets were indescribably filthy. The sanitary condition of Paris was, even at the beginning of the seventeenth century, absolutely terrifying. Plagues and other epidemics raged almost continuously. In spite of the *égouts* (sewers), filth and mud lined the streets, and were piled up in heaps against the gates of the churches, and the bodies of criminals suspended from the gateways and gibbets tainted the air. According to the Paris chronicler, Felibien, the clergy would refuse to bury the poor till satisfied that the interests



of the Church had been remembered by the deceased in his last testament.

In the heart of the town, near the Halles, was the Cemetery of the Innocents, the mediæval Père la Chaise. "Here," says Corrozet, "*la terre on dit estre si pourrisante qu'un corps humain y est consommé en neuf jours.*" The burial-ground served as a kind of Alsatia for criminals and desperate characters. "The medical faculty urged the need of closing a burial-ground which was at once a scandal to decency and a danger to the public health, but in vain. A prolongation of its existence was ensured by a method of which the loathsomeness could only be palliated on the score that it provided the Parisians with *très belles et bonnes glaces à représenter la grandeur et l'impertinence de nostre vanité humaine.* The limited area of the cemetery was economised by the erection of eighty arcades. Some of these were the gift of munificent citizens, like Nicolas Flamel, and were decorated in fresco with the legend of *les trois morts et les trois vifs*, or other subjects of a kindred nature. Sheltered by these cloisters, milliners exhibited their wares, promenaders strolled, and women dictated love letters to public scribes, whilst around them labourers pursued their task of interring and disintering the dead. Overhead, supported by the arches, rose, tier upon tier, the *galetas* or open lofts. Thither the older tenants of the tombs were removed in various stages of decay in order to make room for newcomers." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Blanche Hamilton. *Nineteenth Century*, 1886.

## CHAPTER II.

### MONARCHICAL PARIS.

To find a common ancestor to Henry III. and his successor, Henry, King of Navarre, the first of the Bourbon dynasty, we have actually to go back some three hundred and fifty years, to Louis IX. A younger son of this canonised sovereign had married the heiress to the lordship of Bourbon. "The whole pedigree," as Dean Kitchin expresses it so picturesquely and vividly, "is like an ancient oak which dies away bough after bough, until the whole stands stark and bare against the sky of time."

Though historians reckon the reign of Henry IV. from the death of Henry III., the new king did not actually gain possession of his capital till 1594, and, indeed, modern historians are inclined to give the year 1598, when the long struggle with Spain ended, as the commencement of the Bourbon period. If we accept this latter date, it will be seen that the age of the Bourbons covers exactly two centuries. "The year 1598 closes the mediæval history of France; henceforth she takes her part in modern history. The power of the feudal noblesse has passed away; the earlier rivalries between France and Austria take a new character; the centralised absolutist monarchy begins. We are coming to the days of the great ministers,—first Sully, then

Richelieu, lastly Colbert, under whose rule France becomes great, almost in spite of her kings."

On the death of Henry III., Paris and the Catholic League, headed by the Duke of Mayenne, supported the shadowy claim of the *roi phantôme*, Cardinal Bourbon, at that time actually a prisoner in the hands of Henry IV.

The siege of Paris in 1590 was the most severe the capital had ever suffered. Henry kept up a severe blockade during all these weary summer months, and Paris was at its last gasp, when an army sent in haste by the King of Spain compelled the king to raise the siege. It is said that over thirty thousand of the inhabitants perished of hunger during the blockade. The misery was extreme, so scarce was food of all kinds. Indeed, l'Estoile in his "Mémoires" observed, with a touch of grim humour, that the only cheap things in Paris were sermons, for the priests of the League never ceased preaching! The starving population were reduced to such straits that they actually resorted to the charnel-houses and ossuaries of the Cemetery of the Innocents, and attempted to make a kind of paste of the bones of their ancestors, which they ground to powder; but

"Ce détestable mets avance leur trépas,  
Et ce repas pour eux fut le dernier repas."

Even these horrors of famine did not check the irrepressible light-heartedness and frivolity of the Parisians, who promptly nicknamed this horrible food, "Le pain de Madame de Montpensier."

In 1593 the most momentous act of Henry's reign, the abjuration of his Protestant faith, was mooted by the

king's advisers as the quickest means of gaining Paris and, by that means, France. It has been cynically said that a five hours' sermon from the Archbishop of Bourges did more to bring about the conversion of the king than all the arguments of his councillors and persuasions of his court! After this the king could hold out no longer; he declared himself convinced, and attended mass at St. Denis in state.

No doubt the conversion was obviously insincere, and prompted solely by motives of state, but the abjuration was all the same a wise and successful policy. The credit of the historical epigram attributed to Henry IV. (*Paris vaut bien une messe*), though it probably expressed the opinion of the royal pervert, should be given to his minister, De Rosny (afterward Duc de Sully), who was certainly a statesman first, and a churchman afterward. Probably Henry was more indifferent than actually skeptical in religious questions, and a broad spirit of toleration is at the bottom of another saying attributed to him, "that a man may be saved in either religion."

That statecraft, at all events, justified this change of faith, is shown by the immediate results. City after city opened their gates to the Catholic sovereign, and, a month after the coronation at Chartres, Paris received her king with the greatest enthusiasm, and, indeed, the capital has always remained faithful to his memory. Like our Henry VIII., the genial King of Navarre has always been the favourite hero of the Parisians.

Under Henry IV. the rebuilding and embellishment of the Louvre — the great hobby of so many French sovereigns — was energetically prosecuted, and the famous Galerie d'Apollon was added to this immense

palace. This monarch was, however, the last to use the Louvre as a regular residence. To be accurate, it was not so much the Louvre (which was practically finished) with which Henry IV. occupied himself, but the gallery connecting the Louvre and Catherine de Medici's unfinished palace, the Tuileries, which was then just outside the walls. It is supposed that the king built this long gallery to enable him to escape, in the event of the Louvre being attacked. He was not, however, destined to test the efficacy of this means of retreat, as he fell by the assassin's knife in 1610.

But the building by which Henry IV. will chiefly be remembered is the famous Pont Neuf, now the oldest bridge in Paris. The Pont Neuf is one of the best known and most characteristic monuments of Paris, and, at the time, it was thought one of the greatest engineering enterprises of the day. Though begun in 1578, it was not completed till 1604. "Of late years, the noble and beautiful proportions of the bridge have been considerably injured by the lowering of the platform, and new arches being constructed at a lower level than the old ones. Still the bridge, with its twelve round-headed arches and massive cornices, is most picturesque, and, with the varied outline of the tall houses and the gray cathedral behind it, and the feathery green of its island trees glittering against the purple shadows in the more distant windings of the river, it still forms the most beautiful scene in the capital." <sup>1</sup>

Few thoroughfares in Paris were formerly more frequented than this historic bridge. In fact, as an artery of traffic, it corresponds to Charing Cross, Lon-

<sup>1</sup> A. J. C. Hare.

don, and it used to be a saying with the Paris police that if a man who was wanted was not seen after three days' watching of the bridge, he must have left Paris.

Though it is these two great works which especially justify the claim of the first of the Bourbons to be considered one of the makers of Paris, yet the most noteworthy feature in the architectural development of the capital during the sixteenth century was the number of large mansions built by the great nobles and rich burghers on the left bank of the river, while on the right side (La Ville) the growth of commerce gave considerable impetus to building, and the extra-mural suburbs (which had sprung up outside the ramparts of Etienne Marcel) were consequently enclosed within a new bastioned enceinte.

It was on his way to visit his minister, Sully, at the Arsenal, that the greatest king of the Bourbon dynasty fell a victim to Ravallac's dagger.

The commercial and economical results of his reign are thus summed up by Voltaire: "Justice is reformed, and — far harder task! — the two religions live in peace to all appearance. Agriculture is encouraged; as Sully said, 'Plough and cow, these are the breasts of France, whereat she sucks; they are the true mines and treasures of Peru.' Commerce and the arts, which Sully cared for less, were still honoured; gold and silver stuffs enriched Lyons and France. Henry established manufactures of tapestry; French glass after the Venetian style began to be made. To him alone France owes the silk-worm and the mulberry, in spite of Sully. It was Henry who dug the canal which joins the Seine and the Loire. Under him Paris grew and grew fair; he built the Place

Royale, he rebuilt the old bridges. Before his day the St. Germain suburb was not connected with the town, nor improved; he saw to that. He built that fine bridge on which every Frenchman, as he passes, still looks with emotion on his statue. St. Germain, Monceaux, Fontainebleau, above all the Louvre, were enlarged, almost rebuilt by him. He established in his long gallery in the Louvre artists of all kinds, and encouraged them frequently with his presence as well as his presents."

Louis XIII., who at the time of his father's death was a child of nine, signalised his majority at the age of thirteen by summoning the States General to meet at Paris, — not to be convoked again till the eve of the Revolution. This body was the nearest approach to the English Parliament that France possessed. But the word in France has always signified a law court, though the Parliament of Paris — for there were provincial parliaments — claimed a semblance of constitutional power as the registrar of the royal edicts. Nothing of national importance was effected by the States General, and after a short and disturbed session it was dissolved, not to meet again till 1789.

Louis XIII. continued the construction of the Tuileries, but none of the Bourbon sovereigns after Henry IV. lived much in the capital. Other important architectural embellishments of the capital during the reign of Louis XIII. were the Palais Royal (built by Richelieu for his Paris hôtel), the churches Val de Grâce, St. Etienne du Mont, St. Eustache (completed), and St. Paul et St. Louis. Then the magnificent Salle des Pas Perdus was added to the Palais de Justice, and many

fine streets and hôtels were built on the Island of St. Louis, hitherto occupied by gardens and meadows.

Owing to the expansion of Paris, which had long outgrown Marcel's ramparts, the fortifications were extended and enlarged so as to enclose the Tuileries, and, crossing the place now known as the Place de la Concorde to the Madeleine, followed the line of the actual boulevards to the Bastille. The walls were fortified with a regular system of curtains and bastions, and surrounded by a moat, which was partially filled with water. South of the river a new line of boulevards was built, by which the quarters of the Luxembourg, St. Germain des Prés, and the Invalides were now included in the Paris boundaries, but it was not till the next reign that these promenades were completed and lined with avenues of trees. In 1702, the capital was divided into twenty *quartiers*, later called *arrondissements*.

Though the king slighted Paris, and resided there as little as possible, his absenteeism was fortunately not followed by the nobility. Numerous magnificent town houses (*hôtels*) were built at this epoch, many of which still remain to give the foreigner an idea of the progress in the architectural development which Paris had made under the *Grand Monarque*. The most noted of these mansions were the Hôtel de Richelieu, Hôtel de Bouillon, Hôtel Mazarin (now Bibliothèque Nationale), Hôtel de Rambouillet (famed for its salon), and the Hôtel Lambert.

Three important institutions were founded in this reign, the Académie Française, the Jardin des Plantes, and the Royal Printing Press.

The increasing importance of Paris as an ecclesiastical



centre is shown by the see being raised to an archbishopric. It was formed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Sens.

The young King Louis XIV. was for the first few years of his reign under the strict tutelage of the queen mother (Anne of Austria) and Mazarin, and continued to be more or less subservient to these joint rulers of France for some years after his being formally proclaimed king in 1652; but it was not till the year following that he took the reins of government into his own hand. This was at the time of the curious civil war known as the Fronde, which, entered upon with more or less definite aims against the absolutism of the throne, degenerated into an intricate series of faction fights, in which the court party, the reactionist nobles, with the burghers of Paris, took part. This burlesque revolt, in which Cardinal de Retz and the Duc de Condé were the chief leaders against the throne, — a sort of revolution *pour rire*, — ended in the triumph of the royal party, headed by Mazarin. The Paris Parliament took an active part in the popular movement, which indeed at first had its home in Paris alone.

Certainly the capital did not lack grievances against Mazarin and his ministers. Mazarin's fiscal policy was at all events simple and definite. It consisted in raising the taxes all around, and when this did not produce a sufficient revenue, he invented new taxes. Thus, in 1648, he levied a duty on all house-occupiers in Paris, and even went so far as to tax the necessaries of life, a form of taxation which has always excited the most strenuous resistance in every country in Europe.

The Parliament, on behalf of the citizens, denied the

right of the king to levy such a tax. So universal was the hatred of the new impost that half a hundred thousand men, out of a population of not more than half a million, flew to arms and raised barricades.

The coadjutor of the Archbishop of Paris (better known by his title of Cardinal de Retz, to which dignity he was subsequently raised) made common cause with the city, and became the principal leader of the new movement.

The Parliament of Paris was not fitted for the part it had to play, and lost the excellent opportunity this outbreak afforded it of obtaining some form of parliamentary government for Paris, and, indeed, for France, instead of the absolute monarchism to which the nation was for a century and a half yet to be subjected. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Parliament had passed almost completely under the rule of the lawyers, the clergy having been prohibited from sitting from the time of Philip V. It was, moreover, now quite distinct from the king's Great Council. Consequently, its influence and importance had greatly declined.

It was, however, Louis XII., the Father of his Country, who unintentionally limited the efficiency of the Paris Parliament by insisting on its members being learned. This necessarily excluded the nobles, who, as a class, despised letters. From that time the Parliament became merely an assembly of lawyers, and the registration of the royal decrees became its only non-legal function. In short, as is well expressed by Dean Kitchin, "It was a body dried up by narrow prejudices; it raised its voice in condemnation of every salutary novelty; it loved all vested interests; in behalf of the

scribes it objected vehemently to the introduction of the printing-press in the fifteenth century; it resisted the establishment of the French Academy; it pronounced in favour of Aristotle against modern chemistry."

This body, hidebound in tradition, and instinctively conservative, was scarcely fitted to pose as the champion of French liberties, and it is not surprising that the control of this rebellion fell gradually into the hands of the burghers of Paris, and the brilliant throng of nobles and dames, who had taken up the popular cause more as a distraction than a real desire for constitutional liberty. Consequently, the war degenerated into a mere partisan struggle against the court party.

Eventually the citizens of Paris made overtures to the queen mother, and a treaty was signed in 1649, which brought the first phase of the struggle to an end.

Soon after war broke out again, but its character was changed. The new Fronde was little more than a quarrel between Condé and Mazarin, of the noblesse and court parties respectively, in which the Parliament and Paris took little part at first.

The various intrigues and intricate schemings of this second struggle between the Frondeurs and the court are difficult to follow, but, fortunately, they are not of great historical significance.

There was now a change in the attitude of Paris. The magistrates and leading citizens were disposed to resist Condé, who was being driven back on Paris by Turenne and the royal troops. But as the mob was on his side, the "party of order" had to give way. A terrible massacre of the latter now took place, the Hôtel de Ville being invaded by the populace, shouting "*Mort aux*

*Mazarins!*” in which some fifty of the magistrates and leading burghers lost their lives.

The magistracy soon, however, got the upper hand, aided by De Retz, and came to terms with the royalists, and in October, 1653, the king returned to his capital.

On one or two occasions, during the extraordinarily long reign of the Great Monarch, the Parliament appears to have been roused to a sense of its uselessness. For instance, during the terrible famine of 1709, the Parliament offered to assist in an inquiry as to the hoarding of corn, but received an intimation from the king that its proper business was hearing lawsuits.

For the greater part of this “burlesque war,” as Michelet calls it, in which more epigrams than balls were fired off, the young king and the queen mother lived chiefly at St. Germain.

But throughout the reign of Louis XIV. Paris was seldom the residence of the court, the king preferring St. Germain, Versailles, or Fontainebleau.

The colossal pile at Versailles, which was the chief architectural hobby of Louis, as the Louvre was of his immediate predecessors, was begun in 1661, the palace at St. Germain being insufficient for the *Grand Monarque's* immense *entourage*. The site was notoriously ill chosen for a royal palace, though perhaps it hardly deserves the contemptuous epithets of Saint-Simon in his famous diatribe against this château.

Versailles, indeed, became the one absorbing enterprise of Louis, and most of the architectural plans for the embellishment of his capital (including the Great Gallery of the Louvre) were postponed or discontinued altogether, in order that the attention of his architects

and artists might be concentrated on the building and embellishing of the largest palace in the world. Certainly the celerity with which this palace was constructed compares curiously with the building of the Louvre. The cost from first to last was fabulous, and though authorities differ widely in their estimates of the expenditure, the most moderate is no less than nine million pounds.<sup>1</sup> Considering that an army of some thirty-six thousand workmen and decorators were employed, the estimate does not seem excessive. There is some colour for popular tradition that Louis had the accounts destroyed for very shame!

Colbert, who, on the death of Mazarin in 1661, had become the chief adviser of Louis, — with Colbert, M. Clement aptly remarks, the spirit of the great cardinal (Richelieu) came back to power, — ventured a remonstrance on the prodigal expenditure on the king's favourite palace. "I entreat your Majesty to allow me to say two words as to the reflections I often make on this subject, and to be pleased to forgive my zeal. That building is far more a question of your Majesty's amusement than of your Majesty's credit. . . . Yet if your Majesty seeks where the five hundred thousand crowns are gone, which have been spent there the last two years, your Majesty will have great difficulty in finding them. Whilst your Majesty has spent such great sums on this building, the Louvre has been neglected. . . ."

"Ah, what a pity that the greatest and most virtuous king, of that true virtue which is the stuff of the

<sup>1</sup> For purposes of comparison it may be noted that the building and rebuilding of Eaton Hall, one of the largest nobleman's seats in Great Britain, cost, in one century, two million pounds.



**NAVE OF CHURCH OF THE MADELEINE.**

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greatest princes, should be measured by the yards of Versailles!"

The social and economical condition of Paris at the close of Louis the Fourteenth's reign was deplorable. The general wretchedness of the mass of the populace, intensified by contrast with the external glories of the capital, was mainly owing to the enormous taxation to meet the prodigal expenditure of the court, and was perhaps even greater than under Henry III. The burden of taxation on the poor was indeed more oppressive, owing to the enormous number of nobles and other privileged persons exempt from taxation,—here, indeed, is foreshadowed one of the primary causes of the national discontent which ultimated in the Revolution.

A terrible famine decimated the city in 1654. At this time the citizens were reduced to such straits for food that even the animals in the Royal Menagerie at the Jardin des Plantes were put on half rations, a chronicler of the court is careful to observe!

Louis XIII. had taken all political power from the noblesse, and a withdrawal, also, of their most valued privilege, exemption from taxation, would perhaps mean organised opposition of the nobles, with whom even the court might make common cause. Consequently, Paris, outwardly brilliant and splendid with its magnificent public monuments and palaces, was in reality but a whited sepulchre. "The tax-gatherer and the privileged consumers steadily ate out the vitals of France; as one has seen in insects, the wings and brilliant exterior remained after the body was gone."

The Grand Siècle is the age of great wars of conquest, and the munificent history of Paris is naturally



in an age when the magistracies were intimidated, and all civic life and individuality systematically repressed under the despotic centralisation which was the ruling principle of the state.

But though civic institutions stagnated, and the poorer classes were in a most destitute condition, the commercial and industrial development of the city was steadily fostered by Colbert, who, for nearly twenty years, was virtually the first minister of Louis. To Colbert, indeed, is due the credit popularly given to Louis of being one of the makers of Paris.

Among the monumental buildings which this reign added to Paris are the Hôtel des Invalides, the Observatory, the famous Colonnade of the Louvre, Pont Royal, the Place des Victoires, the Place du Carrousel, etc.

The remains of the old fortifications on the northern side of the Seine were levelled, and on their site were built the fine promenades from the Madeleine to the Bastille, known as the Grand Boulevards, decorated with triumphal arches at intervals, of which two remain, the Porte St. Denis, and the Porte St. Martin.

It cannot be said that Colbert loved art and architecture for its own sake. Like Richelieu, he encouraged the liberal arts as a means of raising the prestige of France. He built palaces and founded public institutions in the interests of national industry. The Gobelins and the Savonnerie were established in order that they might be a unique source of advantage to the people.

“Glass workers were brought from Venice, and lace makers from Flanders, that they might yield to France the secrets of their skill. Palaces and public buildings were to afford commissions for French artists, and a

means of technical and artistic education for all those employed on them. The royal collections were but a further instrument in educating the taste and increasing the knowledge of the working classes. The costly factories of the Savonnerie and the Gobelins were practical schools, in which every detail of every branch of all those industries which contribute to the furnishing and decoration of houses was brought to perfection, whilst a band of chosen apprentices was trained in the adjoining schools.”<sup>1</sup>

The Gobelins, whose name now suggests a state manufactory of tapestry, was under Colbert a far more important and comprehensive establishment. Its official title — Manufacture des Meubles de la Couronne — sufficiently indicates its scope during its most flourishing period. “Here were manufactured the splendid services of plate, of costly inlaid cabinets, of carven frames, and of gilded couches. Here also were produced the storied hangings, with which the name of the old hôtel is identified; but the looms were never more merrily active than when the sculptor’s mallet and the hammer of the smith were resounding under the same roof; when the weaver wove his costly web to the tune of the lapidary’s file, whilst the saw and chisel made constant chorus in his ears.”

The death of Colbert, in 1683, was a crushing blow to the industrial and commercial development of Paris, and so was the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, regarded merely from an economical point of view. The Huguenots comprised the flower of the trading and industrial classes, and, by their expulsion, France lost nearly a quarter of a million of its best citizens, out of a total

<sup>1</sup> Lady Dilke. “Art in the Modern State.”

population of not more than fourteen millions. Probably Colbert, had he lived, would have prevented this measure. He, at all events, would have foreseen the indirect result of so short-sighted and suicidal a policy, which, in its way, did as much harm to the French nation as the expulsion of the Moors from Spain by Ferdinand.

Paris had become a great literary and intellectual centre by the end of the seventeenth century. The Golden Age of Literature does not, however, quite synchronise with the Grand Siècle of Louis XIV. In fact, the great gulf between the two periods of the literary activity in the seventeenth century lies between the age of Richelieu and the period between the death of Mazarin and the end of the century. The true Golden Age of the seventeenth century is that of Richelieu. During the second period, literature lacked fire and originality and became cold and classical; in short, it might almost be said that matter gave way to manner.

It was, however, the most splendid period of the French drama. "France has always been proud of her stage, little as we may admire its pedantic limitations, its unnatural heroics, and the frigidity of some of its finest efforts; we feel that we are among those who have thought Addison's 'Cato' far superior to Shakespeare. Still, in its own style, French tragedy produced masterpieces. The great Corneille wrote the 'Cid' in 1636, 'les Horaces' and 'Cinna' in 1639. Molière belonged to both ages; his 'Précieuses Ridicules' appeared in 1659, 'l'Ecole des Maris' in 1661, while the 'Médecin Malgré Lui' (1666) and 'Tartuffe' (1667) belong to Louis XIV. Racine's earlier period and the best part of

him extends to 1677 ; after that he fell under royal influence, wrote nothing for some years, and afterward became the quasi-religious poet of the court." <sup>1</sup>

Indeed the capital seems to have undergone at this epoch a kind of aftermath of the Renaissance. Among the great writers to whom Paris can boast of having given birth are Molière, Boileau, Scarron, Saint-Simon, and Rollin, the historian.

In painting and architecture, few great names can be reckoned, and when we mention Le Brun, Lafosse, Noël, Mansard (whence Mansard roof), Claude Perrault, and the famous landscape gardener, Le Nôtre, we have practically exhausted the list.

The population of Paris toward the end of the seventeenth century was about half a million, and a sort of unofficial census, taken about that time, gave over twenty-five thousand houses and some five hundred streets which were classified as *grandes rues*. A foreign traveller, who published his impressions of Paris during the Grand Siècle, gave a naïve and amusing picture of the wealth and luxury of the greatest Continental capital at that time. "All Paris," he wrote, "is but one vast *hôtellerie* ; from early morning to night the kitchen fires are burning. Inns and *cabarets* and cook-shops are seen on every side. So great is the luxury that, were it necessary to destroy Paris, its resources and supplies would feed and enrich three hundred ordinary towns." The writer waxes indignant at the enormous number of shops where only luxuries are sold, by which we gather that even at that period there was a large traffic in what are loosely but conveniently classed as *articles de Paris*. The curious

<sup>1</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica.

on such matters will find in the pages of the chronicler Sauval very elaborate statistics showing the commercial importance and extent of trade in the capital, and, though the figures may seem rather dry reading to some, yet these statistics convey a good idea of the wealth and commercial standing of Paris at the end of the seventeenth century.

“In the six corporations of merchants were 2,752 masters, and about 5,000 employés. In the 1,551 companies of artisans were 17,080 masters, 38,000 workmen, and 6,000 apprentices. Street porters and wood and water carriers numbered 4,100. There were 4,000 hackney-coaches, and as many horses, and there were 482,400 men capable of bearing arms.” Here it is to be feared that our statistical chronicler has “nodded,” for most historians agree in fixing the total population of Paris, at that time, at about half a million, so it is obvious that it could not produce so large a fighting force. He goes on to describe the total amount of food consumed in a year by this great city, — 500 hogsheads of salt, 800 casks of mackerel, the same amount of salmon and of cod, 20,000 barrels of herrings, 19,000 hogsheads of charcoal, 27,000 pigs, 50,000 oxen, 70,000 calves, 416,000 sheep, 80,200 hogsheads of barley; while, for the cattle and horses in the city, 16,000 hogsheads of oats and six million trusses of hay would be required.

Cafés were introduced in this reign, the famous Café Procope (described elsewhere) being the first of these establishments, whose popularity was so decided from the first that in a few years, it is said, there were more than six hundred in Paris. Restaurants, however, did not come into vogue till the Revolution.

The next fifty years, under the unspeakably depraved Louis XV.,— in some respects perhaps the worst king the nation ever had,— is a period of national decadence. There is little to record in the history of Paris during this dark period. All municipal life was as sternly repressed as under Louis XIV. That effete body, the Parliament of Paris, on only one occasion bore any share in the political history of France, when, in 1762, abetted, strange to say, by Madame de Pompadour, it took the initiative in suppressing the Order of the Jesuits. This, however, proved to be an expiring effort of this moribund institution, for on the death of its patron, Madame de Pompadour, and the rise to power of Louis's new mistress, Madame du Barry, the Parliament lost its only support at court. In 1770 the king dissolved it, and replaced the members with his own nominees.

The topography of the capital during the eighteenth century is not much changed. The sovereign, whose residence in the capital was confined to a few occasional visits to the Tuileries, which had become the official seat of the monarchy, disliked his capital, and his regular residence was Versailles.

The only important monuments built during this reign are the Place Louis XV. (Place de la Concorde), Palais de l'Elysée, Palais Bourbon, the Mint, and the Churches of St. Roch and Ste. Geneviève, and during the regency of the Duke of Orleans a considerable portion of the Palais Royal was rebuilt.

By the middle of the eighteenth century a curious change took place in the character of the Paris populace. One result of the terrible destitution of the peasants and

their oppression by the nobles and other privileged classes had been a great influx of the country population to the capital. "Paris was no longer a mere court-seat or city of pleasure, she had gradually become a great manufacturing centre, and into her flowed crowds of dissatisfied or starving folk from all the country round. This immigration went on down to the great outbreak. It largely increased the city population, provided the rough material for the excesses of the Revolution, and helped to stamp the mark of Paris on the whole republican movement. It is hardly too much to say that the want of money at court, combined with the want of food in the cottage, brought about the explosion. These were the social and physical conditions of ferment."

The first important act of Louis XVI., on his accession, was to recall the Parliament to Paris. But the relations between the court and this anomalous institution soon became strained. The Parliament seems, indeed, to have striven to take an active part in practical politics, and vigorously protested against the arbitrary measures of the king's ministers, especially the *lettre de cachet* system, but without success, probably because, owing to its pretensions, it had never been able to obtain the support of the nation. Finally, the king had recourse to an imitation of his grandfather's *coup d'état*, and exiled the Parliament to Troyes. Here this venerable body vegetated throughout all the troublous times which preceded the summoning of the States General. The convoking of this Assembly the Parliament, by a kind of self-denying ordinance, had indeed done their best to bring about.

The Parliament continued *en vacances*, as it was offi-

cially termed, till March, 1790, when it was formally abolished by a decree of that very Assembly which it helped to create, on the unanswerable plea that the nation had had no voice in the election of its members. The view held by the Assembly was that, though the Parliament had often in former times proved itself of service to the state in resisting the encroachments of the royal power and its attacks on the liberties of the nation, now the existence of this body was rendered unnecessary. It was also to some extent a danger to the state on account of the inevitable rivalry which would arise between the National Assembly and the Parliament, should this ancient institution be resuscitated and its powers and privileges be restored.

The system of a continuous fortified rampart for the defence of Paris, which ever since Philippe Auguste had resulted in the successive enceintes already described, was discontinued. Paris, it was thought, needed no such defence, the frontiers of France being surrounded with a triple belt of detached forts by Vauban,— a system, which, so far as regards the outer enceinte, was reverted to by the military engineers of Louis Philippe. In accordance with this new principle of defence, most of the remains of the ancient walls were pulled down, and the site built over. The new barrier was formed of avenues of trees, which formed an *enceinte pacifique* of the capital.

In 1782 the crying need of money induced Louis XVI., on the urgent representation of his farmers-general, who realised that the new scheme would result in a larger return from the octroi duties on comestibles entering the city, to enclose with a bastioned wall, the



new faubourg which had sprung up outside the line of exterior boulevards of Louis XIII. This wall, which was pierced with over fifty gates (called *barrières*) for octroi purposes, remained till 1860.<sup>1</sup>

The material progress that Paris made under Louis XVI. is apt to be overlooked during a period of such intense historical and even dramatic interest. But the following additions to the monumental history of the capital should be noted: The Churches of St. Philippe du Roule and St. Louis d'Antin; the Hospitals of St. Méry and La Rochefoucauld; the Necker and Beaujon Institutions for the Blind and Deaf-mutes. The Schools of Medicine, Surgery, Mines, and Music also date from this reign. Some real steps toward a better sanitation of Paris were taken by cleansing and draining the prisons, and removing the bodies of those buried in the intramural cemeteries, such as that of the Innocents, to the cemeteries outside the walls. The Pont Louis XVI. (Pont de la Concorde) was added to the Paris bridges, and the Pont Neuf and other bridges were rendered more useful, though certainly less picturesque, by pulling down the shops and houses which lined them.

Louis XVI. tried to stem the current of the national sentiment which was gradually veering toward some kind of popular representation by summoning an Assembly of Notables. This timid half measure naturally did not satisfy the nation, and finally the convocation of the States General was forced upon the king.

The first meeting was on May 5, 1789, and, though the formal abolition of the monarchy and the creation

<sup>1</sup> The *jeu de mot* this gave rise to is often quoted: "Le mur murant Paris rend Paris murmurant."

of the Republic did not take place till September, 1793, yet from the date of the king's flight to Varennes (June 20, 1791) to join the army of the *émigrés*, which was, of course, actually as well as technically an act of treason toward the government, the monarchy was doomed.

## CHAPTER III.

### REVOLUTIONARY PARIS.

THE secession of the Third Estate from the States General, and their assumption of the title of National Assembly on June 17, 1789, forms, then, the starting-point of the great social, political, and economical movement known as the French Revolution. This great national upheaval "surpasses all other revolutions the world has seen, in its completeness, the largeness of its theatre, the long preparation for it, the enunciation by it of new points of view in politics, its swift degradation into imperialism, and its influence on the modern history of Europe."

The date of the commencement of the Revolution differs, however, according to the particular standpoint of the inquirer, and must necessarily remain somewhat arbitrary; but the best modern authorities are inclined to the view that either the 17th of June, 1789, when the Third Estate formally declared itself the National Assembly, or the date of the famous tennis-court oath, three days later, when the Assembly, changing its name to the more significant Constitutional Assembly, swore that they would not separate till "the constitution of the kingdom had been established and confirmed on solid foundations," forms the best starting-point. As for the date popularly, but erroneously, assigned for the

genesis of the Revolution, the taking of the Bastille (July 14, 1789), this has little historical significance, the outbreak being merely a spasmodic and spontaneous one which had no really important results, though it certainly put an end to all ideas of marching the army on Paris, which had been entertained by the court. In fact, its importance is mainly sentimental, as embodying the overthrow of the ancient and effete institutions of a tyrannical monarchy.

The fixing of any precise date as a chronological landmark has, however, its dangers. It is misleading, and is apt to give one an absolutely erroneous impression of the permanent character of the French Revolution. It is important to remember that it was not a sudden isolated and inexplicable social revolution, but the logical result of tendencies which had been influencing the nation for centuries, and the natural outcome of the national life, like the wars of religion under the last of the Valois kings. It has been well said by Taine that France had for centuries been preparing for the Revolution, and that for centuries she would feel the effects of it. Possibly even Louis XV., with his "*Après nous le déluge,*" had some vague prescience of the doom of the monarchy.

Though we are here confined to a sketch of the history of Paris, and not that of France, yet it will be necessary to deal rather more fully with the revolutionary and Napoleonic epochs than with other periods, for the history of Paris is now virtually that of France, and Paris was both the fountain and the cradle of the Revolution.

It is impossible, however, to do more than give the

merest outline sketch of the development of this national movement, of which each phase alone would require several volumes if it were to be dealt with at all adequately. All those who wish to study this fascinating period of French history, who have not the time to refer to the standard French authorities, such as Sorel's "*L'Europe et la Revolution Française*," should, however, not omit to read Mr. Morse Stephens's work, which is perhaps the best and most reliable introduction to a period which of all periods in ancient and modern history is the richest in bibliography.

In studying the Revolution, the first questions that seem to demand an answer are what brought it about and why did it break out at that particular time. It is, of course, difficult to tabulate briefly the causes of the French Revolution, they are so numerous and complex. But the two principal political causes were certainly (1) the inequality of taxation, owing to the enormous number of privileged classes, such as the noblesse and the clergy, who were exempt from nearly all taxation, so that the chief burthen of taxation fell on those least able to pay; (2) absence of any constitutional check on the arbitrary rule of the sovereign.

These two abuses might indeed be summed up by the phrase, lack of a constitution. It was this crying need of a constitution that the Constitutional Assembly set about attempting to remedy at its very first sitting. The French "*People's Charter*," if definitely promulgated, would have included the following "*points*," — to follow the English parallel in the great Chartist agitation :

- (1) Individual liberty.

- (2) Inviolability of property.
- (3) Equality of taxation.
- (4) No taxation without consent of the nation.

In 1792 a fifth essential of the constitution was added,—that the sovereignty should be vested in the nation.

Then there were underlying motive powers not so apparent, which may be summarised thus :

(1) The ferment of modern ideas of political liberty in all civilised countries, as manifested more especially by the American War of Independence.

(2) Then the influence of the great writers of the eighteenth century, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Montesquieu, etc., in impregnating France, and, through France, the whole of Europe, must not be forgotten. The cardinal maxim that government existed for the public good, and the doctrine of the necessity of preserving man's natural freedom in conjunction with public security and well being, are vigorously upheld in their writings. These works influenced the development of the Revolution and extended its principles, but it is thought by some historians of the modern school that the influence of these writers exerted on the outbreak of the Revolution has been overrated.

“The causes of the movement were chiefly economical and political, not philosophical or social ; its rapid development was due to historical circumstances, and mainly to the attitude of the rest of Europe.”

To come to the more immediate causes of the fall of the monarchy, which lie more on the surface,—the widespread influence of the revolutionary clubs, such as the Jacobins and Cordeliers, and the obstinacy, weakness,

and general incapacity of Louis XVI. and the unpopularity in Paris of his queen.

Then the fall of Louis XVI. was unquestionably precipitated by the death of Mirabeau, the ill-judged flight to Varennes of the royal family, and the threatening attitude of the Austrian government, which compelled France to declare war.

In 1790 Paris asserted itself and became the seat of government, the National Assembly withdrawing, on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, from Versailles, where the military and court influence endangered the liberty of the people's representatives. Then, on October 5th, Paris became also the residence of the court, the king having found it necessary to comply with the demands of the Paris mob, who had marched out to Versailles, headed by the Dames of the Halles. "Thus Paris at one blow gained the ascendant over both king and Assembly, and the Revolution entered at once on a new phase. Changes will become easier, the seat of government and movement being narrowed to one city."

Louis XVI. was welcomed at the gates of Paris by the mayor, Bailly, with the not altogether felicitous parallel between Louis XVI. and Henry IV., which has become historic. It was to the effect that "Henry IV. had reconquered Paris, but now Paris has reconquered its king." Events showed that the parallel was even more exact than the worthy mayor intended, for from the date of the flight to Varennes (June 20, 1791), Louis's position in his capital unpleasantly resembled that of a state prisoner on parole.

At this time the exodus of the noble *émigrés*, headed by some of the king's relatives, began. This naturally

exasperated the constitutionalists, who recognised that this movement on the part of the noblesse, whose enmity to the National Assembly was well known, was fraught with the gravest danger to the throne. "The Revolution had been born only six months, yet already it had entered upon a new phase. In the beginning political and social merely, it had now assumed a national and patriotic character, and, in the light of these new sentiments, the attitude of the king and nobles, by giving rise to a suspicion, not merely of retrograde tendencies, but also of high treason, intensified the popular irritation, and drove the government into arbitrary acts of defence against the rising peril from without. This was the origin of the various repressive measures which culminated in the Reign of Terror. The idea of liberty, growing ever fainter, was gradually superseded by a dictatorship, and an excessive centralisation of authority which, after serving the ends of the Committee of Public Salvation, resulted in a military despotism."<sup>1</sup>

The attitude taken by the king toward the first National Assembly was irritating and inconsistent. He tried to trim between the moderate or constitutional and the extreme parties, but it appears that the attack on the spiritual liberties of the clergy by the decree of the civil constitution of the clergy determined him to depend more on Lafayette, Mirabeau, and the moderates. Unfortunately, Mirabeau (who was perhaps the one man who might have reconciled the court and the Assembly) died early in 1791.

In insisting upon the civil constitution of the clergy, the Assembly affronted the public sentiment, and the

<sup>1</sup> André Lebon.



measure is not easy to defend even from a political and non-religious standpoint. To suppress the hated privileges of the clergy along with those of the aristocracy met with the approval of all except the court party, but, by usurping the control of the spiritual powers and privileges, it provoked a resistance which was, in many parts, followed by civil war. "Protestants," observes M. André Lebon, "especially English Protestants, must have a difficulty in realising the horror inspired in Roman Catholics by the spectacle of a purely lay power interfering in questions of ecclesiastical discipline and hierarchy."

Soon after this measure had been voted, Louis determined upon taking flight and putting himself under the protection of the army of the *émigrés*. After this fatal mistake, the breach between the king and the Assembly was irreparable, but there was as yet no open attack on the monarchy, and the royal veto was still occasionally exercised.

In the new Assembly, known as the Legislative Assembly, which sat from October 1, 1791, to September 20, 1792, the Girondists were the most influential party. The features of the campaign in Belgium against the Austrian troops were the opportunity of the extreme party, and the "Mountain" allied itself with the Paris Municipality, and organised the insurrection of the 10th August. The "Sections" attacked and sacked the Tuileries, obliging the royal family to take shelter with the Legislative Assembly, which refuge they left, not for a palace, but a prison.

The Paris Commune, which had replaced the municipal organisation of the capital, was now the sovereign

power, and completely dominated the Assembly. The terrible scenes of the September massacres, for which Marat was responsible, were a fit prelude to the awful reign of the Terror soon to be inaugurated. The National Convention, in which the influence of the revolutionary clubs was supreme, had replaced the Legislative Assembly, and lost no time in constitution making. It simply declared (September 21, 1792) *sans phrase*, the abolition of royalty in France, and as a necessary corollary it proclaimed the Republic.

Early in January the trial and conviction of Louis XVI. absorbed all attention. The king was unanimously declared guilty of conspiring against the nation, and his death was voted by 387 to 338 in favour of a milder punishment. By this act the Republic "threw down the glove to all Europe." The party of the Girondists, who had tried in a half-hearted way to save, at all events, the life of the king, gradually lost its influence, and the struggle between these timid constitutionalists and Robespierre, supported by the clubs, was brought to a head by their being innocently implicated in Dumouriez's counter-revolutionary plots. Though the Girondists had actually a majority in the Convention, the party of the Mountain nullified this by the establishment of a Committee of Public Safety (a creature of the clubs) for the trial of all enemies of the Republic. The new municipality (Commune) of Paris was gained over by Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, and their following of the Mountain, and, rising against the Convention, arrested the Girondists (May 31, 1793).

But soon the Mountain itself, the arbiter of the destinies of France, was to split up into factions, and

jealousy, combined with fear of Robespierre, the "pre-dominant partner," brought about its destruction. After the fall of the Girondists, Robespierre, whose influence in the Committee of Public Safety was almost supreme during the period known as the Terror, became practically dictator of France, having on his side not only the Convention, but the clubs; while he had succeeded in putting down the opposition of the Dantonists, who were opposed to the sanguinary excesses of the Terror, and sending Danton himself to the scaffold.

An apologist for the Terror is to be found in Mr. Morse Stephens, who, as an *advocatus diaboli*, makes out a tolerable case for its political necessity: "It was neither so monstrous nor so admirable as it has been painted; great evils demand strong remedies; and the Terror was the only remedy the members of the Great Committee could find for France, when torn by internal dissensions, and harassed by foreign war. It was a drastic remedy, indeed, but a very necessary one, and France became once more a mighty nation, able, owing to internal peace and a strong administration, to drive back all her enemies from her border."

Soon after a reaction set in. Robespierre had alienated his former friends of the Mountain, and the revival of the wholesale executions of the previous year aroused the fears of all who were not of the inner ring of the Jacobins. Finally, the Convention ordered the arrest of Robespierre and his principal supporters, Couthon and St. Just, and though the Commune rose in arms in defence of their hero, the Convention managed to maintain its authority. Thus ended the momentous day of the ninth Thermidor (July 27, 1794). With the

execution of Robespierre the Revolution assumes a new aspect. Now the only hope of the final success and stability of the Republic seems to lie in the army,— the *ultima ratio* of republics as well as of kings. The army was thought republican in sentiment, and during the campaign of 1794 had covered itself with glory by the conquest of Holland, thus wiping out the stain of Louis the Fourteenth's ignominious defeat about a century and a quarter before. It was, indeed, the army which saved the Convention.

“So ended the year 1794, which saw the reaction set in at Paris, and saw, too, the Revolution triumphant in every frontier, and the area of its influence extended widely. The coalition against France showed signs of breaking; the Dutch made peace, ceding Northern Flanders, with other districts, to France; the King of Prussia also abandoned the coalition, ceding to France the left bank of the Rhine; the Bourbon King of Spain next abandoned ‘the cause of all kings;’ the little states of Germany followed; Portugal made advances in the same direction, as did Naples, the Papacy, and other Italian powers. England and Austria alone stood firm against the new ideas, and Pitt, though he could not hope to direct, or have to pay, half Europe, still felt strong enough to carry on the war.”

During the months which followed the fall of Robespierre, the capital was in a restless condition, and disturbed by the contests between the moderate party (called Thermidorians) and the Jacobins, which was only put an end to by the suppression of the Jacobin Club by the Convention. What added to the misery and distress of Paris, was the exceptionally severe

winter of 1794-95, aggravated by great scarcity of food.

Early in 1795 the Convention, by another self-denying ordination, dissolved itself in accordance with the new constitution (constitution of the year III.), and was succeeded by a new and more complex form of government, mainly the work of the restored Girondists. By the new constitution the executive was entrusted to a committee of five, called the Directory, while the legislative functions were shared by two councils, composed of a Senate, called Council of the Ancients, and a National Assembly called Council of the Five Hundred. This cumbrous and unwieldy piece of legislative machinery naturally resulted in an oligarchy, which seemed to invite one great commanding personality to turn it into a virtual dictatorship, and for this man, as we shall see later, France had not long to wait.

The immediate result of the promulgation of the new constitution was unexpected. The royalists made common cause with the Paris Commune or municipality, who rose with the Sections and attacked the Convention (which had not then resigned), then lodged in the Tuileries. This insurrection was, however, promptly crushed through the energy of Bonaparte, who had already distinguished himself in the siege of Toulon. The remarkable skill with which the young general — he was only twenty-five — put down this formidable insurrection ensured his success in the army, and he was soon after made a general of division. Napoleon "showed the world," observes one of his innumerable biographers, Lanfrey, "what can be the weight of a soldier's sword in the balance; from this inauspicious



CHAMBRE DES SÉNATEURS DU SÉNAT; LUXEMBOURG PALACE.



day power learnt to reckon on the army, the army to dispose of power; the path toward a military government was now open."

The Directory, having leisure to devote itself to the domestic concerns of France, first devoted its attention to the organisation of the capital. The character of the municipality was changed and decentralised. Instead of one municipality for the whole of Paris, it was divided into twelve municipalities called *arrondissements*. The proceeds of the octroi dues were henceforth to be devoted to local needs, and were not to be diverted to the national treasury. Under the consulate, a retrograde policy made itself felt. The first consul feared the wide-reaching and deep-rooted revolutionary influence of Paris over France, and took measures to check what might easily prove a menace to the central power. The ancient office of provost of the merchants was reëstablished, though there was an attempt to conceal its significance and its origin by the title of Prefect of the Seine, while the lieutenant of police was replaced by a prefect of police, and the presidents of the twelve *arrondissements* were called mayors. In the reëstablishment of the Church, Paris was again made an archbishopric, and it was divided into twelve parishes.

With the establishment of the Directory, which lasted a little over four years (October, 1795, to November, 1799), a period of comparative stability was assured for the government at home, while abroad the success of French arms was due mainly to the generalship of Bonaparte and the remarkable talent for military organisation shown by Carnot, "the Organiser of Victory," who at



one time directed simultaneously the operations of fourteen armies.

An important change in the character of the foreign policy of France begins with the Directory. Hitherto the wars had been mainly defensive, and waged in behalf of the Republic, whose very existence was endangered by the attacks of the European powers, and even the Austrian campaign of 1796 was in reality defensive rather than offensive. But the wars of the Directory were prompted to a large extent by the deficient resources of France, and were closely bound up with the internal policy of the Republic. The general situation of the country was in a parlous state. Commerce and industry had been destroyed through the high price of provisions and the low ebb to which the national credit had sunk, owing mainly to the oversupply of assignats and the resultant depreciation.

The wars from 1796 to 1799 were, in short, due mainly to economical reasons, foreign conquest *quâ* conquest being a secondary consideration. Not only were the new campaigns self-supporting, but they afforded the hard-pressed Directory with a means of replenishing its treasury by indemnities wrung from the invaded countries. In short, it is not easy to distinguish these wars from brigandage on a large scale. After the Treaty of Amiens, however, the Napoleonic wars assumed a more political or dynastic character, — they were, in short, more imperial than national.

The early years of the Directorate were critical ones for France. The Directors, in the absence of the inspiring force of Bonaparte, who was prosecuting his Italian campaign, — a continuous series of victories, in the course

of which he had driven Austria from Italy, and subdued the country from Piedmont to the Papal States,—found themselves harassed on all sides by conspiracies, both on the side of the royalists and the extreme republicans. The royalist reaction early in 1797 made itself felt even among the members of the Directory, and while Barthélemy was actually in favour of the restoration of the Bourbons, Carnot was suspected of leaning in that direction. Bonaparte, hastily appealed to, sent them one of his generals, and a *coup d'état* was determined upon. Paris was occupied by the troops under Augereau. The two reactionary members of the Directory, Carnot and Barthélemy, were arrested, and fifty-three royalist deputies were seized in the Chamber, and exiled.

In December, 1797, Bonaparte, with all the glamour of his victory by pen and sword over Austria,—for the negotiations for the Treaty of Campo-Formio, by which France gained Belgium, had been entrusted to Bonaparte himself,—returned to Paris. The death of Hoche had removed his only possible rival, and, as the Directory had been saved by his intervention and the assistance of his troops, Bonaparte had the Directors at his feet, and was the master of the political situation.

The Treaty of Campo-Formio was no doubt intended as a menace to England, and at the beginning of 1798 Bonaparte and the Directory were planning an attack on Great Britain. The original scheme was an invasion of England, but Bonaparte conceived a more indirect method of attacking his old enemy, which was, in short, to conquer England on the plains of Egypt. His imagination was fired, too, at the notion of planting the tri-

colour in the valley of the Nile, and gaining a splendid field of colonisation for French enterprise. The conquest of Egypt was an easy task, and the Mamelukes could make no effective stand against the disciplined and seasoned troops of the Republic. The victory, however, proved a Pyrrhic one, for by the defeat of his fleet, by Nelson, at the battle of the Nile (August 1, 1798), his army was shut up in a hostile country. "Was the fate of St. Louis in store for these new Crusaders, who, unlike him, affected Mahometan ways and customs, and issued proclamations which the pious Mussulman might have thought written by a true believer?"

Turkey, irritated at the invasion of Egypt, and encouraged by the disaster to the French fleet, now joined the Second Coalition against the Republic. Bonaparte, with his retreat cut off, marched his army to Syria, with a vain idea, it is said, of assisting his ally of Mysore to drive out the English from India. However, the Syrian campaign was indecisive, and Bonaparte, leaving his exhausted army in Egypt under Kléber, returned to France (October 8, 1799), having received alarming news of the affairs of the Directory.

The European campaigns had during his absence been going badly, and the victories of 1797 seemed likely to be nullified by the weakness of the French government. The Directory had alternated, in its conduct of home and foreign affairs, between arbitrary excesses and pusillanimity. The French arms had suffered serious reverses in Italy under Scherer and in Alsace under Jourdan, against the Austrians. The only important success to counterbalance the loss of Italy was the defeat of the Russians at Zurich, which compelled Russia to withdraw

from the Coalition. In short, the advantages gained by the humiliating Treaty of Campo-Formio had been lost.

It was at this critical period that Bonaparte returned to Paris. The Directory seemed utterly discredited in the eyes of all parties, Jacobins, Moderates, and Royalists. There was a universal wish for a stable government under a strong man. Everything, in short, seemed favourable for a dictatorship. It was a grave step that Bonaparte was now invited to take, no less than a conspiracy against the constitution, but he did not hesitate to employ force, and on November 9, 1799, he marched his grenadiers to St. Cloud, where the Council of Five Hundred was then sitting, and dissolved it by force.

“Thus the Revolution,” writes Dean Kitchin, “passed into its last stage. It had tried to live with a king, had tried to govern by democratic severities, had also been moderate; it now became military. The despot, who, according to Aristotle, haunts like a dark spectre the steps of democracy, had now, at ten years’ end, overtaken and destroyed its forerunner.”

The real significance of the French Revolution will be missed, and the influence of the new principles it inaugurated on European nations will not be understood, unless we consider the political and social ideas it replaced. Mr. Morse Stephens, in his lucid and suggestive summary of this period in “*Revolutionary Europe*,” points out that this age of transition (the revolutionary epoch) is marked by the growth of the three modern principles which are at the root of all modern constitutional government, namely, (1) political liberty, manifested by the assertion of the sovereignty of the people. In other words, that government, while existing for the

good of the people, must be administered by the people, and not by an irresponsible monarch, albeit a "benevolent despot."

(2) The second fundamental principle for which modern Europe is mainly indebted to the French Revolution is the idea of nationality as the basis of a state and not a dynasty.

It may be objected that France seems to have stultified her teaching of this political maxim when Napoleon created a new empire of the West, quite independent of national boundaries and race limits, but it was in attempting to establish this artificial and dynastic empire that Napoleon was vanquished.

(3) The third political belief which has transformed Europe, is the recognition of the principle of personal and individual liberty. This implies, of course, the destruction of feudalism, which denied all social freedom.

"Where personal and individual liberty had been attained," observes Mr. Morse Stephens, "political liberty became an object of ambition, and political liberty led to the idea of the sovereignty of the people. The last vestiges of feudalism were swept away during this era of transition."

## CHAPTER IV.

### PARIS UNDER NAPOLEON.

THE establishment of a dictatorship to replace the oligarchy of the Directorate was disguised under the form of a triumvirate of three consuls, although the first consul, Bonaparte, was emphatically the controlling spirit. This change of government was given legal form by means of the famous Constitution of the year VIII., which was mainly inspired by Sieyès. In his original scheme, amazingly elaborate and intricate, the famous philosopher had given full rein to his quaint metaphysical theories of government, and even after it had been revised and "edited" by Napoleon, who simply retained such clauses as favoured his absolutist pretensions, and cut out the few guarantees of constitutional liberty which Sieyès had inserted, the constitution was exceedingly complex. This was, perhaps, intentional, and designed to veil the uncompromising dictatorship which this egregious system of government assured to Bonaparte.

The elaborate process of exhaustion, by which all power was virtually left to the first consul, is sufficiently shown by the following summary.

The executive was entrusted to three consuls, appointed for ten years, but all authority was centred in the first consul, his two colleagues (Cambacérès and

Lebrun) having only a consultative voice. The laws were to be proposed by a special body known as the Council of State, which has survived to the present day. There were three other legislative bodies, a tribunate of one hundred members, to whom the laws were to be submitted for discussion or emendation, merely. This body would then pass them on to a Legislative Assembly of three hundred members, who were empowered to adopt or reject them. Finally, there was a Senate, whose functions were mainly those of a Grand Electoral College, and its eighty members (appointed for life) were to be nominated in the first instance by Bonaparte and Sieyès, and afterward to be recruited by coöptation. But the most extraordinary feature of this extraordinarily complex machinery of government was the elaborate process of exhaustion and elimination by which the tribunate and the legislative body were appointed. It was a kind of "House that Jack built" system. The Senate was to choose the members from a list of five thousand names. These names were chosen by fifty thousand persons, and these, in turn, were to be elected by five hundred thousand electors, who in their turn were elected by universal suffrage.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the famous constitution of the year VIII., which was probably meant to pave the way for the overt dictatorship by which it was soon (August 2, 1802) to be replaced.

Bonaparte's inherent love of system and centralisation, which is a little disguised in Sieyès' constitution, is

<sup>1</sup>A modified survival of this cumbrous triple form of election is to be seen in the present day in the election of the Senate. (See *Legal and Municipal Paris* chapter.)

much in evidence in the whole machinery of administration. "All sprang from one centre, the first consul; a prefect was set over each department, with sub-prefects under him; it was a more perfect development of the intendant's office under the old régime; the prefects named the local mayors, and thus the whole machine received all its impulses from the executive, and formed a perfectly compact and easy-going government.

"The principle of the new government, in general administration, in finance, in the Church, in the law, was that of absolute subservience of all officials to the head; and the love of France for bureaucracy, which has made her the chosen land of an official hierarchy, made this organisation the most complete and successful that the world had hitherto ever seen."

Bonaparte's extraordinary insight into the sentiment of the nation, and capacity for gauging public opinion, enabled him to perceive that France was weary of factional disputes and changes of parties; and he was satisfied that with the support of his devoted army he could in any case treat any factious opposition with contempt. In his manifesto to the people, he did not hesitate to declare, "There are no longer either Jacobins, or Moderates, or Royalists. There are only Frenchmen,"—a phrase which summed up in a nutshell, both the situation and the aspirations of nine out of ten French citizens.

The consolidation and pacification of France was felt to be more imperatively demanded than foreign conquest, and during the early part of 1800 Bonaparte's inexhaustible energy busied itself with pressing internal reforms and the restoration of public order. Every department



of the state, civil or military, lay or legal, ecclesiastical or secular, was reorganised and controlled by this master mind, who was destined to leave an ineffaceable impression upon the country whose destinies he held in the hollow of his hand.

His first care was to reform the provincial administration, and bring it into touch with the central authority, as Bonaparte considered it essential that he should be the "fount of honour," and that all functionaries, however obscure, should be the first consul's nominees. But this policy of introducing the bureaucratic principles into the government, although necessary for the accomplishment of Bonaparte's plans, was a retrograde one. It was to some extent a reversion to the old monarchical principle which the government, in the early days of the republic, had abolished by the substitution of officials elected by the inhabitants of the particular districts for the king's functionaries. The effect of this scheme of provincial administration is well summarised by André Lebon: "In short, the centralisation obtained under Louis XIV. had been revived and even increased, the network of government agents being closer, and local autonomy more repressed, than in the eighteenth century."

By means of this highly organised administrative machinery (more fully described in the chapter on Legal Paris, Vol. II.), Bonaparte was soon able to subdue any opposition in the provinces, and to devote his energies to the restoration of public security and order and the reestablishment of the national credit. The finances were reorganised and the Bank of France founded. The labour market was relieved by the resumption of public

works, and great encouragement, material as well as moral, was given to the development of French industries and commerce. Agriculture was stimulated by the recent distribution of property in land, which under the Directory could be acquired very cheaply, owing to the great depreciation in the value of assignats.

With the aid of his Council of State, Bonaparte drew up and promulgated those famous codes — one of the most elaborate and yet most workable of any body of laws — which were to give France the much needed unity of legislation. The civil code is the most important of them and is usually spoken of as *the Code Napoleon*.

The first consul interested himself especially in the question of education, and established Lycées in all the great towns, — a kind of public school for education of the middle classes, organised on a semi-monastic, semi-military basis. Schools for higher education in law and medicine were established in Paris, and a few years later the keystone to the whole educational system of France was added by the creation of a great national university, called the University of France. The Order of the Legion of Honour was also founded, — the avant-courier of the new nobility to be created later.

This work of establishing order and system in French institutions was crowned by a master-stroke of statecraft. The first consul earned the support and goodwill of all Roman Catholics by abolishing the civil constitution of the clergy, but in the treaty (known as the Concordat) between the Pope and the first consul Bonaparte reserved the right of the state to the nomination of the bishops. It was agreed that Roman

Catholic public worship should be free and unfettered, and that the priests' stipends should be paid by the state. In return, the Vatican renounced all claim to the property of the Church in France which had been sold during the Revolution.

The conduct of the military campaigns and of all foreign affairs was formally made over to the first consul. In internal affairs a limited amount of initiative was allowed by Bonaparte to his two colleagues, Cambacérès and Lebrun.

The foreign wars of France are beyond the scope of our sketch, but some reference to the progress of French arms in Europe is necessary to preserve the thread of the narrative. The year 1800 was a particularly favourable year to France. One of the most brilliant victories in the long roll of Napoleonic battles, that of Marengo, crippled Austria to such an extent that the humiliating terms of the treaty of Lunéville (1801) had to be accepted. By this treaty the whole of Italy fell under the domination of France. The only member of the coalition still to be reckoned with was England, but by the Treaty of Amiens (1802), which provided for the restoration of her colonies to France, this power was checked. This treaty, however, proved little more than a truce, for war broke out again about twelve months later.

The infamous arrest of the Condé prince, the Duc d'Enghien, accompanied by violations of neutral territories and his execution on suspicion of being implicated in a royalist plot against the first consul, shocked all Europe, and furnished England with a pretext for forming a fresh coalition against the Republic. The Republic was, however, even in name moribund, — in fact, it had

perished in 1799,—as in March, 1804, Bonaparte assumed the title of emperor.

Napoleon's determination to have himself crowned under the auspices of the Pope, not at Rheims, the historic place of coronation of French sovereigns from Clovis downwards, but at Paris, was no doubt intended to mark the distinction between a King of France and the Emperor of the West, which was to carry on the traditions or rather to incorporate the Holy Roman Empire,—a title still claimed by the head of the Hapsburg dynasty. The Pope, after considerable pressure, resigned himself to the imperial will, which it would be difficult and impolitic to resist, in view of the recently established Concordat.

On December 2, 1804,—an eventful day in the Napoleonic calendar,—the splendid ceremony of the coronation was performed at Notre Dame. The details of the ceremony, having been arranged by David, were somewhat theatrical, and the varied costumes suggested an *amalgame bizarre du César, de Charlemagne ou Henri IV.* But though to some of the participants the coronation ceremonies seemed in doubtful taste, and gave an impression of a scene from an opera, yet it produced the grand impression the emperor had counted upon, so far as regards the populace.

It is one of the commonplaces of history that Napoleon shocked Pius VII. by seizing the crown from the hand of his Holiness, and placing it on his own head, meaning to show to all that he did not consider he was indebted to the Church for his crown. The Pope had the courage, at the close of the ceremony, to remonstrate with the newly anointed emperor for this insult to the

Church, in the person of its representative. In consequence, the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the government, omitted the significant detail in its description of the coronation.

The ceremony is briefly, but graphically, described by Thiers in his "Histoire de l'Empire."

"On the altar had been already placed the crown, the sceptre, the sword, and the robes. The Pope anoints the forehead of Napoleon with the holy oil, then blesses the sword and sceptre, and draws near to place the crown on his head. Napoleon, observing his intention, decidedly, but without brusquerie, takes the crown from the hands of the Pope and places it himself on his head. This act, whose significance was understood by all taking part in the ceremony, produced an indescribable effect. Then Napoleon, taking the crown of the empress in his hands, approaches Josephine, who was kneeling before the throne, and placed it with manifest tenderness on the head of his consort, who at that moment burst into tears.

"Then Napoleon ascended the imperial throne, his brother holding the hem of his robes. The Pope, according to usage, proceeds to the foot of the throne to bless the newly crowned sovereign, and intoned those lines which had resounded in Charlemagne's ears in St. Peter's, when the clergy of Rome had suddenly proclaimed him Emperor of the West, '*Vivat in æternum semper Augustus!*' Thereupon cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' a thousand times repeated, rang through the aisles of Notre Dame; and at the same instant salvos of artillery announced to all Paris the solemn moment when Napoleon was consecrated."

The form of the coronation oath, although highly displeasing to the Pope, was certainly creditable to Napoleon, who in this one respect, at all events, showed himself faithful to the cardinal principles of the Revolution. Instead of swearing to exterminate heresy, according to the time-honoured oath of all French kings from the time of Clovis, he not only swore to maintain religious as well as political and civil liberty, but solemnly declared the irrevocability of the sale of the national property which had once belonged to the Church.

In spite of the general enthusiasm, Paris itself, March 21, 1804, received the newly crowned emperor with marked coldness. But during the early years of the consulate, Paris had never shown itself very enthusiastically disposed to the first consul, and Napoleon, like his immediate predecessors on the throne, was not himself much attached to his capital. He feared its republican sentiments and disliked its *esprit frondeur*. It was his dread of the republicanism of the Parisians that led him to stake all at the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, in getting the Council of the Five Hundred removed from Paris to St. Cloud.

To ensure Paris against stock-jobbing and famine, huge reserve stores of grain were laid up, and the communications of the capital were made the object of special attention. New streets were built, including the magnificent thoroughfares, Rues de Rivoli and Castiglione, and the old streets were paved with stone and drained. The two great squares, Place de la Bastille and Place du Châtelet, were built, and the Pont de la Cité and Pont des Arts added to the bridges of the capital.

Napoleon at St. Helena was fond of expatiating upon

his magnificent dreams for the embellishment and aggrandisement of Paris. "I intended to make Paris the real capital of Europe. Sometimes I even dreamed of its becoming a city of two or even three or four millions, a city truly colossal, almost fabulous,—and with buildings and establishment worthy of its immense population."

The imperial title, "Empereur des Français," which on coins had the apparently contradictory obverse inscription, "Republique Française," was not in reality inconsistent. It implied, indeed, a novel kind of imperialism, namely, that based on the sovereignty of the people, manifested by a plebiscite. The constitution, under the new form of government, was little altered in form, and was substantially the same as that of the year VIII. (modified by Bonaparte in 1802). The principal changes were in the composition of the Senate, whose members were now unlimited and appointed by the emperor, and the Senate was expressly declared to be the guardian of the constitution. In a few years, however, the last safeguards of a constitutional monarchy were removed. The Tribune, for instance, was suppressed in 1807, and replaced by committees appointed by the legislative chambers, while in the following year these members were nominated directly by the emperor. As for the legislative chamber itself, its powers were soon so curtailed that it eventually became little more than a state department for giving legal form to the edicts of Napoleon, and even within a year of the commencement of the imperial régime the subservient members were uncompromisingly told by Napoleon that home and foreign policy were outside their province!

The ultimate consequence of such a system, which centred all power and authority and all initiative in the hands of one man, was foreseen by the more thoughtful observers. Roederer, for instance, wrote, in 1804: "The organisation of the powers of the state cannot work effectually as it is at present. A Senate which has long bent to an arbitrary will may one day well believe itself entitled to a will of its own, for a body which has allowed everything to another will, ends by thinking everything allowed to itself. After having been employed by a prince to destroy constitutional power, it may conceive that it is entitled to destroy the prince in person."

This ominous prophecy was literally fulfilled ten years later. In 1814, Napoleon, fresh from his disaster on the field, tried to galvanise the powers of the Legislative Council he had persistently undermined and repressed. "You are the natural exponents of the will of the throne. You must give the example of energy," he declared, in one of his moving speeches to the legislative body. But it was too late, all energy had been sapped, and his once servile Senators and Deputies were the first to abandon the emperor.

But many years of continuous victories were to elapse before this extremity was reached. The assumption of the imperialism (which strictly means an overlordship over nations) was regarded as a menace to the peace of Europe, and soon Great Britain was able to form a third coalition against France, composed of all the great powers except Spain and Turkey. The military genius of Napoleon, however, crushed these great powers in turn, — Austria at Austerlitz (December 2, 1805), Prus-



sia at Jena (October 14, 1806), and Russia at Friedland (July 7, 1807),—so that in some eighteen months he had reduced the great powers to impotence. The Treaty of Tilsit, which followed, left Napoleon predominant in Europe. Indeed, some historians are inclined to place the date of this treaty, and not that which followed the triumph of Wagram, as marking the utmost height of power attained by Napoleon I.

Indeed, the various treaties concluded by France, from Amiens to that of Vienna, may be regarded as a kind of national stock-taking of the possessions of France. To press the metaphor home, each stock-taking shows increased value up to the Treaty of Vienna (1809). At subsequent stock-takings France had to recognise a decided depreciation in the value of its resources, till in 1815 she was reduced to what she possessed in 1789.

The three great blunders of Napoleon's foreign policy were, most historians agree, the Continental Blockade, the Peninsular Campaign (which dragged on from 1808 to 1812), and the disastrous invasion of Russia, which not only seriously reduced the material resources of France, but proved a crushing blow to its prestige.

In 1810 pressing dynastic reasons counselled the divorce from Josephine, for whom he still bore, however, the deepest affection. The empress was childless, and it was, of course, essential for the establishment of the Napoleon dynasty on a firm footing that the emperor should have a direct heir.

Napoleon's influence with the Pope facilitated this divorce, which was granted on the extraordinary ground that the religious marriage, which had taken place

the evening before the emperor's coronation, was not valid because of the absence of witnesses! This was, of course, the merest pretext, for it is well known that Talleyrand and Marshal Berthier were witnesses. However, all obstacles to Napoleon's union with a princess of one of the reigning houses of Europe were removed. Napoleon, who nourished a dream of sharing Europe with his great admirer, the Emperor Alexander, wished for a Russian princess, and when the influence of the empress-mother caused the rejection of this proposal, Napoleon was fain to content himself with Maria Louisa, an Austrian archduchess, — a woman of cold and calculating character.

The marriage ceremony at Paris, though carried out in accordance with that love of pomp so characteristic of the emperor, was a tame affair compared to that at the coronation in 1804. The actual religious ceremony had taken place at Vienna, and this was merely a formal renewal for the benefit of the Parisians. It took place on April 2, 1810. Next year a son was born, who was created, almost at his birth, King of Rome, and Napoleon hoped that he had now finally cemented his power, not only in France but also in Europe.

Napoleon's marriage, though prompted almost solely by dynastic and political motives, had by no means the effect hoped for in strengthening the alliance between the French and Austrian Empires. In fact, not only was the Emperor of Austria not won over by Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa, but he took an early opportunity of joining the next great coalition against France fostered by Prussia and England.

As to Russia, Napoleon, perhaps partly out of resent-

ment for his overtures for marriage with a daughter of the Czar having been rejected, did not long delay declaring war against his former ally. It was from the Russian campaign that the downward course of the empire is dated by most historians. Napoleon determined to crush Russia, and easily found a pretext by rigorously enforcing the Continental Blockade. "As he had entered Berlin, Madrid, and Vienna, so would he enter Moscow, and thence at last dictate peace to all the world. He seemed to think he had two things only to do, '*conscrire et prescrire*,' — to summon up and sacrifice the whole youth of France as conscripts, and then to prescribe his own terms to Europe."

With a large army locked up in Spain, Napoleon had to draw largely upon foreign levies; but having collected a *grande armée* of six hundred thousand men, he set out on his famous march to Moscow. It is said that Napoleon actually cherished some wild scheme of making Moscow merely one stage on his march to British India. Napoleon was unable to bring on an engagement with the Russian army till he reached (Sept. 7, 1812) Borodino. Here was fought a battle proverbial in the annals of military history as an example of a victory which was more damaging than a defeat. The French troops were victorious, indeed, but after such terrible losses that, with the Roman general, Napoleon might have exclaimed, "Another such victory, and I am undone!"

Napoleon did not reach Moscow till the 15th of September. He found a great portion of the city in flames, Alexander having adopted this heroic, if unmilitary and unsportsmanlike, method of defeating his enemy.

After a month's stay in the ancient capital, the approach of winter compelled Napoleon to retire. The awful retreat from Moscow has passed into a legend. First famine and disease, aided by continual skirmishing attacks from the Russians who harassed his rear, literally decimated the army, and before the frontier was reached the grand army, which left Moscow some eighty thousand of all ranks, was reduced to less than twenty thousand.<sup>1</sup> The boast of Alexander that his best generals were Generals December and January was not an idle one, and the rigour of the Russian climate triumphed over the most determined courage and the greatest military genius.

At Wilna, the news of the alarming conspiracy of General Mallet gave Napoleon a decent excuse for leaving the shattered remnants of his grand army, and pushing on to Paris.

Here he learnt of the disasters to his armies in Spain. But a more serious danger occupied all his energies. All Europe, encouraged by the failure of the Russian campaign, seemed arming against the devoted empire. Prussia allied itself with Russia, and was soon joined by Austria, who thought little of leaving the Empress Maria Louisa to her fate. Hastily collecting a new *grande armée*, Napoleon flung his raw troops on the allied forces at Lützen, and managed to snatch a victory. Now, as Napoleon admitted later, he should have accepted the offer of the Allies at Prague to treat. This, as it proved, was a fatal error, with his exhausted troops. Two more victories at Bautzen and Dresden certainly

<sup>1</sup> Authorities differ widely as to the number of troops who actually reached France.

seemed to justify Napoleon's defiant attitude. But in the sanguinary three days' battle at Leipsic (16th, 17th, and 18th October), — one of the bloodiest as well as one of the most decisive battles in the world's history, — the French troops sustained a crushing reverse. Napoleon, intent only on saving his dynasty, at once returned to Paris, where he found public opinion much changed. His conduct of the campaign was openly criticised by the Corps Législatif, to the amazement and disgust of the emperor. His reply was to remind his legislators that to "attack him was to attack the nation," and clinched the matter by closing the session.

He had now to face the invasion of France, and to act on the defensive. The allies were advancing on Paris with three separate armies, amounting together to about two hundred thousand, — a force quite double that of any Napoleon could hope to raise. However, Napoleon organised the defence with all his usual energy. "He tried to galvanise the country by calling for a levy *en masse*. But France had no longer any life of her own, and when misfortune and invasion threatened, Napoleon looked in vain for a trace of the heroic enthusiasm of 1792. The nation was weary and servile, with only strength left to complain of the long and bitter sacrifices it had been called upon to make."<sup>1</sup>

Napoleon, with only sixty thousand men at his disposal, determined to risk everything by one blow, by attacking the communications of the allied armies. This he succeeded in doing, but he had reckoned without his host. The enemy, instead of falling back on their base, as the emperor had expected, boldly pushed on to the

<sup>1</sup> "Cent Ans d'Histoire Intérieure."

defenceless capital. Paris surrendered before Napoleon could march to its defence. Before he reached the capital, the empire was doomed. A provisional Senate had decided on the abdication of the emperor, as the only means of saving the empire. Napoleon made a last effort to save his dynasty by proposing to abdicate in favour of his son, the infant King of Rome, but to no purpose. The allied sovereigns allowed him to retain his title of emperor, and granted him the island of Elba, with a liberal civil list. In April, the titular emperor retired to his island home, but the Allies had yet to reckon with him, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Though, as is well known, Napoleon never manifested any great liking for Paris, he devoted much attention to its embellishment. Most of the improvements he effected are noticed, but not chronologically, in the chapters on Monumental Paris, but it will be convenient to summarise here the principal buildings and monuments restored or added to Paris under the First Empire. The triumphal arches of the *Étoile* and *Carrousel* were erected after *Austerlitz*, and were connected by a magnificent avenue called the *Rue Imperial*, which Napoleon intended to be the finest thoroughfare in Paris. This magnificent highway is now known, of course, as the *Avenue des Champs Élysées*. Another famous monumental ornament was the *Vendôme Column*. After *Jena*, the splendid *Pont de Jena* was built. This still retains its name, and helps to keep alive in the minds of Parisians the Napoleonic legend. When the Allies occupied Paris, the Austrians and Prussians were not satisfied with changing the titles of these bridges, but were with the greatest difficulty dissuaded by Louis XVIII., backed

by Wellington, from blowing them up. In fact, some historians declare that Louis XVIII. threatened that, if the Pont de Jena were blown up, he would stand on the bridge himself and perish in its ruin!

The years 1810-14 mark a great development in the topography and architecture of Paris. During this period were built the Bourse, the front of the Palais du Corps Législatif, the Palais du Quai d'Orsay, the Temple and St. Martin markets, the Halle aux Vins, the Quais Desaix, Catinat, Montebello, and de Billy, the Cimetières de l'Est and du Nord, the Canal St. Martin, etc. On the heights now crowned by the Trocadéro, the emperor built the colossal palace for the King of Rome, at the same time a palace and a fortress.

## CHAPTER V.

### PARIS UNDER THE BOURBONS.

It was on the 20th of April that Napoleon left Fontainebleau, after his famous farewell of the Old Guard, for Elba, and four days after Louis XVIII., who had been in exile since 1791, landed at Calais. Louis was by nature and temperament not altogether unfitted for the rôle of a constitutional monarch, but he was unfortunately swayed by his *entourage*, who in exile had not relaxed their absolutist notions of kingship. However, in his first formal proclamation (promulgated at St. Ouen on May 2d, the day before his formal entry into Paris), the recognition of the new principles of national and individual liberty, and the need of a representative government, were prominent features of the manifesto. These promises were on June 4th embodied in a charter. The administrative appointments of Napoleon were expressly maintained, and also the inviolability of all property (including the estates of the Church) sold during the Revolution.

The entry of the Bourbon sovereign into his capital was characterised by general rejoicings, for the Parisians seemed to have forgotten their oppression and misery under their former kings, and remembered only the loss of prestige to the nation caused by the failure of Napoleon's last campaign. The provisional govern



which had compelled the abdication of the emperor, did not take any official part in the reception of Louis, and he took up his residence in the Tuileries without any kind of agreement with the government.

The first duty of Louis was to sign the humiliating treaty of peace with the allied powers, by which France lost all her conquests under Napoleon, and had to return to her boundaries of 1792.

In spite of the liberal promises made by Louis at St. Ouen, his rule was never really popular, and civilians, as well as the army, began to regret the imperial régime. In the army, as was only natural, the loss of all the hard-won conquests of Napoleon, and the crowning insult of the occupation of Paris by the Allies, were felt to be an indelible disgrace to French arms. There was, besides, a general impression that Napoleon's defeat was accidental, or, at all events, due to overwhelming numbers.

Napoleon, who kept himself well-informed in his island-retreat of the trend of public opinion in the capital and the provinces, decided that the time was ripe for action, and on the 1st of March he landed near Cannes, with eight hundred of his guard. He was received with wild enthusiasm by all classes, and his journey to Paris was a veritable triumphal procession,—indeed, Napoleon's electrifying proclamation to France, in which he declared that the French eagle should fly from steeple to steeple until it alighted on the towers of Notre Dame, was converted from hyperbole to actual fact. Even Marshal Ney, who had sworn to Louis XVIII. himself to “bring Napoleon to Paris in an iron cage,” soon saw that the Bourbon cause was lost, and

went over with all his troops to his old master. In less than three weeks Napoleon reëntered Paris and quartered himself in the Tuileries, which Louis had left but a few hours before.

Taught by experience, Napoleon recognised the necessity of making some concession to the demands of the people for liberal government, and in his charter known as *l'Acte Additionnel aux Constitution de l'Empire*, he made promises as freely as the Bourbon king. By this new constitution, freedom of the press and of public meeting, and the representation of the nation by freely elected responsible ministers, were granted unhesitatingly by Napoleon. He was opposed, however, to a Senate of hereditary peers, observing, with some justice, that in France there was no real aristocracy of commanding political and social influence; "for thirty years from now," he declared, "my mushroom nobles will be merely soldiers or court chamberlains; their place will be a camp or an antechamber." On this point, however, he finally judged it politic to give way. This Napoleonic charter need not, however, be criticised or discussed, as it led, of course, to nothing. Indeed, it was solemnly proclaimed only about a fortnight before the fall of the empire at Waterloo.

As soon as the "invasion" of France was notified to the plenipotentiaries of the powers, then sitting in congress at Vienna for the purpose of definitely arranging the affairs of Europe after the Napoleonic wars, Napoleon was formally proclaimed an outlaw and "an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world," and the Coalition was immediately reconstituted.

Napoleon decided upon his usual policy of striking the

first blow, and entered Belgium with a hastily raised army of some one hundred and twenty-two thousand men to oppose the Allies, who had nearly twice that number. The English and Belgian troops had their headquarters at Brussels, while the Prussians were at Liège. Napoleon's aim was to prevent their union, and to engage them separately, one after the other.

"Of all the Napoleonic campaigns, this was by far the most rapid and decisive," observes Sir J. R. Seeley. "Everything concurred to make this short struggle the most interesting military occurrence of modern history; its desperate intensity, its complete decisiveness, the presence for the first and last time of the English army in the front of the European contest, and the presence of the three most renowned commanders, Napoleon, Wellington and Blücher. Accordingly, it has been debated with infinite curiosity, and misrepresented on all sides with infinite partiality." The opening of the three days' campaign was greatly in Napoleon's favour.

Thanks to the mobility of his troops, he was successful in throwing himself between the two armies, and defeating Blücher at Ligny, on June 16th. Meanwhile, Ney had been sent against the English at Quatre Bras, with the idea of driving them from that position, and then falling on the Prussians in their retreat. But Ney failed, and consequently Blücher was able to fall back upon Wavre unmolested, and eventually to join Wellington at Waterloo. Napoleon had detached Grouchy with thirty-three thousand men to prevent their junction, but was unable to come up with the Prussians. This failure was the prime cause of Napoleon's defeat.

The battle of Waterloo has furnished a whole library

of polemical literature. In the following criticism by Professor Seeley, it will be seen that Napoleon himself is held responsible for the failure of Grouchy to acquaint himself with the whereabouts of Blücher's army, but it is but fair to state that many military critics attribute this bad generalship to Grouchy alone, who had allowed himself to be detained by a single division of Blücher. Napoleon, as is only natural, always attributed his defeat at Waterloo to Grouchy's remissness, lack of energy, and utter want of judgment.

“Military critics point out several errors, some of them considerable, committed by Wellington, but their criticism of Napoleon, which begins by sweeping away a mass of falsehood devised by himself and his admirers in order to throw the blame upon others, is so crushing that it seems to show us Napoleon, after his brilliant commencement, acting as an indolent and inefficient general. He first, through mere want of energy, allows the Prussians to escape him after Ligny, and then sends Marshal Grouchy, with thirty-three thousand men, in the wrong direction in pursuit of them. Owing to this mismanagement, Grouchy is at Wavre on the day of the battle of Waterloo, fighting a useless battle against the Prussian corps of Thielmann, while Blücher is enabled to keep his engagement to Wellington. Everywhere, during these days, Napoleon appears negligent, inactive, inaccessible, and rather a Darius than an Alexander, so that it has been plausibly maintained that he was physically incapacitated by illness. The battle itself was one of the most remarkable ever fought, but it was, perhaps, on both sides, rather a soldiers' than a generals' battle.”

The battle of Waterloo is not a difficult one to follow. It consisted of a series of frontal attacks on the English position, Wellington's sole aim being to maintain his ground till Blücher arrived. Till the afternoon, when the Prussians began to arrive, the issue seemed doubtful, and, indeed, at one time, after Ney's successful attack on La Haye Sainte, it looked as if Napoleon would gain the day. But when Blücher's troops arrived, and there was no sign of Grouchy, Napoleon was compelled to hazard everything on the charge of the Guard, which was repulsed with great slaughter. This decided the day, and Napoleon, leaving the demoralised remains of his army to Soult, hurried off to the capital.

Waterloo is justly included in the great decisive battles of the world. In its momentous results it undoubtedly deserves to be called decisive, but scarcely so in the sense of the issue being practically assured from the first. Waterloo might, in some respects, be considered the converse of Marengo, but the latter victory was snatched from defeat by Desaix and Kellermann almost by accident, while at Waterloo the absence of Grouchy turned a probable victory into an irreparable defeat.

At Paris the Chamber of Deputies soon gave Napoleon to understand that his abdication was imperative, and they showed no inclination to defend Paris (then, it must be remembered, without the fortified enceinte it now possesses) or to make any further stand against the Allies, who were marching upon the capital.

According to some authorities, if Napoleon had known, before he fled from the field on the fateful evening of Waterloo, that Grouchy, with thirty thousand

men, was actually within a day's march, he would have attempted to hold Paris against the Allies. This, however, is doubtful, for Napoleon seemed to have lost all faith in his star, and his imperious spirit was broken. Even when his brother Lucien urged him to "dare," and make a final effort at dictatorship, he replied: "Dare! I have dared too much already."

Finally, seeing that all was lost, and that the Chamber was not inclined to support him, he pronounced his abdication in the following terms: "I offer myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. My public life is finished, and I proclaim my son Emperor of the French."

The fallen emperor then left for Rochefort, intending to fly to America, but English cruisers watched the coast too narrowly to render this practicable, and finally Napoleon surrendered himself to the captain of the English frigate *Bellerophon*, whence he was transferred to St. Helena to drag on an ignominious existence till his death in 1821.

It is impossible, in the little space at our disposal, to attempt any but the briefest and most superficial estimate of the complex and intricate character of Napoleon. That he was inordinately ambitious, in the highest degree unscrupulous, and utterly lacking in a moral sense is almost too obvious to be insisted upon. It would be as unnecessary as to lay stress upon the admitted fact that he was the greatest general France has ever produced.

But he was much more than a great soldier and statesman. There is, no doubt, much to be said for the oft-quoted observation that he could probably have

attained the greatest distinction in any department of human achievement or in any profession or calling he might have adopted. That he was a great jurist and administrator, his monumental series of codes which form the Code Napoleon conclusively show. As an orator he stands out prominently in an age of great speakers, and his electrifying speeches to his soldiers partly explain his remarkable ascendancy over them, and the extraordinary enthusiasm he evoked even after the most crushing reverses to his arms. Then, even as a mere phrase-maker and epigrammatist, none of his contemporaries, except perhaps Talleyrand, can bear comparison with Napoleon. What, for instance, can be more graphic or vigorous than his oft-quoted reference to the pyramids, when addressing his army at the beginning of his Egyptian campaign, or his thrilling and inspiring metaphor already referred to, of the eagle flying from steeple to steeple till it alighted on the towers of Notre Dame, with which he encouraged his troops on the eve of the Hundred Days? No doubt the poetical and emotional strain in Napoleon's complex character had much to do with the perpetuation of the Napoleonic legend.

It is indisputable that the Napoleonic wars of conquest proved, in the long run, in the highest degree disastrous to France, and arrested its development as a nation. But, at the same time, as a statesman and administrator Napoleon might be said to have been a great benefactor to France. Certainly his influence on French institutions has proved permanent and, on the whole, beneficial, as being suited to the French national character. "Under every régime," says Mr. Bodley,

“republican or monarchical, autocratic or parliamentary, the civic life of the nation is regulated by the durable machinery of the Napoleonic settlement.” The Napoleonic system is, in short, at the bottom of the machinery of all French government of the present day. Its permanence is considered, even by its detractors, who disliked the centralised bureaucracy which is the key-note of the French administration, as necessary, because it is regarded as the one and only safeguard for the stability of the nation. Abolish this system, and “every institution in France would fall, and to build up another France another Napoleon would be needed.”

This, then, is the work of Napoleon — modern France is Napoleon’s monument — and this is his claim to greatness. As Taine has observed, in his “*Origines de la France Contemporaine*,” Napoleon I. “displayed the most colossal gifts of government and organisation ever possessed by a human being.”

France, which, under the sixteenth century Bourbon kings, served as a kind of “awful warning” to nations, has done vast service to the civilised countries of the world as an object-lesson in the great underlying principles of civilised rule, viz., the necessity of recognising both political liberty — in other words, the right of the people to govern through their representatives, whether sovereign or President — and the principles of nationality, in a state. In these respects, the work of the French Revolution has been permanent. We cannot better sum up the outcome of the great political and social upheaval of a nation, known as the French Revolution, than by quoting Mr. Morse Stephens’s concise



and admirably expressed conclusion to his study of this period.

“The primary results of the French Revolution — the recognition of individual liberty (which implied the abolition of serfdom and of social privileges), the establishment of political liberty (which implied the abolition of despots, however benevolent, and of political privileges), the maintenance of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people — have also survived the Congress of Vienna. When Europe tried to interfere, the French people sacrificed these great gains to the spirit of nationality, and bowed before the despotism of the Committee of Public Safety and of Napoleon; they have since regained them. The French taught these principles to the rest of Europe, and the history of Europe, since 1815, has been the history of their growth, side by side with the idea of nationality.”

It cannot be said that the second restoration of Louis XVIII. was acclaimed with enthusiasm by the Parisians. The national amour propre was offended at their sovereign having become the protégé of the Allies, and having been restored to his throne by English bayonets. Then the national resentment was further aroused by the harsh terms of the allied powers. Paris was treated by them as a conquered capital and garrisoned by foreign troops. The Chambers, however, were thoroughly royalist in sentiment, and heartily supported the Bourbon sovereign, of whom it was scathingly but not unfairly said, that he had “learnt nothing and forgotten nothing” during his long exile.

Louis, at the outset, had a difficult part to play in order to retain his crown; it was necessary to pacify

the liberal party, who had gradually rallied around Napoleon on finding him disposed to govern constitutionally, and, on the other hand, he had to restrain the ultra-royalist party, - *plus royaliste que le roi*," who had returned from their second undignified exile more implacable and unreconcilable than ever. His great aim was to achieve the unity of the French nation and to bridge over the gulf between the bourgeoisie and the noblesse. To effect some kind of *modus vivendi*, in the atmosphere of greed and partisan passion by which his court was permeated, necessitated, at the outset, extreme measures which were unpleasantly suggestive of the *coup d'état* of the Revolutionary régime.

From the very beginning, Louis XVIII. found himself compelled to oppose the harsh repressive measures of the royalist or reactionist party, who were in a majority in the Chambers. Their implacable hatred and jealousy of Napoleon's rule initiated so determined a persecution of all those who had supported the deposed emperor, that they established a state of things which was not inaptly termed the White Terror, in contradistinction to the Red Terror of 1793-94. An iniquitous law empowered the tribunals to arrest all citizens who might be overheard criticising the acts of the government, and another provided for the summary arrest of all persons even suspected of being antagonistic to the Restoration, while a third, which was ironically described as a law of amnesty, decreed perpetual banishment against the members of the National Convention who had voted in favour of the capital punishment of Louis XVI.

These vindictive measures violated not only the king's

promises made in 1814, after the abdication of Napoleon, but were quite contrary to the charter solemnly promulgated by Louis in the same year.

The king acted with praiseworthy vigour by issuing a decree (September 5, 1816) dissolving the Chambers, and reducing the number of deputies from 402 to 259. Though this step was, no doubt, unconstitutional, it was justified by the gravity of the situation. The result of the new election was to place the government in the hands of the liberal or moderate party, chiefly composed of the middle classes, and some measure of constitutional rule was enjoyed by France till the assassination of the Duc de Berri, eldest son of the Comte d'Artois (afterward Charles X.), on February 13, 1820, caused an anti-liberal reaction, and Richelieu, the most violent of the reactionists, returned to power. From now till the beginning of 1828, the Right (royalist and reactionary) party was supreme, and the whole of the liberal edifice which had been carefully built up from 1816 to 1820 was overturned.

Louis XVIII., old and worn out by his efforts to reconcile the two opposing parties, had died in 1824, and was succeeded by his brother, Comte d'Artois, under the title of Charles X.

Charles X. was, perhaps, the worst of the Bourbons. He had contributed, by his follies and excesses, more than any one of Louis the Sixteenth's family in alienating the affections of the nation from the court. He was bigoted, immoral, and stupid, and a handsome and kindly presence and fine manner were, perhaps, the only qualifications for sovereignty he possessed. "From the scandals of his early life to the devotion of his later days,

there had been but a step; the sublime is not so near the ridiculous as superstition is to immorality. He was regarded as a mere tool of the Jesuits, and his reign was but a struggle against the more liberal instincts of his country."

There is a certain resemblance between the temperament of Charles X. and his namesake of England, though the latter lost his head as well as his throne. Charles X. was equally imbued with the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and the reign of each was one long and ineffectual struggle against a nation "struggling to be free."

In 1829 Charles was able to form a ministry after his own heart, and found a willing adherent in the mystical and ignorant Prince Polignac. This ministry did not, however, command the confidence of the Chamber, and Charles X. rushed on his fate with the usual *coup d'état*, by which he dissolved the Chamber, and by his five famous ordinances he hurried on the final struggle between liberty and despotism, which resulted in the loss of his crown. These ordinances, which it was expressly stated were decreed to check "the turbulent democracy which has invaded even our laws, and tends to displace legitimate power," and would have reduced the nation to the state of absolute dependence on the will of the sovereign under which it groaned in the days of Louis XV., were received with amazement in Paris. A well-organised insurrection broke out at once, and barricades appeared as if by magic. Three days of fighting—the "Three Glorious Days of July"—sufficed to defeat the king. A tardy change of ministry, and the revocation of the

obnoxious and fatal decrees, did not avail to save his throne, or even his dynasty, for the king's formal abdication in favour of his grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux (generally known as the Comte de Chambord), was not taken seriously. On August 2, 1830, Charles fled to Rambouillet, and then to England. Such was the ignoble end of the Bourbon dynasty in France.

During the period popularly known as the Restoration, public works of considerable importance were undertaken in Paris, especially during the reign of Charles X., under M. de Chabrol (whose memory is preserved in the Rue Chabrol, which has recently earned such notoriety), the Prefect of the Seine. The draining of the capital was carried on energetically, over sixty streets and places were built, and the markets begun by Napoleon I. were finished. Three new bridges were built, Pont des Invalides, Pont de l'Arch-evêché, and Pont d'Arcole. Among the churches and public buildings added to the capital were Notre Dame de Lorette, St. Vincent de Paul, Chapelle Expiatoire de Louis XVI., Séminaire de St. Sulpice, Académie de Médecine, and École des Beaux-Arts. It was under Charles X. that omnibuses were introduced, and the streets first lighted by gas.

## CHAPTER VI.

### PARIS UNDER LOUIS PHILIPPE.

UNDER the last two Bourbon kings, the prevalent note of the period is the struggle of the public against the absolutist tendencies of the sovereign and privileged classes. In other words, under Louis XVIII. and Charles X., democracy versus aristocracy, under Louis Philippe, democracy versus plutocracy, is the dominant note of the period. Under Louis Philippe, the struggle for freedom on the part of the people is continued, but is mainly directed against the pretensions of the bourgeoisie, who had obtained the supreme power in the government.

Compared to the romantic epoch of the Revolution and the empire, the history of France from 1815 to 1848 is tame and colourless. Individual liberty was, no doubt, crushed under the iron military despotism of Napoleon, but it cannot be denied that its history is intensely interesting.

To the student of politics, the political development of France under Louis Philippe and the Second Republic is of supreme interest, but the growth of the constitution is not, of course, to the ordinary reader, so attractive or picturesque as the growth of empire, and the story of the rise and fall of the French empire abounds in "purple patches." With the rise of Louis

Napoleon, however, the romance of French history recommences.

A majority of the Deputies on August 7, 1830, offered the crown of France to Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orleans (son of Philip Égalité), having rejected the proposal of a regency during the minority of the little Duc de Bordeaux, made by the unfortunate Charles X. The Duke of Orleans had no hesitation in accepting the throne, though he had written to Charles X., only a week before, solemnly promising that he would decline such an offer, if it were made to him, and explained his presence in Paris at the invitation of the Chamber by saying that he had been brought there by force.

The history of this reign is now closely bound up with the domestic history of Paris. Louis Philippe spent much of his time in the capital, as might be expected in the case of a sovereign who prided himself on the title of "Citoyen King," and most of the events of importance in this colourless reign took place in the metropolis.

The reign of Louis Philippe, whom one of his adherents called *la meilleure des républiques*, was no doubt, in theory, a parliamentary or constitutional monarchy, but it can hardly be said that the king was sincere in his profession of liberal opinions, and indeed, during the latter part of his reign, the king's chief aim seemed to be to evade the performance of the liberal promises of the charter to which he had sworn. Louis Philippe never, indeed, inspired any great policy, and the cardinal principle of his government seems to have been to form an absolute monarchy under the guise of a parliamentary one, and his liberalism went no further than humouring the people when necessary. In fact, Louis Philippe was

conservatist and absolutist by conviction, but liberal by policy.

During the first two years of his reign several weak ministries on a popular or democratic basis successively ruled the destinies of France. But this concession to the popular sentiment was in the nature of a feeler, and in 1832 a strong government, distinctly anti-liberal in tendency, was formed under Soult, Thiers, and Guizot, which managed to retain its authority till 1836. This is perhaps the most brilliant period of Louis Philippe's reign. Gradually the members of the more constitutional party, whose motto was that "*le roi règne et ne gouverne pas,*" were weeded out, and even Thiers was at length dismissed as too independent. After the fall of Thiers, in September, 1836, a succession of short-lived ministries commenced, till Marshal Soult formed a ministry which had in it some elements of stability, but this ministry was overthrown, solely owing to the notorious greed of the king. He had insisted on his ministry asking the Chambers for a large grant for his son, the Duc de Nemours. As it was notorious that the king's private fortune was colossal, and as a civil list of twelve million francs was already allotted him, this request was thought exorbitant. This determined opposition compelled Soult to resign office. Thiers then attempted to form a government, but his ministry lasted but a few months, and he had to give way to his great political and literary rival, Guizot.

Thiers's short-lived ministry is rendered memorable by the state funeral of Napoleon I., whose ashes were brought from St. Helena and solemnly reinterred in the Invalides.



The public funeral of Napoleon was, indeed, the only real public pageant which Paris had enjoyed throughout this reign.

The body of the emperor had been brought from St. Helena by the Prince de Joinville, and the funeral car — an immense structure drawn by sixteen horses — passed through the streets of the capital amidst scenes of the wildest enthusiasm. Indeed, the transports of joy with which “*l'empereur de la guerre*” was received by the subjects of the “*roi de la paix*” indicated to some extent the growing unpopularity of the latter.

Long and animated was the discussion in the Chamber as to the monument in Paris which should have the honour of sheltering Napoleon's ashes. The Madeleine and the Place Vendôme were at first proposed, but finally the Invalides was chosen. Certainly it would be difficult to choose a fitter spot for the last resting-place of Napoleon than this sanctuary where the Old Guard sleep their last sleep, under the tattered standards that have been won from all the nations of Europe.

The ceremony in the Invalides has been vividly described by Thackeray in a little-known brochure.

“ At last the real procession came. Then the drums began to beat as formerly, the Nationals to get under arms, the clergymen were sent for, and went, and presently — yes, there was the tall cross-bearer at the head of the procession, and they came back.

“ While everybody's heart was thumping as hard as possible, Napoleon's coffin passed. It was done in an instant. A box, covered with a great red cross, — a dingy-looking crown lying on the top of it, — seamen on

one side, and Invalides on the other ; they had passed in an instant and were up the aisle.

“ A faint, snuffling sound as before was heard from the officiating priests, but we knew of nothing more. It is said that old Louis Philippe was standing at the catafalque, whither the Prince de Joinville advanced, and said, ‘ Sire, I bring you the body of the Emperor Napoleon.’

“ Louis Philippe answered, ‘ I receive it in the name of France.’ Bertrand put on the body the most glorious, victorious sword that ever has been forged since the apt descendants of the first murderer learned how to hammer steel, and the coffin was placed in the temple prepared for it.”

The mausoleum of Napoleon is one of the most impressive in Europe. The colossal sarcophagus of red porphyry comes from Finland, which accounts for the popular impression that it was the gift of Russia, and M. Guizot has been blamed for having “ begged the tomb of Napoleon from the Czar.” The true version of the story is that the sculptor Visconti, finding that no porphyry mine existed in France, ascertained that there was a fine quarry of this stone on crown property in Finland. When the Czar Nicholas heard that the French government was negotiating for its purchase, he remitted the tax, amounting to a few hundred francs only, but the actual cost of the porphyry and transport (200,000 frs.) was paid for out of the French treasury. In spite of this, the legend remains, and in nearly all the accounts of the Invalides in the guide-books, it is stated that Russia made France a present of the tomb of Napoleon.

In October, 1840, Guizot became the real head of the government, with Marshal Soult as premier. Guizot managed to remain in power till the fall of the dynasty in the spring of 1848. This seven years' government proved throughout reactionary. Instead of the absolutist rule of a sovereign, the liberal and constitutional party had to fight against the despotism of the bourgeoisie, who did their best to repress the aspirations of the nation for political freedom. The agitation for an extension of the franchise and parliamentary reform went on spreading till it culminated in the popular rising of 1848, which cost the Citizen King his throne.

Guizot's determined opposition to the party of reform was severely criticised by Lamartine, who protested that if the refusal of any measures of reform or political amelioration were the only attitude a minister directing a government need maintain, there was no need of a minister at all. "A bar would suffice."

Though the ministry of M. Thiers lasted but a few months, it is to be remembered for one important measure of especial interest to Parisians, the scheme for the construction of the present bastioned wall which surrounds the capital. Though these fortifications were not actually begun till the year following, the chief credit of their construction belongs to M. Thiers.

The fortifying of Paris had long been a cherished scheme of Thiers, but it was not till 1840 that the Chambers authorised the enormous expenditure which these military works would entail. The defencelessness of Paris since the pulling down of the walls in the eighteenth century was felt to be a serious source of danger to France.

The humiliating events of 1814 and 1815, when Paris had been so easily taken possession of by the allied armies, had long made the question of fortifying the capital a burning one with ministers. As early as 1826 the Minister of War had impressed upon Charles X. the imperative necessity of safeguarding Paris from any sudden *coup de main* on the part of the enemy; nothing was done, however, till 1831, when some attempts were made to fortify the heights around Paris, but the works were not prosecuted with vigour, and little had been done by 1836, when they were discontinued. One reason which contributed to the postponement of the work of putting Paris in a state of defence was the opposition of the Parisians themselves. There was a feeling that the proposed fortifications might easily be converted into a series of bastiles, and used to crush any aspirations of political or municipal freedom on the part of the civic authorities. Thiers, in 1840, was, however, strong enough to disregard the popular disapproval of the project, and the work was begun, without the consent even of the Chambers, by royal decree, and was vigorously prosecuted under the next ministry. The centralisation argument was successfully pleaded by the ministry in order to get the necessary grant for the enormous cost of the new enceinte.

“Strike this centre (Paris),” argued M. Thiers, “and France is like a man struck in the head. Paris, which our enemies aim chiefly at striking, must be sheltered from their blows. Take away this aim, and all their combinations directed against France fall to the ground. In a word, fortify the capital, and you will materially modify the war tactics and the policy of our enemies;

you will render futile wars of invasion, in other words wars of principle."

There were not wanting bitter opponents of the scheme in the Chamber. It was argued that, far from rendering the conquest of France impossible, and invasion futile, it would facilitate the subjugation of the country; for the enormous population confined within the defences would soon be compelled by starvation to capitulate to a beleaguering army, without any necessity for storming the works. The force of this argument was, indeed, only too clearly shown some thirty years later. One point raised, which in the light of the siege of 1870-71 is a little significant, was the difficulty of supplying Paris with fresh meat. It was, however, contended, that a sixty days' supply of cattle could easily be obtained, and that would be probably the longest period to which a siege would be protracted!

Finally the measure was carried, and a special grant of the stupendous sum of 140 million francs for the fortifications of Paris,—the most extensive works of defence of modern times. The octroi barriers were at first independent of the new bastioned wall, but in 1860 these were removed and made coterminous with the fortified enceinte.

By the beginning of 1848 the agitation for electoral reform had become universal, but the government refused to give way. The climax was reached when certain banquets, which had been organised by the leaders of the movement, were arbitrarily forbidden. Little was wanted to fan the embers of the national feeling of discontent with the government into a blaze, and Paris was in an excited and restless condition. The

year opened badly for the moribund ministry of M. Guizot. Many were the reasons which made observant politicians feel that a national crisis was imminent.

“Irritation, want, the feeling that the government had done little to lessen the commercial and agricultural distress; the desire of a more popular and, perhaps, more brilliant rule; the distrust of Guizot’s policy, as shown in the risks of the Spanish marriages, by which he had endangered the peace of France for the sake of illusory dynastic advantages; the consciousness that the king’s feelings were not friendly to the people, that his government was selfish, and that he did not hesitate to use corruption and influence in elections,—these things all made affairs seem unsettled and precarious.”

Immediately Paris, always ready to settle political differences by an appeal to force, broke out in open rebellion; the citizens of the disaffected quarter of the Faubourg St. Antoine built barricades and defied the troops (February 22d). The National Guard siding with the insurgents, the king felt that all was lost, and ended an inglorious reign by an inglorious flight in an ordinary hackney-cab. Louis had already made a last effort to save his dynasty by abdicating in favour of his infant grandson, the Comte de Paris. It was, however, too late. Paris wanted a republic, the Palais Bourbon was invaded by a mob, and under its influence a provisional government was proclaimed. Among the members elected were Lamartine, Dupont, Ledru-Rollin, and, subsequently, Louis Blanc. Escorted by the National Guard, they at once proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, the time-honoured rallying-place of all popular move-

ments in Paris, and formally proclaimed the Republic. It was to be based on the sovereignty of the people, with the old watchwords, "liberty, equality, and fraternity," indicating the return to the true principles of republicanism. At the same time the tricolour was reëstablished, with the addition of a red rosette. "This decree indicated," observes Dean Kitchin, "as trifles often will do, the position taken up by the new administration. They could not accept the red flag of the Parisian Communists, which Louis Blanc wished to take as a symbol of a thorough republicanism; they added the red rosette to express a certain sympathy with that side; they kept the tricolour as the flag of the old Revolution."

Though the reign of Louis Philippe was tame and somewhat inglorious, yet a great impetus was given to the embellishment of the capital by the construction and restoration of public buildings. In the chapters on Monumental Paris, the architectural development of Paris under Louis Philippe will be more fully described when noticing the individual monuments, so it will not be necessary here to do more than summarise the chief improvements. The Arc de l'Étoile, the Madeleine, and the Palais du Quai d'Orsay were completed, and the Hôtel de Ville enlarged. The Palais de Justice, the Louvre, and Notre Dame were restored. A considerable portion of the long neglected Place du Carrousel was cleared, and converted into a public promenade. Then, among the less showy but equally important civic improvements, were the widening of some streets and the paving of others.

An appreciation of Paris of the Second Republic, a little high-flown in tone, but containing the germs of

truth, by Lavallée, the famous historian of Paris, may appropriately be quoted here in the following free translation :

“ The capital of France is no more an ordinary city, but the soul of the country (and the foster-mother of all European revolutions), the metropolis of modern civilisation, a city of many moods, passionate, intelligent, and volatile, taking the initiative — the burthen as well as the glory — in all human progress. It codifies, concentrates, and gives voice to the ideas, interests, and mental forces of all nations. Paris, indeed, has become a kind of epitome, not only of France, but of Western nations. All Europe listens to its opinions, watches its movements, and foretells from them their future lot.

“ The city of Etienne Marcel, of the League, of the Fronde, whose agitation had scarcely affected a single French province, became the city of 1789, of 1830, of 1848, whose movements disturb all the civilised world.”

France, as usual in times of great popular excitement, took its cue from Paris, and the revolution was, on the whole, cheerfully accepted in the provinces. But in a few months the government had to deal with a far more serious counter-revolution on the part of the working men of Paris, who were exasperated by the closing of the national workshops.

These curious institutions — the pet scheme of Louis Blanc — were in theory excellent, the idea being to provide work for every able-bodied man. It was, however, particularly difficult in performance, as it obliged the state to provide means of sustenance for every citizen in inverse ratio to the prosperity of the labour market, and the resources of the treasury. In short, this well-mean-



ing and essentially paternal government aimed at suspending the primary laws of political economy on behalf of the working man. The more sober-minded soon perceived that this practical form of socialism would soon prove too great a burden for the state, and that the country generally would soon be tired of subsidising the Parisian artisan and labouring man. Their forebodings were only too soon realised. The workmen of Paris applied in such numbers for employment at the national workshops, that in a few weeks the government was confronted with the impossible task of providing work for more than one hundred thousand citizens. As the government was pledged to maintain all who applied, even those for whom no work could be found, it was soon found necessary, from lack of funds, to close the workshops. This caused great popular excitement, and the mob, as usual, flew to arms. On the night of the 23d June barricades were erected all over Paris. The government declared the capital to be in a state of siege, and entrusted the Minister of War with the suppression of the revolt, with powers so ample that he was virtually dictator. The fighting between the troops and the insurgents was of a more formidable character than in the revolution of the preceding February, and it was not till after four days of sanguinary battle that the insurrection was finally crushed.

Cavaignac has been blamed for causing unnecessary slaughter, as, in order to stamp out the insurrection most effectually and to get rid at one blow of as many as possible among the disaffected of the populace, — and, it was also said, to increase his own importance as the sa-

viour of Paris, — he allowed barricades to be erected and the mob to assemble in their thousands before setting his troops in motion. It was on the first day of the insurrection that the Archbishop of Paris, the devoted *Monsieur Affre*, was accidentally killed by a shot from one of the government soldiers, when he had mounted the barricade of the *Place de la Bastille* in a desperate attempt to induce the insurgents to lay down their arms.

In November, 1848, the constitution makers had completed their draft of a new constitution, for, since the fall of the monarchy, the government had been avowedly only provisional. The new constitution did not depart very widely, as regards the composition of the legislative chamber and the Council of State, from that of 1799. But an important innovation was the appointment of a single head of the state, with the title of President, elected for four years only by universal suffrage. This method of election would give overwhelming power to a strong man with an enormous electorate quite unaccustomed to the exercise of political rights, and little checked by an Assembly which offered no real counterpoise to his authority. As will be seen, the man was ready to seize this dictatorship, which was virtually offered, and Louis Napoleon took even less time in showing his real colours than his uncle, Napoleon I. Louis Napoleon had been barely a month in the new Assembly (to which he had got himself elected at a by-election), before he was elected President by the overwhelming majority of five and a half million votes against one and a half million votes given for the liberal or Republican candidate, the late dictator, General Cavaignac.

In this election the provinces, where the "Napoleonic idea" was stronger than in the capital, provided most votes for Louis Napoleon, for, contrary to the usual custom, Paris was outvoted by the country.

## CHAPTER VII.

### IMPERIAL PARIS.

THE dramatic scene in the Assembly on December 20, 1848, when the result of the presidential election was declared, has been described by Victor Hugo with all his accustomed vigour and picturesqueness of style.

After General Cavaignac had formally resigned his powers to the Assembly, the President, Marrast, proclaimed the result of the voting. Then there advanced to the tribune "un petit homme pâle en habit noir, cravate blanche et gants blancs, portant sur son habit la rosette de représentant et la plaque de grand croix de la Légion d'Honneur. C'était Louis Napoléon." Amid a profound silence the President-elect repeats the oath to the constitution, "En présence de Dieu et devant le peuple Français, je jure de rester fidèle à la République démocratique, et de défendre la Constitution," and concludes with this solemn affirmation, "Je prends Dieu à témoin du serment qui vient d'être prêté." Then, in order to further reassure the democratic section of the Chamber, he reads the following declaration. The most significant passage may well be quoted here. "The will of the nation and the oath which I have just sworn shall influence all my conduct in the future. I should regard as enemies of the country all those who should attempt by illegitimate means to change the form of

government which you have just established. Between the Assembly and myself there is perfect agreement. Our government will neither be Utopian nor reactionary. We shall act for the good of the country, and we hope that, by the help of God, if we do not effect great things, we shall at least do what is right."

These are the words of a man who in less than three years falsified his solemn oath, conspired against and overthrew the Assembly, and betrayed his republic, at the cost of the lives of hundreds of its devoted supporters.

The events of these three years, in which Napoleon was virtually feeling his way for the reëstablishment of monarchical rule, must be rapidly passed over.

Napoleon's home policy was mainly directed to consolidating his authority and forming a party which would support him in his persistent efforts to undermine the authority of the Legislature. In less than a year from the date of his election as President, he had boldly affirmed his views of government, which seem to foreshadow the despotic measures of December, 1851. "The name of Napoleon," he did not hesitate to affirm, "is of itself a programme signifying order, authority, religion, and the prosperity of the people at home, with national dignity abroad. This is the policy inaugurated by my election which I wish to see triumph."

In 1851 the struggle began between the Prince-President and the Assembly, which was opposed to the revision of the constitution, — a measure much desired by Napoleon in order that the clause which forbade the reëlection of the President might be suppressed. This revision was rejected by the Assembly, and from that

moment war between Louis Napoleon and the Legislature was inevitable. Though the *coup d'état* was not actually carried till six months later, it was probably at this juncture decided upon that, legitimate means having failed, force alone could ensure the authority and independence of the future emperor.

It was, however, essential to get the nation on his side against the Assembly ; consequently a specious cause of quarrel was found, in which the President should pose as the friend of the people.

The Ministry, all creatures of the President, proposed the abrogation of the franchise law of May 31, 1850, which had reduced the franchise by over sixty per cent. of the electorate. Such a proposal would have so enlarged the electorate that it would almost mean universal suffrage. This democratic measure was stoutly resisted by the Assembly. Louis Napoleon, recognising that he could now pose as champion of the masses, decided that the time was come for a repetition of his great exemplar's *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, 1799. Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* was, however, far more daring and comprehensive, and infinitely more brutal, and aimed at sweeping away the whole fabric of the constitution. But "Napoleon the Little" did not, like his great predecessor, carry it out almost single-handed. He had already nearly all the members of the Ministry, including the prefect of police and the Minister of War, gained over to his cause.

During the night of the 1st-2d December, the finishing touches to this great conspiracy against the Republic were added. The prominent members of the Assembly were arrested and taken away to

separate prisons, while all Paris was placarded with the President's manifesto, announcing the dissolution of the Chamber and the repeal of the law of the 31st May.

The two days following were devoted by Napoleon and his advisers to crushing the armed resistance, organised by the Republican Deputies of the expelled Chamber in the streets, by wholesale fusilading. In the course of this massacre it is incontestable that large numbers of absolutely unoffending persons (including many women and children) were pitilessly shot down by the troops. In fact, these wholesale massacres recalled the worst days of the Red Terror, and are an ineffaceable blot on the memory of Napoleon III. Compared to these infamous "fusilades" the political murder of the Condé prince, the Duc d'Enghien, by Napoleon I. was a trifling misdemeanour.

In fact, the ferocity of the troops could scarcely have been excused, if it were a question of stamping out the remnant of maddened desperate communards who made a last stand at Père-la-Chaise in May, 1871.

The evidence of impartial historians seems to point to the fact that this systematic and continuous shooting down of harmless pedestrians in the boulevards was in accordance with a deliberately organised policy of intimidation.

It must be admitted, however, that in crushing this insurrection Napoleon's advisers showed consummate generalship. On the night of the 3d December, the troops were purposely withdrawn from the streets, and the insurgents were allowed to build barricades almost undisturbed. By this means there would be no danger

of the troops fraternising with the people, and they would come fresh to the decisive conflict which was arranged for the next afternoon. Then the most determined and the most dangerous of the bourgeoisie and of those opposed to the *coup d'état* would be collected in force at the barricades; and consequently, by the sudden employment of an overwhelming mass of troops, the barricades could be simultaneously taken, all the leaders shot or taken prisoners, Paris terrorised, and the insurrection be utterly and completely stamped out. Results proved the wisdom of these brutal and pitiless tactics.

The argument usually brought forward in excuse for the infamous measure, which has earned an unenviable notoriety as the *coup d'état* in a country whose history is prolific in *coups d'état*, will not stand examination. Some apologists declare that Napoleon's plot against the Republic only anticipated a widespread conspiracy against the person of the President, but facts in support of this assertion are wanting. It is also asserted, but also without proofs, that the sanguinary events of the 3d and 4th December were a political necessity, — that, owing to the factious opposition of the National Assembly, stable government was impossible.

A more plausible excuse for the *coup d'état* is that Louis Napoleon, by this strong measure, saved France from the horrors of a great Socialist revolution. But granting the possibility of a serious Socialist rising, there was no danger as long as the army remained faithful to the government.

The judgment of posterity for the most part agrees with that of contemporary opinion, that the *coup d'état* was one of the *gravest political crimes a ruler of a civil-*



*ised state has ever been guilty of.* An English author, writing in 1852, makes this striking forecast of Louis Napoleon's future: "Many think that Napoleon must march forward in the fatal path of arbitrary power until France rises to free herself from the yoke of bondage by another revolution, perhaps more terrible than any we have yet witnessed in that country of political volcanoes."

With France as well as Paris terrorised by the new tyranny, the plebiscite, which was to justify Napoleon for his action on the 2d December, was, of course, the merest farce. The control of all the voting was in the hands of the agents of Napoleon, so it is not surprising that the *coup d'état* might be considered by Napoleon as having been ratified by the nation. It is only fair to say, however, that, even making every allowance for the compulsory nature of the voting, Napoleon would in any case have almost certainly received a majority of the suffrages of the nine million electors, though not, of course, such an overwhelming one.

The new Ministry was composed of the leaders of the *coup d'état*, Morny, who received the portfolio of the Interior, and Saint-Arnaud, that of War, being the most important members of the new government.

On the anniversary of the *coup d'état*, Napoleon, by means of his favourite instrument for legalising the successive stages of his policy for destroying the Republic, — a plebiscite, — got himself elected by an almost unanimous vote (only a quarter of a million electors out of an electorate of over nine millions voting adversely) hereditary Emperor of the French under the title of Napoleon III.

Thus, in little more than four years from the time of Napoleon's election as a simple Deputy, he had realised the ambition of his life, and the Second Empire was an accomplished fact. "The conditions of its existence, however, were totally different from those prevailing at the beginning of the century. Between Napoleon III. and Napoleon I. there was, to begin with, all the difference which can exist between a man of genius, imperious and masterful, a great soldier and consummate administrator, and a man of mystical, dreamy temperament, tortuous, elusive character, mediocre courage, and undefined intelligence."<sup>1</sup>

Next year Napoleon, whose attempts to ally himself by marriage with one of the reigning families of Europe had met with rebuffs, married a Spanish lady, Mile. Eugénie de Montijo, Comtesse de Teba. This marriage was not altogether a popular one. Though all who came into contact with the young empress were attracted by her undeniable beauty and charm of manner, yet it was generally felt that the marriage did not add to the lustre of the imperial throne, and that the continuance of the dynasty would have been better assured if the emperor had been able to secure as his bride some royal princess.

In spite of Napoleon's famous apophthegm, "*l'Empire c'est la paix*," the foreign policy of Napoleon was avowedly modelled on that of his illustrious uncle, and, from 1854 till the fall of the empire in 1870, France was almost continually engaged in warfare. The Crimean war and the war of Italian independence raised the prestige of France among the nations to a higher degree

<sup>1</sup> "Cent Ans d'Histoire Intérieure."

than it had reached since the fall of Napoleon I. But after 1860 the fortune of the empire, both at home and abroad, waned till it culminated in the irreparable disaster of Sedan.

During the first years of the empire France appeared on the surface rich and prosperous, and the emperor occupied himself unceasingly in developing her material resources, her commerce, industry, etc. The emperor, too, appreciating the importance of playing the part of benevolent sovereign, laboured hard to ameliorate the material well-being of the poorer classes, and great impetus was given to the building of asylums, hospitals, crèches, and other charitable institutions. The material riches of the country were developed to an extraordinary extent. Innumerable banks and financial establishments (Credit Foncier the most important of these) were established between 1853 and 1856. Communications were extended, and in a few years France was *silloné* with railways. This increase of means of communication and locomotion naturally fostered the development of commerce and trade, while new markets were made available for agricultural produce.

But there is, of course, the reverse side of the medal. The rapid acquisition of wealth by the middle classes, the high rates of wages paid to the working classes, and the love of speculation among all classes introduced a universal love of luxury and pleasure, which tended to demoralise the nation and weaken the national character.

The results of this relaxing of the moral fibre of the nation are well illustrated in the change in the character of the capital. It came to be regarded more as a great

cosmopolitan *ville de luxe*, — a kind of refuge for all the pleasure-seekers and rich idlers of Europe, — rather than a great self-respecting and self-supporting metropolis, the political centre of the empire, and a city of trade and commerce.

At the same time, the transformation of Paris into the great show-city of the world and the pleasure-capital of Europe necessarily implies great structural and topographical improvements, and Napoleon III. left his subjects a remodelled and renovated capital, the handsomest and stateliest, if not the most artistic or picturesque, city in Europe.

The rebuilding and construction of great streets and magnificent places and parks cost enormous sums, and threw into the shade everything previously achieved at Paris, or perhaps in any city in the world.

Even a mere catalogue of the number of public buildings and monuments built or restored by Napoleon III. would occupy a considerable amount of space, and the list is rendered unnecessary by the chapter on "Monumental Paris," in which the dates of the various edifices are duly given.

When Napoleon began his magnificent scheme of rebuilding Paris, the city, even after the renovation of Louis Philippe, consisted in the main of a labyrinth of narrow, dark, and ill-drained streets and alleys. In putting an end to this state of things, Napoleon, or rather Baron Haussmann and Monsieur Alphand, who inspired and executed the improvements, completely eviscerated his capital. Broad and straight avenues and boulevards were driven through the midst of these streets, thousands of houses being pulled down to make room for them.

By a clean sweep of a large number of shops and residences, the Rue de Rivoli was extended from the Tuileries to the Hôtel de Ville, the Boulevard de Sébastopol, running north and south, cut through some of the most densely populated quarters of Paris, and an equally wide boulevard opened on the other side of the river. Then the great squares and places, especially those containing any Napoleonic monuments, were connected with broad avenues. An elaborate system of drainage was introduced, and all streets lit with gas. But what did more to improve the æsthetic attraction of Paris was the introduction of a water-supply sufficient to supply the fountains and groves of the numerous open spaces; and Paris, which formerly gave the stranger the impression of being built on a wilderness of chalk, was converted into one of the greenest and shadiest of the great cities of Europe.

In 1855 an International Exhibition was held in Paris. This was a great advance on the tentative industrial exhibitions which had been held at intervals during the First Empire and the reign of Louis Philippe. Besides, this was the first International Exhibition. The exhibition was intended, at its inception three years before, to inaugurate an era of peace,—the emperor, indeed, in his opening speech, called it a Temple of Peace,—but by the irony of fate its inauguration coincided with a more sanguinary war (the Crimean campaign) than France had been engaged in since the days of Napoleon I.

It also served to emphasise the great strides France had made in commerce and industry, due partly to the years of comparative tranquillity which marked the first

years of the restored empire, and partly to the improvements in communication by the railways which began to spread all over France, and the increased facilities for transacting business, owing to the numerous banks and discount houses which were established in the fifties, the introduction of cheques, and an improved postal service.

This exhibition was especially noteworthy from the visit of Queen Victoria to Paris. This state visit from a sister sovereign did much to increase the prestige of the resuscitated empire in the eyes of the great powers. The visit was, too, of peculiar historic significance, as her Majesty was the first English sovereign to visit Paris since the coronation in Notre Dame Cathedral of the infant Henry VI., in 1422.

In January, 1858, Paris was again the scene of another of the many attempts on the emperor's life,— that of Orsini. Though the emperor himself was uninjured, the bomb did even more damage than the infernal machine of Fieschi (see Boulevards chapter), a hundred and fifty persons being wounded. Orsini was an Italian who had laboured all his life for the regeneration of Italy, and he took this means of avenging himself on Napoleon, who had in his early years taken some part in the work of Italian independence, if he was not actually a member of the Carbonari, but had recently neglected the interests of that country.

The attempt took place on the evening of the 14th January. Just as the emperor and empress were driving up to the Opera, three bombs were flung at the imperial carriage, bursting under the horses' feet. This dastardly attack naturally caused a temporary reaction

of popularity in favour of the court, and the government was not slow to turn this to account by taking severe measures to repress any recrudescence of republican sentiments in France.

The Orsini affair seemed at the time likely to bring about a breach between England and France, owing to the French government's high-handed action in demanding a modification of the English law of extradition, Orsini having at some time lived in England. The weakness of Lord Palmerston, who had yielded to the demands of the emperor in this matter, brought about the fall of his Ministry.

It was less excusable for the English Foreign Minister to allow himself to be bluffed by the emperor, as he knew his character well; "Napoleon lies, even when he says nothing," Palmerston had once remarked.

From the time of the Treaty of Zurich (November 10, 1859), which brought to a close the Austrian War (greatly to the disgust of Victor Emmanuel, who now learnt that the famous promise of Napoleon to "free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic" was likely to remain little more than a national aspiration), France was engaged in various little wars in distant countries, in China, Syria, and Mexico. The last expedition, in which Napoleon foolishly tried to force an Austrian prince on the Mexicans, ended disastrously and resulted in discredit to the imperial government.

The restless ambition of the emperor, and an evident desire to play the rôle of an arbiter of nations, as evidenced by these unnecessary campaigns, gradually undermined the popularity of the imperial régime. In this attitude Paris took the lead, and a strong parliamentary

opposition was firmly established after the general election of May, 1863.

During the last few years of his reign, the emperor, perhaps with a view of counteracting the influence of the clerical party and the court, which was distinctly anti-national, seemed desirous of reconciling the liberal and constitutional party of M. Thiers, and aimed to convert the government into what he called a "liberal empire," — a phrase which in the opinion of the court faction was meaningless or, at all events, contradictory.

In 1867 Paris was the seat of the second International Exhibition, another of those world's fairs by which France in vain tried to cloak her declining political and commercial prestige, and the crushing burden of debt under which the country was suffering.

The personal influence of the emperor with the nation was at its lowest ebb in 1869, on the eve of the breach with Prussia, and Napoleon was driven to a closer alliance with the clerical party and the court. Broken in health, and fancying that the success of French arms could alone restore his personal influence, he was led by the court party into the disastrous war with Prussia. It is probable that he was to some extent correct in his view that a successful campaign could alone save his dynasty. Unfortunately, France could hardly have been more unprepared for such a tremendous undertaking. The war was declared (July 19, 1870) so hurriedly that France had no time to find allies. Even the co-operation of Austria could not be obtained, while as to Italy, Napoleon had deeply offended that country by sending troops to support the Pope in 1867 against the Garibaldians.



The army, too, was miserably equipped, and its effective force far short of its strength on paper, while the military magazines were empty and many of the fortresses unprovided with either ammunition or stores. In the government offices nobody knew anything about the German preparations for war, or the state of feeling in that country. The French troops, undeniably brave and enduring, were led by officers absolutely ignorant of strategy or the art of war ; in short, " lions led by asses " was not an altogether undeserved description of the French armies. In the campaign, the shortest on record in modern times in a war between first-class powers (for the actual fighting lasted barely a month), the French troops were outmanœuvred and outgeneralled throughout.

In August Bazaine's army was shut up in Metz, and MacMahon and the emperor, with an army of some eighty thousand men, were surrounded at Sedan by an overwhelming force of the enemy, and after a day's desperate fighting the emperor surrendered with all his troops to King William of Prussia (September 2, 1870). Thus in less than six weeks after the declaration of war, " France found herself without a ruler or means of defence, a disaster, unparalleled in rapidity, continuity, and extent, which left the country disabled, and a prey to invasion."

A remarkably ominous and, as it proved, truthful forecast of the great struggle, in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of July 28, 1870, in the account of the emperor's departure from St. Cloud for the seat of war, is worth transcribing.

" When they (the emperor and empress) meet again, if indeed they ever do meet, what an eventful story will



**FONTAINE DE MÉDICIS, IN THE GARDEN OF THE LUXEMBOURG.**



have been told, and each line written in letters of blood ! To France, though the issues are great, the war is but one chapter in her history ; but to the emperor and empress it may be the last chapter in the record of their career. For him, at least, there is no future but in success ; in drawing the sword he has thrown away the scabbard ; he has burned his ships. That gay and glorious city, which as with an enchanter's wand he has remodelled and rebuilt, will either close her gates to the fugitive or welcome the return of a glorious leader. Bold as the emperor may be to beard Bismarck in his power, it will require more boldness still to reappear at home without the army."

A more "intelligent anticipation of events" could scarcely have been penned.

The reasons for the utter collapse of the French arms and the series of continuous victories of Prussia in this short but decisive campaign have been discussed *ad nauseam*. That the French soldiers themselves were excellent fighting material was most conclusively shown by their behaviour in the campaign which followed Sedan. Perhaps the causes which chiefly contributed to the uninterrupted series of victories of Germany — for it won every engagement of importance during the month's campaign which was brought to an end by the decisive victory of Sedan — might be summarised thus :

1. The Prussians fought for the realisation of a great national aspiration, the union of Germany. Then, too, at first at all events, the troops were inspired by a feeling that they were defending hearth and home, which were being threatened by France.

2. A universal feeling that their cause possessed the moral support of Europe in their resistance to the aggressive attitude of the empire.

3. The German armies were undoubtedly better equipped and more prepared for war than those of France, and their artillery was in every respect superior. Napoleon himself, in his historic interview at the Château of Bellevue with King William, declared that it was the Prussian artillery which won the battle.

4. The discipline was infinitely superior; indeed, as a rule, the German private soldier had as much trained intelligence as the French subaltern officer.

5. Germany had a settled plan of campaign, which was rigidly adhered to.

6. Among the Prussians there were none of the jealousies among the generals which were so rife in the French army, while political dissensions did not, as in France, hamper the conduct of the war.

Though Napoleon, who, it is well known, was personally opposed to the war, acted with humanity in not prolonging an absolutely useless resistance, his pusillanimity in throwing all responsibility for the war on the French nation has been justly blamed. The war was purely a dynastic and court war. Did not the Empress Eugénie always declare that the war was hers? In return for this betrayal of their country, the Provisional Government in Paris not only decreed the abdication of the emperor, but proclaimed the Republic at the Hôtel de Ville (September 4th). Some months later, when the National Assembly resumed its functions, its first work was solemnly to declare, in the most uncompromising terms, "the late emperor solely responsible for the ruin,

invasion, and dismemberment of France." But though the empire had fallen, and her armies had been captured, Prussia had yet to reckon with the levies of the Third Republic. The heroic defence made by France after Sedan may be better understood when it is remembered that seven of her army corps were either prisoners of war or shut up in Metz. There remained only the 13th and 14th corps,—the latter not even complete on paper. Yet for nearly five months the raw levies of Gambetta upheld the honour of France, and stemmed the tide of the Prussian advance. These attempts, from a purely military point of view, were futile and indefensible, but the moral effect of this heroic resistance was undoubtedly beneficent to France, and well worth the additional war indemnity which this obstinate defence brought about.

The principal events of the campaign may be conveniently tabulated here. Metz, by the treachery of Marshal Bazaine, who capitulated with some 170,000 men, was occupied by the Prussians on October 27th. Its fall was followed by that of all the other fortresses on the Rhine frontier except Belfort, which withstood successfully, with a garrison of only sixteen thousand men, a continuous bombardment of seventy-nine days. The army of the Loire was defeated at Orleans (December 3d), Le Mans (January 12th), while the army of the North was worsted in the battle of Villers-Bretonneux (November 27th), Pont-Noyelles (December 23d), St. Quentin (January 19th), and the army of the East was defeated with heavy loss at Dijon in the same month.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### PARIS UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC.

THE history of the Third Republic can be divided into two distinct periods. During the first period (1870 to 1875) the government was solely concerned with the rebuilding of the national fabric and repairing the disasters caused by the fall of the empire.

The second period dates from the constitution of 1875 — the present constitution — to the present day. During the stormy five years between Sedan and the genesis of the new constitution, Gambetta and Thiers were the saviours of their country. If its political re-organisation is due to the former, its actual existence as a first-class power is due to this great demagogue. In the terrible crisis of September he displayed not only extraordinary eloquence,—France is prolific in mere orators,— but a genius for organisation unequalled even by Carnot, and an extraordinary gift of inspiring others with his enthusiasm and devoted patriotism. During the last months of the year 1870, Gambetta raised and equipped a force not many thousands short of a million, and gave France half a dozen armies to replace those betrayed to the Germans. He seems, indeed, to have infected not only Paris, but provincial France, with the same extraordinary outburst of patriotism which saved France in 1793, when all

Europe seemed on the point of crushing the new republic.

The siege of Paris by the Germans, in the winter of 1870-71, is the fourth of the great blockades which Paris has had to endure since the time of the Romans, and it ranks among the greatest and most remarkable sieges in the annals of modern warfare.

After the decisive victory of Sedan, the German armies pushed forward to the capital, and soon Paris was surrounded by a living girdle of some 230,000 armed men. Meanwhile, the measures for the defence of Paris were pushed forward with unflagging zeal. Fresh earthworks, redoubts, and rifle shelters were rapidly constructed. The space between the walls and the belt of forts was turned into a desert, — popularly known as the *zone des servitudes*, — where the villas were ruthlessly pulled down and the gardens turned into potato-fields for the nourishment of the beleaguered citizens, and a great part of the Bois de Boulogne was cut down to provide fuel.

The defence at the Porte Neuilly will give a good idea of the energy and ingenuity of General Trochu and the Government of National Defence, and shows how much was done to supplement the famous fortifications of Louis Philippe. These works would now be put to their first practical test. In addition to the enceinte already described, sixteen detached forts, at distances varying from one to four miles from the walls, had been constructed, the circuit extending twenty-four miles. According to a military critic, these fortifications had been admirably planned. "They are of the utmost simplicity; a plain enceinte of bastions without



even a demilune before the curtains. The forts are mostly bastioned quadrangles or pentagons, without any demilunes or other outworks, here and there a horn-work or crown-work to cover an outlying space of high ground. They are constructed not so much for passive as for active defence. The garrison of Paris expected to come out into the open, to use the forts as supporting points for its flanks, and by constant sallies on a large scale to render impossible a regular siege of any two or three forts. Let us add that the distance of the forts from the ramparts precludes the possibility of an effective bombardment of the town until two or three, at least, of the forts shall have been taken."

The following concise account of these additional defences appeared in the *Times* (September, 1870):

"Two substantial stone barricades, properly loopholed, have been erected in the Avenue de la Grand Armée, and the 'Octroi' barriers are lined on the inside with stout timber, pierced with loopholes for musketry, in front of which is raised a wooden stage for the marksmen to stand on. So that there are altogether no less than three lines of defence behind the ramparts. In advance are the drawbridges, clamped with iron rods and bars, and raised with heavy chains, and flanked with massive masonry, loopholed in thirty-eight places. The side toward the Avenue de Neuilly, together with the massive posts of drawbridges, are tinted green to resemble the turf of the ramparts. A couple of 24-pounders peep through the embrasures of the flanks of the adjacent bastions. In advance of the drawbridges an extensive angular-shaped earthwork has been thrown out, stretching some distance into the Avenue

de Neuilly, and diverting the narrow roadway leading thereto circuitously to the left. The earthwork is strengthened behind with tall stockades, and has a second row of stockades in the rear, converting it, as it were, into a veritable redoubt."

By the beginning of September the brilliant capital of France was shut out from its ordinary communications with the outer world.

On September 19th Paris was completely invested, and from that day dates the famous siege of Paris, which, in spite of all the efforts of the besieging armies, was destined to continue for nearly four months and a half. The aim of the besiegers was simply to reduce the city by famine,—for even Bismarck did not at the beginning contemplate inflicting upon a city of two million inhabitants the horrors of a bombardment,—while the only course left to the defenders of Paris was a successful *sortie en masse* which should pierce the investing lines, and enable the French troops to join forces with the army of the Loire and the other *corps d'armée*, which Gambetta was raising with a view of harassing the Germans in the rear.

During the months of September and October, several ineffective sorties were made by the regular troops, but on November 30th General Trochu and his second in command, General Ducrot, decided on a sortie of all the available troops. This was to be a supreme effort, and General Ducrot took a solemn oath to reënter Paris either dead or victorious. This characteristic piece of braggadocio was, to tell the truth, rather a cheap form of heroism, for, having broken his parole after Metz, he would certainly be shot if taken prisoner.

This sortie, though it did not improve the situation of the besieged army, included several engagements, and the fighting lasted a number of days. In the end, the French troops had to give up several positions they had taken in the first day's fighting, and ultimately withdrew within the walls on the 3d December, having lost over ten thousand in killed and wounded. It appears that the severe cold proved an even more formidable enemy than the German troops; at all events, its effect on the ill-clad and badly fed soldiers was most demoralising.

Christmas-tide at Paris was a heavy trial both to besieged and besiegers. The frost was so exceptionally severe that many sentries died at their posts. Count Von Moltke at length decided that the siege must be ended, and on the 27th December he ordered the bombardment. According to the euphemistic official vernacular the siege was now recognised as "active!" One day's bombardment of Fort Mont Avron made it untenable, and the French evacuated it that same night. Even General Trochu could scarcely refuse to recognise that the final phase of the siege had been reached, and that it was the beginning of the end. He still, however, talked of his famous "plan" (now a stock joke of the boulevards), which was to save Paris.

The new year was ushered in by the Parisians with a defiant volley of their siege-guns, but this was a despairing effort, for it was felt by all that the capitulation could not be long delayed.

The wisdom or expediency of the policy of bombardment was much questioned at the time in military and diplomatic circles. Feelings of horror and disgust were

naturally aroused in the minds of most people at the idea of bombarding a great capital with nearly two million inhabitants.

By the middle of January most of the French forts had been reduced, and the Germans were able to advance their guns sufficiently near the enceinte to rain down shell in the actual streets of Paris. General Trochu sent a formal remonstrance to Count Von Moltke, complaining that the hospitals had been injured. In reply, the Man of Iron explained that this was accidental, and due to errors of marksmanship at the great distance at which the cannon were fired, but he added, with a cynicism a little brutal under the circumstances, that when the batteries approached nearer it would be possible to use more discrimination.

The bombardment certainly aroused a strong feeling that Germany was acting with undue severity. Public opinion failed to see that the French nation had done anything to deserve such ruthless treatment at the hands of its conquerors. Indeed, the threatened destruction of the beautiful metropolis of France, the "glory and the grace of civilisation," was almost regarded as a challenge to the whole civilised world. At the same time, the argument put forward by the German government for this extreme measure had some show of reason from a political and non-sentimental point of view. It was contended that, owing to the unusually stubborn resistance, not only of the capital, but of the armies raised after Sedan, and the danger of the German armies investing Paris being cut off from their communications by the provincial levies *en masse*, it was of vital importance to bring the siege to an end. It must, too, be

admitted that a simple blockade was all that Moltke intended at first,<sup>1</sup> as it was confidently expected that either famine or internal dissensions would soon wear out the defensive powers of Paris.

A fortnight of this terrible bombardment showed the authorities the utter hopelessness of further resistance, though the more violent of the populace still affected to consider the word capitulation as equivalent to treachery. A final sortie—the last supreme effort of the besieged—was, however, undertaken on January 19th chiefly with a view of conciliating these irreconcilable patriots of the pavement, but the troops (which this time included the National Guard) were driven back with immense loss after a few hours' fighting. Surrender was now but a question of days. The German batteries had, as Moltke threatened, approached nearer the walls, and a few more days of continuous bombardment would mean the literal destruction of a great portion of the city. Then the successive and decisive defeats of the provincial armies at Le Mans, Belfort, and St. Quentin removed the last hope of Paris being relieved by Gambetta's levies. To add to their difficulties, the last desperate sortie—a sortie *en masse*—had been repulsed with great loss. The discontent of the Parisians took the usual form of a serious rising of the Red Republican party, which was put down with difficulty.

This agitation had one important result; it brought about the resignation of the luckless governor, General Trochu, the "Man of the Plan." Trochu appears to have been a kind of military Hamlet, wise in speech,

<sup>1</sup> The Crown Prince Frederick was strongly opposed to the bombardment even to the last.



**JOAN OF ARC MONUMENT (PLACE DES PYRAMIDES).**



but weak and hesitating in action. As a statesman he was a decided failure. He was never master of the situation, and had no power of initiative. He followed rather than led public opinion. The resources and supplies of Paris, too, were nearly exhausted, and by holding out nearly four months and a half she had already saved the honour of France.

Below is a specimen of one of the *menus* at a popular restaurant in the Latin Quarter at the beginning of January, which gives a good idea of the gastronomic straits to which the light-hearted Parisians were reduced.

*Potage.*

Consommé de Cheval au millet.

*Relevé.*

Brochettes de foie de Chien à la maître d'hôtel.  
Emincé de rable de Chat. Sauce mayonnaise.

*Entrées.*

Epaules et filets de Chien braisés. Sauce aux tomates.  
Civet de Chat aux Champignons.  
Côtelettes de Chien aux petits pois.  
Salmis de Rats. Sauce Robert.

*Rôti.*

Gigots de Chien flanqués de ratons. Sauce poivrada.

*Légumes.*

Begonias au jus.

*Entremets.*

Plum-pudding au rhum et à la Moelle de Cheval.




The critical condition of Paris is succinctly set forth in the government proclamation published on February 4th, the preamble of which is as follows :

“ Frenchmen, Paris has laid down its arms when on the verge of starvation. It had been told, ‘ Hold out for a few weeks and we will deliver you.’ It resisted for five months,<sup>1</sup> and, despite heroic efforts, the Departments have not been able to succour it. Paris resigned itself to the most cruel privations ; it accepted ruin, disease, and exhaustion. During a whole month shell have poured into the city, slaying women and children. For upwards of six weeks the few grammes of bad bread distributed to each inhabitant have scarcely sufficed to maintain life ; and when, thus vanquished by the most inexorable necessity, the great city comes to a standstill, in order not to condemn two million inhabitants to the most horrible catastrophe ; when, profiting by its remnant of strength, it treats with the enemy, instead of submitting to unconditional surrender, the Government of the National Defence is accused elsewhere of culpable indifference, is denounced and repudiated. When at the end of January we resigned ourselves to making terms, we had flour only for ten days, and we knew that the devastation of the country rendered revictualling very uncertain.”

Sickness and starvation had, by the end of January, raised the weekly death-rate to nearly 4,500. The innumerable ambulances which had been established in Paris could at last be of some use. At the commencement of the siege there had been nearly two hundred

<sup>1</sup> Really only some four and one-half months ; to be exact, 131 days.



and fifty of these, and the supply so greatly exceeded the demand that it is said that, after a sortie, those attached to the ambulances (men often joining merely to avoid service in the National Guard) used to offer bribes to whoever brought in a wounded soldier. Many are the amusing stories told of the methods employed by the nurses to obtain patients. One lady went to the *Mairie* of her *arrondissement* to ask for a *blésé* to nurse. She was offered a Zouave, but declined on the ground that, being a *brunette* herself, she would prefer to nurse a *blond* soldier!

On January 23d M. Jules Favre was sent to treat with the German Chancellor, Bismarck, at Versailles, and finally a three weeks' armistice (ultimately extended to March 12th) was agreed upon, in order that negotiations for a definite peace might be arranged.

But the armistice was conditional on Paris capitulating and allowing the German troops to occupy the forts. A war contribution of two hundred million francs was also levied on Paris, independently of the national war indemnity of five milliards (£200,000,000).

The very day after the armistice was signed (January 28th) enormous stores of food were sent in by the Germans, and also by the London Relief Committee, and it was calculated that the famishing city received between February 3d and 10th as much as 9,600 tons of flour, 450 tons of rice, 900 tons of biscuits, 360 tons of fish, 3,700 head of live stock. It seems curious that the distress was not so much among the poorest classes, but among the *petite bourgeoisie*, — the small shopkeepers and employés. But this was owing to their being too proud to avail themselves of the public rations.

But there remained the bitterest and most humiliating condition of the armistice, which Bismarck would not forego. This was the occupation of a portion of Paris for three days by the German troops as a sign and symbol of triumph, and regarded perhaps by the unbending foe of France as the most effective reply to the original war-cry of "A Berlin."

On March 1st, the entry of the German troops into the conquered city took place. The morning broke dull and cheerless as the first troops marched along the Avenue de la Grande Armée, and passed (not through, for that humiliation was spared Paris) the Arc de Triomphe to the Place de la Concorde, amidst the morose silence of the populace. Three days later, to the great relief of the city authorities, the invaders marched back, but this time through, instead of around, the Triumphal Arch. The discipline and forbearance of the German troops on this occasion were beyond praise. It was only when they left the Arch, and felt that the war was really over, that they gave full vent to their feelings by a ringing cheer, and by waving aloft their helmets. "It was the only occasion," says an eye-witness, "on which I have seen the Germans indulge in military glorification. They fairly revelled in their triumph."

The day before this triumphal entry of the German army, the preliminaries of peace had been signed, by which France had to give up the whole of Alsace, except Belfort, and the fifth part of Lorraine, including Metz and Thionville, and to pay an indemnity of £200,000,000.

After the capitulation of Paris it was possible to


hold a general election for a National Assembly to replace the provisional Government of National Defence, for during the siege, owing to Bismarck's refusal — perhaps not unnatural, under the circumstances — to grant an armistice for this purpose, the election could not take place. During this period, the members of the government who had not remained in the beleaguered capital had made Tours their headquarters. On the 18th of February the newly elected Assembly made Bordeaux the seat of government. M. Jules Grévy was elected President of the Republic, and M. Thiers was appointed prime minister, with the title of Chief of the Executive, and a few months later (August) he was elected President of the Republic. The constitution of the new Assembly (which consisted of 750 members) was anomalous, for there were only 250 genuine Republicans, and though there were only thirty or so Bonapartists, the large number of Orleanists and Legitimists made up a monarchical majority. This majority could not, however, “establish a monarchy, because it was divided into three great rival groups, each with a pretender, while the Republican Ministry, profiting by the divisions among its adversaries, achieved the form of government preferred by itself.” It is curious that the general opinion of politicians, at this juncture, was that a moderate republic would be first tried, but that France would soon gravitate into a constitutional monarchy.

Many events had contributed to disquiet Paris, which had been greatly affronted by the choice of Versailles as the political capital. The disbandment of the highly paid National Guard was naturally much resented by large numbers of citizens, who had no other means of

livelihood, while M. Thiers had made the fatal mistake of disbanding without at the same time disarming them.

The demoralising effect of the long siege had also much to do in unsettling the populace. During this last few months all the usual social and economical conditions of the capital had perforce been disturbed. Machiavelli has observed in a well-known passage, that almost all the great sieges known to history have terminated with sedition, for the moral and physical sufferings of the people render them peculiarly liable to be influenced by agitators, while the arms with which they are unavoidably provided furnish the weapons for a rising.

In March, the affairs of the distracted country entered upon a new phase, and the government was confronted by an adversary which threatened to be more dangerous to the Republic than even the foreign enemy. This new enemy was the Committee of the Red Republican party, popularly known as the Commune. The insurrection might easily have been stamped out at the first symptom of revolt, had the government acted with decision, or possessed an ordinary amount of foresight. Under the pretence of saving the artillery from the enemy, the leaders of the extreme republican faction had removed all the cannon from the fortifications to the heights of Montmartre. Owing to the extraordinary ineptitude of M. Thiers, in not insisting upon the disarming of the National Guard, the insurgents had an army of a hundred thousand men, to protect the four hundred cannon they had become possessed of by this *coup de main*.



Finally, when the position became critical, and the government sent Generals Le Comte and Clément Thomas to subdue the rising, the regular troops refused to fire on the insurgents, who seized the two generals, and summarily shot them. It was now, of course, open war between the leaders of the Commune and the government at Versailles, and the few members of the latter who had been installed in Paris during the siege quitted the capital, now given up to disorder and rapine.

It is strange to find among the list of the revolutionary leaders none of the well-known Red Republicans and Socialists, such as Blanqui, Flourens, Rochefort, Félix Pyat, or Louis Blanc. The names of the authors of the revolution of March 18th were quite unfamiliar to the public ear.

Owing to the popular name of this socialistic and democratic party, — the Commune, — it might be supposed that the desire for reform in the municipal organisation of Paris was the mainspring of the revolutionists, but, as a matter of fact, few cared much about it, and the majority had very vague notions as to the meaning of communal government. But the leaders thought it politic to put forward the lack of municipal freedom in Paris as the chief grievance of the insurgents. The communal elections took place on March 26th, when the Reds headed the poll in every arrondissement. There was now a transfer of authority from the original central committee to a committee of representatives of the Paris communes. From this date only the Commune officially commences. This delegation of authority was, however, mainly formal and fictitious, as the majority of the new revolutionary committee, the Commune, were

members of the old committee. In the "Ministry" of the Commune, the prominent members were Cluseret, Minister of War, and the infamous Raoul Rigault, Minister of General Safety (Minister of the Interior), Félix Pyat, and Delescluze.

Toward the end of March, there was a general exodus of the bourgeois and the more respectable classes, and it is computed that during the last ten days of that month over 160,000 persons quitted the capital. With the first days of April, the second stage in the history of the Commune is reached. The government now recognised that Paris must be subdued by force, and on April 2d the second siege of Paris began.

In the first engagement (April 2d) the Communists were worsted at Courbevoie, near the Bois de Boulogne, and withdrew into Paris by the Pont de Neuilly.

A sortie of all the insurgent troops took place that evening, and, at the end of four days' fighting, the Communists were compelled from this date to confine their energies to maintaining an obstinate resistance within the walls of Paris. The government had from the commencement of hostilities let it be understood that the insurgents of Paris would not be granted the ordinary privileges of belligerents, and that prisoners would be summarily shot. In an order of the day, the following uncompromising declaration was issued by General de Galliffet (the present war minister): "It is a war without pity that I wage against these assassins. I do not forget that the country and the law and, consequently, right are with Versailles and the National Assembly, and not with the grotesque assembly at Paris, which calls itself the Commune."

It is not to be wondered at, especially in view of the state of feeling in the capital, that the Communists threatened to take reprisals, and forthwith the arrest of the Archbishop of Paris, the president of the Court of Cassation, the curé of the Madeleine, and other notabilities was ordered. These were to serve as hostages for the good treatment of the Communist prisoners.

A new phase of this terrible internecine struggle now began, and the horrors of a bombardment were to be repeated, this time by Frenchmen on their own countrymen. The cautious policy of the Versailles government (which was, virtually, M. Thiers) at this juncture has been much blamed, and the wisdom gained by events certainly showed that his action was wrong. As the regulars had shown no disposition to fraternise with the National Guards of the Commune, he should have ordered an immediate assault on Paris, and brought the contest to an end at all costs. As it was, he delayed attacking Paris for a week, till he had collected an army of 150,000 men, and thus gave the Commune time to organise and strengthen their forces. In fact, he seemed inclined to follow the policy of extermination of the emperor's *coup d'état*. Marshal MacMahon was now to be opposed by the Communist General Cluseret, who had replaced General Bergeret. By the beginning of May Paris was completely invested, no less than 128 batteries raining down shell and shot on the capital.

Meanwhile, within the walls, the Commune was being split up into various opposing parties, but still the Central Committee wielded its mysterious authority behind the ostensible leaders. The jealousy and distrust brought about a continual change in the heads of departments,



especially in the Ministry of War. The weak point in the government was thoroughly understood by Henri Rochefort, who wrote in his paper, named, apparently, on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, *Mot d'Ordre*: "It is neither dread of the Parisians nor of the shells of M. Thiers which enervates Paris and kills our hopes. It is gaunt suspicion that weighs us down. The Hôtel de Ville distrusts the Minister of War, who distrusts the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Fort of Vanves distrusts Bicêtre; Rigault distrusts Rossel, and Rossel distrusts Dombrowski."

On the 1st of May, Rossel, the one popular hero of the Commune, and certainly the most enlightened, was appointed War Minister in place of General Cluseret. Rossel seems to have been the only general of any real genius or organising capacity the Commune produced, and, had he not been hampered by the system of divided authority which the Central Committee, apprehensive of a strong man who might become a dictator, insisted upon, it is probable that the Versailles government would have had a far harder task to subdue Paris. The new War Minister, after two months' trial, finding himself unsupported by the Committee in his attempts to reorganise the National Guard, formally sent in his resignation. In this letter he concludes, with a touch of cynical humour, "I have the honour to demand a cell at Mazas." It may be mentioned that the Committee, perhaps willing to second the humorous mood of their ex-War Minister, promptly acceded to his request, and had him arrested and imprisoned.

The youthful genius Rossel was now succeeded by the veteran Communist Delescluze, who seems to have known

that the insurrection was doomed, but had resolved to perish with it. In a few days the besiegers effected an entrance almost by accident, for MacMahon had been prepared to devote at least a week more to sapping and mining before ordering a general assault. The National Guard, driven away from that part of the ramparts by concentrated artillery fire, had left the *Porte Point du Jour*<sup>1</sup> near the St. Cloud gate undefended, and, on the 21st May, the Versailles troops entered without opposition.

A week's desperate fighting brought the sanguinary civil war of the Commune to an end. During these six days the streets and boulevards of Paris were the scenes of countless tragedies and deeds of horror. Both the government troops and the National Guard seem to have fought in a delirium of rage and vindictiveness.

In the course of the 22d and 23d the regulars had taken possession of the northern railway station and the *Butte Montmartre*, one of the Communists' most important strongholds.

The more desperate of the leaders of the Commune, perceiving that the few bands of National Guards still left to them could barely hold out more than two or three days, determined to take terrible revenge on the city which was to be snatched from them, by destroying its great public monuments and government buildings. Orders were given to fire all the public buildings, and early on Wednesday morning the horrified troops from Versailles beheld the *Tuileries*, the *Louvre*, the *Palais*

<sup>1</sup> The actual spot has been a subject of much controversy. What actually happened was that a breach was made in the *Point du Jour* gate, which had been previously walled up.

Royal, and the Hôtel de Ville in flames. But this night far more horrible deeds have to be chronicled. Revenge took a still more terrible form, and a spirit of massacre was abroad. Rigault, the Marat or Robespierre of the 1871 "Terror," organised the massacre of the hostages. The fate of the imprisoned Archbishop of Paris and his fellow hostages had for long caused the deepest anxiety, but it was hoped that the troops would rescue them in time. Their hour was come, however, and, after a mock trial, the venerable archbishop was shot on the 24th, — it is said in the act of blessing his murderers.

The most brutal and ferocious of all the members of the Central Committee was this Raoul Rigault, Minister of the Interior and afterward Prefect of Police. Many stories are told of his shameless cynicism, of which the following is typical.

On one occasion an old curé over eighty years of age was brought before him. Asked his profession, the venerable priest replied that he was a servant of God. "Where does he live?" "Everywhere," replied the old man. "Send this man, who calls himself *le serviteur d'un nommé Dieu*, to the Conciergerie," commanded Rigault, "and issue a warrant for the arrest of his master, *le nommé Dieu*, who appears to have no permanent residence, and is, in consequence, contrary to law, living in a perpetual state of vagabondage."

In the meantime, the avenging troops were pressing steadily on, and on Thursday M. Thiers was able to telegraph to the prefects of the Departments: "We are masters of Paris, with the exception of a very small portion, which will be occupied this morning. The Tuileries are in ashes; the Louvre is saved. The



HÔTEL DE VILLE, TAKEN FROM THE PONT ST. LOUIS.



Palais d'Orsay, the Court of Accounts, and a portion of the Ministry of Finance have been burnt. Such is the condition in which Paris is delivered to us by the wretches who oppressed it. We have already in our hands twelve thousand of the insurgents and shall certainly have eighteen to twenty thousand. The soil of Paris is strewn with corpses of the insurgents. The frightful spectacle will, it is hoped, serve as a lesson to those insensate men who dared to declare themselves partisans of the Commune."

The site of the final despairing struggle was, ominously enough, the Cemetery of Père la Chaise. The contest on the side of the Communists, who showed the desperate courage of rats caught in a trap, was obstinate and savage, but of course hopeless. A fierce and certainly unnecessary vengeance was taken on the populace of Paris. To be caught with weapons, or even with powder-stained hands, was at once a death-warrant. Even women were shot as summarily as men, for the story of the organised bands of *pétroleuses* was firmly believed in by the troops. The savage and wholesale nature of the reprisals by the generals of the Versailles troops has been deservedly blamed, and even as a political measure merely it was to be deprecated, for the ferocity and number of the military executions which characterised the suppression of the revolt tended to lessen the public impression of the horror that had occasioned them, and roused a sentiment of disgust in Europe against the government at Versailles.

Thus ended in blood and flame this awe-inspiring episode in the political history of modern Europe, — the two months' Reign of Terror of the Paris Commune.

But even the "Red Terror" has found an *advocatus diaboli* in the vigorous polemical writer, Mr. Frederick Harrison, who in the *Fortnightly Review*, 1871, lays considerable stress on the lack of conclusive evidence as to the alleged incendiarism of the Communists. No doubt the accounts of the wholesale organised system of destruction by bands of *pétroleuses* are grossly exaggerated, and the story of the Communards, disguised as firemen, pumping petroleum on the flames may be dismissed as a wild fable, but as to the deliberate destruction of public buildings from a malicious spirit of revenge, few of those writers accustomed to sift historical evidence will agree with Mr. Harrison in his attempt to whitewash the leaders of the Commune. Then Mr. Harrison spoils his case by overemphasis and lack of restraint, and his defence of the Commune is mainly an attack on the undeniably ferocious methods of repression adopted by the Versailles generals, which even the terrible excesses of the more desperate of the Communist leaders did not excuse, and certainly Mr. Harrison's *apologia* would be more effective if he were not so blinded by prejudice against his *bête noire*, M. Thiers. But however unjust and unreasonable, his famous attack on this statesman is worth quoting as a masterpiece of sustained invective.

"Recent history records no more repulsive character. In literature, the greatest living master of falsification; in politics, the greatest living adept in intrigue; without a scruple, a conviction, or a purpose; as sanguinary as Robespierre, without the excuse of his fanaticism; as Chauvinist as Napoleon, without the excuse of his genius."

“These lamentable and tragic events,” observes M. André Lebon, “were not of a nature to convert the majority of the National Assembly to republican ideas. For a long time a sombre memory brooded over the Chamber and the country in general, and the partisans of a monarchical restoration profited by this mood to denounce the Republic as a permanent source of disorder.”

The national credit was, however, less shaken than the most sanguine could have anticipated, and the success of the loan which was issued in 1871, to defray the war indemnity of £200,000,000, showed how strong was the vitality of France and how vast its resources. This loan was subscribed in a few weeks many times over, while the country uncomplainingly bore the burden of 750 million francs of new annual taxation, necessitated by paying the interest on the war loan, and by building up afresh the material of war.

The personnel of the army also required to be reorganised and increased, and, following the example of Prussia after the battle of Jena, universal conscription was decreed, making military service compulsory for all citizens between twenty and forty years.


In order to ensure the maintenance of the Republic, which Thiers, whatever his own personal wishes, was satisfied was now the only form of government which had any chance of stability, his great aim was to hold the balance between the Republicans and the Monarchists. The former he attempted to restrain by warning them that if the Republic, “which has twice been essayed without success, is this time to succeed, you will owe it to order.” To the Monarchists he said: “The



Republic exists. It is the legal government of the country; to desire anything else is to desire a revolution of the most formidable kind. Do not let us lose our time in proclaiming the Republic, but let us employ our time in giving it the necessary desirable form. Under no other government than a conservative one can society hold together."

The monarchical reaction was, nevertheless, too strong for the President, and M. Thiers was replaced in the presidential chair by Marshal MacMahon (May 24th, 1873), who was regarded, however, by the Orleanists and Legitimists as little more than a warming-pan or stop-gap. Indeed, in 1873, the Monarchical party had a better chance of overthrowing the Republic in favour of a Bourbon or Orleans sovereign than they have had at any time between the fall of Napoleon III. and the present day. It is, indeed, very likely that the Comte de Chambord would have actually gained the throne but for his uncompromising attitude. He refused to give any guarantee of constitutional liberty to his prospective subjects, and would not even accept the tricolour flag. In short, this dogmatic and intolerant prince would only reign as an absolute sovereign by divine right.

The Republicans and Monarchists seemed now agreed that a more definite and formal constitution than the provisional one hastily adopted at Bordeaux in 1871 was now imperatively necessary for the new republic, and in 1875 three important acts, regulating the organisation of the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, and the whole machinery of government, were passed. These measures form what is known as the Constitution of 1875. This is, indeed, ~~the~~ the constitution



of France to-day. Its chief provisions will be described later in the chapter on Legal and Municipal Paris.

“To this constitution the world is indebted for a parliamentary republic, a conjunction until then unknown to contemporary history. No abstract principle is embodied in the constitution, which chiefly sets a legal stamp upon the conditions prevailing at the moment of its birth, and adapting these to the needs of the situation, it sought to give them the plasticity indispensable for the satisfaction of future requirements. An experimental constitution if one will, but which precisely, because of this, differs from any other attempt of the same nature in France.”<sup>1</sup>

The political history of France during the next few years, till the fall of Marshal MacMahon in 1879, is uninteresting, and, with the death of Thiers in 1877, the only strong man in France, with the exception, perhaps, of Gambetta, is removed from the arena of politics.

In 1878 the third International Exhibition was held, which served, as indeed was its main object, to demonstrate to the world the complete recovery of the Republic after the disasters of 1870. This universal fête afforded a breathing-time to the political faction, and there was a comparative lull in the political world.

Soon after the election of M. Jules Grévy to the presidency of the Republic, the Republican party in the Chamber was strong enough to get the seat of government removed, in 1879, from Versailles to the capital. Up to 1880 France had perforce to devote all its energies to domestic concerns, but the feeling grew

<sup>1</sup> “Cent Ans d’Histoire Intérieure.”



that the Republic could not, without prejudice to its commercial prosperity, or the loss of national prestige, remain indifferent to the colonising influence which was leading the other countries of Europe to new continents, where the outlets for trade could be found. From this period we may date the colonial expansion of France, and the chief credit of this forward policy must be given to M. Jules Ferry, though it ultimately brought about the fall of this statesman.

Since 1870, it must be admitted that, even allowing for the grave political blunders in the case of Egypt, in 1882 and 1898, France has shown that a democratic republic is not unfitted for the control of a spirited and "imperial" foreign and colonial policy. Baron de Coubertin, in his able and dispassionate survey of the foreign policy of France under the Third Republic (see Bibliographical chapter), has shown clearly and convincingly that, in spite of the crippling calamities of 1870-71, which necessitated a temporary abstention from much interference in international affairs, the Republic has succeeded in taking a very prominent position among the great powers. France has not, indeed, shrunk from enormous pecuniary sacrifices in order to obtain this commanding position in Europe, but she has cheerfully borne the burdens of conscription — a kind of potential blood tax which falls on every household — and a greatly increased naval and military armament. The colonial expansion of France has been carried out on a very large scale. "We doubt if, at the most brilliant periods of English history, when our command of the sea was undisputed, the British Empire ever received such vast and varied accessions of territory within a like space of

time.”<sup>1</sup> This view is, perhaps, a little too eulogistic, and it is questionable, of course, if such additions to French territory, granted their enormous area, are of real economic value to the Republic, and likely to increase her resources. But the growth of this colonial empire, which includes Tunis, Madagascar, Tonquin, and the whole of Northwest Africa from Morocco to Tripoli, extending southwards to the hinterland of the British Coast Settlements, must not, on the other hand, be underrated.

In 1881, the most noteworthy event in the political history of France was the short-lived ministry of Gambetta, who died after having held office for little more than three months.

The years 1887 and 1888 were chiefly notable for the sudden rise and meteoric career of the egregious General Boulanger, who, at one time, seemed likely to threaten France with a recrudescence of military dictatorship. Making capital out of the public discontent at the failure of the colonial policy of the government, and the growing spirit of militarism, aroused partly by the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, he managed to compel the resignation of M. Grévy. M. Carnot, grandson of the famous “Organiser of Victories,” was elected in his place.

But the activity of the Boulangist faction did not abate, and finally the new Ministry, rightly judging the bellicose ex-Minister of War to be a danger to the state, and fearing a *coup d'état*, had the resolution to summon him for trial before the High Court of Justice, on a charge of conspiring against the state. Boulanger now

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Review*, January, 1899.

## CHAPTER IV THE SPLENDOR

~~STRENGTH IN THE MOMENT~~: his courage failed in  
the ~~crisis~~ moment, and he fled the country, as  
in 1871 he had done by suicide.

"A ~~single~~ ~~act~~ of this nature, requiring  
serious ~~action~~ from the government, consisted  
in ~~the~~ ~~election~~ of the Republican majority, while  
maintaining ~~the~~ ~~solidity~~ and elasticity  
of ~~the~~ ~~policy~~."

France was in the throes of this great  
crisis, and it did not seem to affect the success  
of the ~~International~~ Exhibition, which was held  
in 1889 to celebrate the centenary of the  
Revolution.

The history of the Republic under Carnot is  
marked by ~~political~~ ~~interest~~. It is mainly made up of political  
struggles and rivalries between the reactionaries  
and the Socialists. The latter party  
gained ground during 1892 and 1893, and as a  
result the Chamber they had now to be reckoned with  
had more than fifty members of this faction were re-elected  
to Parliament at the general election of 1893. It  
is, however, scarcely fair to suggest, as many writers  
do, a direct connection between the rise of this party  
and the Anarchist disturbances of 1892, and the  
resignation of the President, at Lyons, in June, 1892.

The next President, M. Casimir-Périer,  
held office only six months. It was  
maintained, in various quarters, that the fa-  
vourable case was in some way, remotely and  
indirectly responsible for his sudden resignation of  
office. The presidency of M. Faure was  
marked by the *entente cordiale* between the



revealed his real character; his courage failed him at the supreme moment, and he fled the country, ending his career, two years later, by suicide.

“ A political convulsion of this nature, requiring such strenuous efforts from the government, constituted a grave warning to the Republican majority, while simultaneously testifying to the solidity and elasticity of the institutions of 1875.”

Though France was in the throes of this great political crisis, it did not seem to affect the success of the brilliant Universal Exhibition, which was held in Paris in 1889, to celebrate the centenary of the French Revolution.

The history of the Republic under Carnot is of little external interest. It is mainly made up of political dissensions and rivalries between the reactionaries, the moderates, and the Socialists. The latter party gained much ground during 1892 and 1893, and as a factor in the Chamber they had now to be reckoned with, as no less than fifty members of this faction were returned to Parliament at the general election of 1893. It is, however, scarcely fair to suggest, as many writers do, any close connection between the rise of this party and the various Anarchist disturbances of 1892, and the assassination of the President, at Lyons, in June, 1894.

The next President, M. Casimir-Périer, managed to hold office only six months. It was afterward maintained, in various quarters, that the famous Dreyfus case was in some way, remotely and indirectly, responsible for his sudden resignation of the reins of office. The presidency of M. Faure was chiefly memorable for the *entente cordiale* between the Republic and

Russia, which ministers fondly hoped would tend to "redress the balance of Europe," supposed to be threatened by the Triple Alliance formed by Germany, Austria, and Italy.

The most memorable event in the social history of Paris, in 1895, was the state visit of the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Joseph Renals, in September. He was cordially received by the President, and splendidly entertained by the municipality.

The year following, Paris entertained far more illustrious visitors, the Czar of all the Russias paying a state visit in October. He was escorted to Cherbourg by the French fleet. The entry into Paris was witnessed by nearly two million people, and formed a scene of extraordinary enthusiasm. The President gave a state banquet at the Élysée in his honour. This was followed by gala performances at the Opéra. The chief event was the laying of the corner-stone of the Pont Alexandre III. A grand review of the troops by the Czar, at Châlons, concluded the state portion of the visit, in which that monarch spoke of "the profound sentiment of brotherhood in arms existing between France and Russia."

The awful catastrophe of the Charity Bazaar fire in May makes the year 1890 one of mournful memories for Parisians. The loss of life was appalling, as many as 124 persons being burnt alive, nearly as many as at the Opéra Comique fire just three years before. The next day (May 5th) was observed as a day of national mourning, and on May 8th a solemn requiem mass was celebrated at Notre Dame.

The internal history of France for the years 1898 and



1899 means virtually the history of the Dreyfus case, just as the predominant note in the foreign relations between Great Britain and the Republic since 1898 may be summed up in the word Fashoda.

The history actually dates back to 1894, when Dreyfus, a captain of artillery, was condemned (in the opinion of many on faulty and insufficient evidence) to transportation for life on a charge of treason, for having, it was alleged, divulged military secrets to a foreign power. The events of the famous Dreyfus agitation and the subsequent second trial are so fresh in the minds of all readers that it is unnecessary to recapitulate its numerous and intricate phases. Certainly, recent events have falsified the prediction of many who were of opinion that this case would imperil the very existence of the Republic. Apparently, however, in spite of the lame and impotent and certainly illogical conclusion of the trial, the "incident was closed." However inconsistent and vexatious might be the presidential decree (after the second court martial had found him guilty) pardoning Dreyfus without rehabilitating him or reinstating him in his rank, this measure was no doubt a politic one. It pacified France, and had also the effect of destroying the glamour which Dreyfus in the rôle of a political martyr would certainly possess.

The various conspiracies against the government (indirectly connected with the anti-Dreyfus agitation), fostered by various associations, such as the Anti-Semite League and the League of Patriots, subsidised by the Orleanist faction, seemed to be rather an anticlimax coming on the top of the momentous *affaire Dreyfus*, and were without difficulty suppressed by the govern-

ment. One of the melodramatic incidents of this agitation, the Fort Chabrol revolt, amused Paris for several weeks during August and September, 1899.

Paris must be allowed to have taken a prominent position in the van of human progress so far as regards great industrial engineering achievements. A few of the more striking or important of these undertakings within the last decade may be appropriately inserted here in chronological order.

The much talked-of Paris ship canal, which aimed at making the capital a seaport, never went beyond the paper stage, the project having been unanimously rejected in 1890 by the Council General of the Seine. It is not likely, judging from a somewhat similar scheme (Manchester ship canal), that it would have ever proved remunerative.

In 1893 the new water-supply works for Paris were completed. For many years during dry summers the Parisians had suffered from scarcity of water, but it was supposed that the new supply, which is brought from the junction of the Rivers Vigne and Avre by an aqueduct sixty-three miles long, would meet all demands—at all events for the remainder of the century. The daily supply was nearly doubled, and the work has been effected at a cost of thirty-two millions. The present municipality is even more ambitious in its views, and a scheme has recently been considered for utilising the Lake of Geneva as a reservoir for Paris by an aqueduct 350 miles in length! The cost is estimated to be twenty-two million pounds.

The magnificent Alexander III. Bridge (see Exhibition chapter), of which the foundation stone was laid by

the Czar in 1896, is one of the most important of the permanent improvements of Paris in connection with the 1900 Exhibition. The total length is about 600 feet, with a single span of 357 feet. Its width is exceptional, being 130 feet from parapet to parapet, which allows of a roadway of sixty-five feet, with two sidewalks of thirty-two feet.

In the autumn of 1898 the great project of the Metropolitan Electric Railway System was begun. There are to be six distinct lines, as follows: Vincennes to Porte Dauphine; a circular line following the outer boulevard; Porte Maillot to Ménilmontant; Clignancourt to Porte d'Orléans; Boulevard de Strasbourg to Pont d'Austerlitz; and Cours de Vincennes to Place d'Italie. The total length of these sections (which are chiefly underground) will be twenty-four miles. The gauge is to be the same as that of the state railways, and the cost is estimated to amount to £5,000,000, but this will almost certainly be exceeded. The Municipal Council must deliver up to the company the first three sections within eight years, and the remainder within a period of a further five years; if the additional three lines are authorised they are to be handed over in another period of five years. Certain portions are to be ready for the Exhibition of 1900. The fares will be twenty-five centimes first-class and fifteen centimes second-class for any distance. The project was first discussed by the Municipal Council in 1896, but the "battle of the gauges" delayed the progress of the scheme. Finally, instead of the original metre gauge, it was decided to have a normal one.

The most important engineering enterprise completed

in 1899 was the new sewerage works at the Gennevilliers. By this means the half million cubic metres of sewage, which had formerly found an outlet daily in the Seine, are now utilised for agricultural purposes. From a hygienic point of view this new means of disposing of the sewage of the capital is undoubtedly superior to the old-fashioned method; but the practical effect is that the Seine from Asnières to Argenteuil is spoilt as a stream of pleasure.

The splendid architectural embellishments of the capital which have taken place in the last quarter of a century almost eclipse those with which Napoleon III. enriched and beautified Paris. What Baron Haussmann was to the empire, Monsieur Alphand (to whom a statue has this year been erected by the grateful citizens) was to the Third Republic. The Hôtel de Ville, the finest municipal palace in Europe, the Trocadéro Palace, the Pont Alexandre III., can well compare as architectural achievements with the new Louvre, the Pont de l'Alma, and the Boulevard de Sébastopol. The Opéra House, though not completed till 1875, belongs rather to imperial than republican Paris. Most of these great buildings will be dealt with in the chapter on Monumental Paris.

As to the part Paris has played in the history of Europe, and its historic or social importance compared with other great capitals, opinions necessarily vary. Next to Athens and Rome, says one writer, Paris is the city that has left the deepest impression on mankind, while another goes farther, and unhesitatingly declares that Paris has "carried the torch of life and civilisation from century to century, and done most to spread cul-

ture and enlightenment throughout the globe." While a third writer, disdaining generalities, asserts that the Parisians are the best clad and the best fed and the best educated of all city populations.

As might naturally be supposed, these are the views most generally accepted in France.

On the other hand, some observers, noting the significance of the indisputable gradual decrease in the birth-rate of Paris, are not misled by the fictitious increase of the population, due partly to the influence of the tendencies of the age attracting country population to the great cities, and partly to the constantly increasing immigration of aliens (especially from Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy), and consider the pure Parisians a decadent race. There is, of course, some truth in all these different views, according to the period of the history of Paris the writer has in view. But the conventional view of foreigners, that Paris is a modern Babylon and the centre of corruption for Europe, is, of course, inherently absurd. Drunkenness, for instance, is a rare vice in Paris, and among a large section of the population the standard of morality and of domestic life is at least as high as in London, Berlin, or Rome.

Regarded from a political point of view, Paris holds a unique position among the capitals of Europe. London is not to Great Britain, or Berlin to Germany, what Paris is to France. In political influence, as well as in historical prestige, Paris outweighs a score of departments.

"No man," observes Mr. Frederick Harrison, "can long judge truly French politics who does not feel that in Paris is the head and heart of France. French

history is such that for generations Paris has exercised over France that fascination which Rome had over the West. Then socially the whole of the intelligence and force of France has been concentrated into that city."



# MUSEUMS





## CHAPTER IX.

### MUSEUMS AND PICTURE GALLERIES.

THE average tourist is apt to treat the museums of Paris rather perfunctorily, and does not take them so seriously as those of Rome, Naples, Dresden, and other great goals of travel. No doubt this comparative neglect is partly due to the fact that the sights of Paris are so numerous and important, and the more popular ones are naturally the first to engage the traveller's attention.

Of the numerous museums of the French capital, the largest, as well as the most important, is certainly the Louvre, but being undoubtedly of secondary interest to the art-galleries, most sightseers are satisfied with a hasty and superficial inspection after an exhausting day in the latter.

Unless we can spare several days for the Louvre Museum, as distinct from the picture-gallery, it is essential to make up our minds as to what collections can best be omitted. Some collections, the Renaissance art objects, for instance, can well be ignored, as a better collection is to be seen at the Hôtel Cluny. Then, except to the specialist, it would be a waste of time to spend many hours in the ethnographical and Chinese galleries, when there is the admirable Guimet Museum, with a much better collection of these objects.

A list of the principal departments will give some idea of the wealth and scope of this vast treasure-house of the arts.

1. Collections of Gems, enamels in Galerie d'Apollon and Salle des Bijoux.
2. Egyptian Antiquities.
3. Asiatic Antiquities.
4. Mediæval and Renaissance Collections.
5. Antique Potteries (Musée de la Ceramique Antique and Musée Campana).
6. Marine Museum.
7. Ethnographical Museum.

The most important are the Collections of Gems, the Egyptian Museum, the Asiatic Antiquities, and the Ancient Pottery; and those who are not prepared to give more than a couple of days to this congeries of museums, known as the Louvre Museums, are recommended to devote most of their time to these four departments.

The Galerie d'Apollon (perhaps the finest and most richly decorated Renaissance room in Paris) affords a magnificent setting for the collection of jewels and enamels, — the latter far superior to the South Kensington or British Museum collection. Jewelry, in this connection, is, of course, used in a somewhat comprehensive sense, and here are to be seen some of the most valuable and beautiful Renaissance plate and ornaments in existence. It includes the Crown jewels, the jewelry and enamels formerly in the Musée des Souverains, excellent Cellini cups, and an incomparable collection of Limoges enamel. Some objects are of considerable antiquarian interest, such as the reliquary which encloses the arm of Charlemagne, several mediæval

croziers, insignia of the French sovereigns, including the sword, sceptre, and "Hand of Justice" used at the coronation of Charlemagne, a ring and agraffe from the mantle of St. Louis, helmet and shield of Charles IX., etc. All visitors will probably be attracted by the case containing the Crown jewels, which is not placed, as one would expect, in the Salle des Bijoux, but in the Galerie d'Apollon with the other Renaissance objects of art.

Here is to be seen the historical Regent diamond, more valuable even than the Koh-i-noor (preserved at Windsor Castle). It weighs 136 carats, and is said to be worth over £600,000. To ensure its absolute safety, the cabinet in which this diamond is placed is so contrived that at night it is lowered by hydraulic mechanism to a subterranean vault. The Mazarin diamond is smaller, but of better quality. Here, also, is to be seen the sword of honour of Napoleon I., richly set with gems (said to be worth ten million francs), and the crown of Napoleon, which was modelled on that of Charlemagne. This can be compared with the crown of Louis XV., but in this the jewels are paste.

The Egyptian Museum is the largest and the most important in Europe. It is not surprising that the collection here is far superior to that in the British Museum, when we consider that the Department of Antiquities in Egypt, from Mehemet Ali down to the Arabi Rebellion of 1882, has been practically controlled by Frenchmen, and that, in short, the French savants might almost be said to have invented the science of Egyptology.

The Egyptian sculpture has been placed on the ground

floor in the Salle de Henri IV. and Salle d'Apis, while the rest of the antiquities are shown in five large salons on the first floor. The most valuable of the sphinxes, steles (votive slabs of stone), statues, sarcophagi, etc., were discovered by M. Mariette at Memphis. The most striking objects in the collection of sculptures and large antiquities may first be briefly referred to here, but all interested in Egyptology will of course procure the official catalogue.

Colossal statue of Seti II. in red sandstone. On the head is carved the royal cap or "pschent."

Colossal sarcophagus of Rameses III. (20th dynasty). This was discovered at Thebes and transported to France with great difficulty. The mummy of the king is at the Ghizeh Museum, while Cambridge University Museum possesses the lid of the sarcophagus.

The celebrated stele known as the Stele of Canopus is not the original, but an ancient replica of this famous stone, which, had not the Rosetta Stone (British Museum) been first found and deciphered, would probably have proved the key to Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Louvre once possessed another equally famous stele, known as the Tablet of Abydos, a piece of petrified history of the greatest historic value, containing a list of the first seventy-seven kings of Egypt. This valuable tablet was, however, greatly to the disgust of French savants, given to the British government by Louis Philippe, and it is now in the British Museum.

The colossal bull in the Salle d'Apis was brought by Mariette from the Serapeum of Memphis. It dates from the fourth century B. C. This unique mausoleum of the sacred bulls was discovered by Mariette

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



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in 1860. The story of the discovery is very interesting. The Temple of Serapis near Memphis, alluded to by Strabo, had long been sought for by Egyptologists, but in vain. The devoted savant determined to give several winters to preliminary excavations on the supposed site. Finally he was successful, and discovered, some twenty feet under ground, a series of twenty-four sepulchral chambers, each containing a colossal sarcophagus in which a sacred bull was buried. Mariette, in his picturesque account of the discovery, describes his astonishment on finding, on the layer of sand that covered the floor, the *actual footprints* of the priests who, over three thousand years ago, had laid the sacred mummy in its tomb.

The remainder of the Egyptian Museum is on the first floor, and contains the smaller antiquities, papyri, mummies, scarabs, amulets, jewelry, funeral jars, etc.

To Egyptologists and artists one of the most striking antiquities is a statue of an Egyptian priest or scribe, which is not later than the sixth dynasty (some scholars attribute it to the fifth dynasty), and is consequently one of the earliest Egyptian statues yet discovered. It is of wood, like the well-known "Village Sheik" of the Ghizeh Museum, and is painted red. In the cabinets and cases, which contain an extensive collection of small objects of art, domestic utensils, weapons, implements, games, musical instruments, and innumerable other objects illustrative of the domestic life of the ancient Egyptians, are some glass goblets dating from about 2000 B. C. This seems to show that the popular view which ascribes the invention of glass to the Phœnicians is erroneous. That glass was manufactured in Egypt



some four thousand years ago is conclusively proved by some curious reliefs on the walls of one of the Beni-Hassan Tombs, which represent the manufacture of glass objects. Two glass-blowers are seen at work: they are using the blowpipe, which they have dipped into a mass lying between them, and by means of which they blow out a vase.

The collection of papyri is better than that in the Ghizeh Museum, where, indeed, this department of Egyptian antiquities is poorly represented. The Louvre can boast of the oldest papyrus roll extant. It is known as the Prissé papyrus, from the name of its discoverer. It is of the fifth dynasty, so that it is nearly four thousand years old.

The Asiatic Museum, which comprises the Assyrian, Phœnician, Persian, and Jewish collections, is, like the Egyptian Museum, so large that it has to be divided among the ground floor galleries and those on the first floor.

The Assyrian collection mainly consists of the results of the excavations made on the site of the buried cities of Nineveh and Babylon by Sir Henry Layard and M. Botha in 1847-1850, which were divided between the Louvre and the British Museum. On the whole, it would appear that the English got a little the best of it in the distribution of the antiquities. At all events, in the opinion of experts, the British Museum collection is superior to that of the Louvre, especially as far as the bas-reliefs are concerned. The story of the discovery of these buried cities reads like a romance. It resulted in the restoration of the history of an ancient and famous nation, so important for its rela-

tions with the history of ancient Egypt and ancient Greece.

The colossal winged bulls used to stand at the entrance of temples and royal buildings, and were the counterpart of the Egyptian sphinxes. It will be noticed that these gigantic bulls have five legs. This was done with the view of improving upon or correcting the natural limitations of the law of perspective, so that, whether viewed from the front or the side, four legs should be visible! The colossal human-headed winged lions are even more striking than the bulls. Layard's description of these wonderful figures is very suggestive. "I used to contemplate for hours these mysterious emblems, and to muse over their real end and history. What more noble forms could have ushered the people into the temple of their gods? What more sublime images could have been borrowed from nature by men who sought, unaided by the light of revealed religion, to embody their conception of the wisdom, power, and antiquity of a Supreme Being? They could find no better type of intellect and knowledge than the head of a man; of ubiquity than the wings of a bird; of strength than the body of a lion. These winged human-headed lions had for twenty-five centuries been hidden from the eye of man, and they now stood forth once more in their ancient majesty."

The Salle Judaique (Palestine Antiquities) should be visited on account of the famous Moabite stone, with an inscription describing the battles of the Moabites with the Jews in B. C. 896. This is the earliest specimen of alphabetic as opposed to hieroglyphic writing. The sculptured sarcophagus from Jerusa-

lem, known as the "Tomb of David," is of doubtful authenticity.

To see the rest of the Asiatic collection we mount the *escalier Asiatique* to the first floor.

The most interesting collection here is the Dieulafoy collection of Persian Antiquities. On the entrance wall is the famous "Frieze of Archers of the Immortal Guard" of Darius in encaustic tiles. "This splendid work, mere fragment though it is of the original, gives in its colour and decorative detail some idea of the splendours of the palace of the Persian monarchs. The colours are those still so prevalent in Persian art, showing a strong predominance of blues and greens, with faint tones of yellow."

The visitor should not overlook the capital and base of a colossal column, one of the thirty-six columns nearly seventy feet high, which supported the throne-room of Artaxerxes Mnemon (404. B. C.). In the next salon is an admirable architectural model of this throne-room (which covered an area of eleven thousand square yards), showing the position of these columns, and the manner in which they supported the roof of this Titanic hall, which must have eclipsed in size and magnificence even the Temple of Karnak. The juxtaposition of the fragments of one of these huge columns in the adjoining hall will enable visitors to form some conception of the colossal proportions of the building of which it was one of the supports.

Mr. Grant Allen, in his "Historical Guide to Paris," observes that this collection is unique in Europe, and should help to correct the somewhat biassed description of these architectural splendours of the Greek historians.

The collection of ancient pottery is, perhaps, the largest and most complete of that in any European museum. It includes collections of Greek, Egyptian, and Etruscan specimens.

The Etruscan pottery illustrates the high degree of civilisation which this ancient race possessed, the artistic ancestors of Italy. "Though entirely based upon Greek models, the Etruscan productions betray high artistic faculty and great receptive powers of intellect."

Artists should not overlook the beautiful Tanagra terra-cotta figures in the Second Salle. There is a very fine collection of these charming little works. "These 'figurines' as they are called, were produced in immense quantities, chiefly in Bœotia, both for household decoration and to be buried with the dead. They were first moulded or cast in clay, but they were afterward finished by hand, with the addition of such accessories or modifications as we have seen to obtain in the case of the statues in the antique gallery. Finally, they were gracefully and tastefully coloured. Nothing better indicates the universality of high art feeling amongst the ancient Greeks than the extraordinary variety, fancy, and beauty of these cheap objects of every-day decoration; while the unexpected novelty given by the slightest additions or alterations, in what (being moulded) is essentially the same figure, throws a flood of light upon the methods of plastic art in higher departments. Almost every visitor is equally impressed and charmed by their extremely modern tone of feeling. They are alive and human. In particular, the playfulness of Greek art is here admirably exempli-

fied. Many of them have touches of the most graceful humour.”<sup>1</sup>

“These little figures,” writes Mr. E. T. Cook, “are much sought after by museums and private collections for their graceful ingenuity, lively fancy, and unexpectedly modern spirit. They mostly represent ordinary life and daily occupations. Archæologists are much divided as to the meaning of these graceful and dainty little figures, with their piquant air, their gait, now rapid and agile, now indolent and languishing, and their exquisitely graceful air. ‘Suspended between the ideal and the real world,’ says a French critic, ‘many of the figures remain in an uncertainty which forms part of their grace.’ The figures will repay attentive study, for the light they throw on the costume and occupations of the Greeks.”

The average visitor will, perhaps, find the collection of Mediæval and Renaissance art objects somewhat confusing and tiresome, owing to the great number of specimens, but if a visit to the still better collection at the Cluny Museum is not contemplated, it is well to devote an hour or so to a superficial inspection of the principal curiosities. The enamels should not in any case be overlooked, for this collection is (*teste* Baedeker) “the most extensive and valuable in the world.”

There is a collection here hidden away in a room opening off the Renaissance sculpture galleries which is rarely visited, partly, no doubt, because Baedeker dismisses it in a couple of lines. It is known as the Salle des Antiquités Chrésiennes. Quite apart from its religious interest, this unique collection should appeal

<sup>1</sup> Grant Allen.

specially to those interested in art, as it affords an opportunity (not to be obtained at any other Continental museum except at Rome) for tracing the transition stage of art when it passes from the crude paganism of the early Christian period to the classical style, and finally declines from classical freedom to Byzantine stiffness and Gothic barbarism.

Those who care for the fascinating study of Christian symbolism — the precursor of Mediæval heraldry — will find this collection of Christian sculpture particularly attractive.

The symbol known as the *Labarum* is constantly repeated on the sarcophagi. It consists of the monogram X. P. (or X), the first two letters of the name of Christ in Greek (ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ), surrounded by the true vine, and having the Α and Ω on either side of it. Sometimes two birds are represented pecking at the vine.

It will be noticed how frequent are Old Testament subjects, which are seldom seen in the paintings of the great Italian masters, while saints and Madonnas are rarely represented.

The sarcophagus representing Christ with the twelve apostles should be carefully inspected. It will be noticed that the treatment is more classical than Oriental. Above this sarcophagus hangs an exquisite piece of carving, taken from the altar of St. Denis, which is very rich in Christian symbols. Another common early Christian symbol is a fish. The signification and origin of this emblem seems rather far-fetched. It was adopted because the Greek word for fish (ΙΧΘΥΣ) formed the initials of the sacred title of Jesus Christ (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱός Σαββῆς). Another interesting sarcophagus, next

the one described above, is that which has the Good Shepherd as the central figure, in which the treatment shows a marked Oriental influence.

On the second floor of the Louvre, what may be regarded as the supplementary or "overflow" collections are installed.

The ethnographical and Chinese museums are very inadequate. The new Grandidier collection, however, of Chinese and Japanese porcelain, is thought very highly of by collectors and experts, though the ordinary visitor need not spend much time over it.

The Musée de la Marine forms a pendant to the Military Museum (see below) at the Invalides, and is as interesting as it is instructive.

This museum was formed by Charles X., and it has recently been enlarged by two additional rooms. The most important historical collections here are the models of French men-of-war from the Revolution to Charles X. and the companion series of models illustrating French sailing-vessels from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day.

The most interesting curiosity here is an elaborate series of models showing the method of transporting from Luxor, and erecting in the Place de la Concorde, the famous obelisk.

The historical museum of the Ville de Paris, generally called the Musée Carnavalet from the hôtel where it has been installed, will be found more interesting than the vast Renaissance collections of the Louvre or the Hôtel Cluny. It consists of a collection of objects and relics illustrative of the history of the city.

Owing to the preponderance of Revolutionary souvenirs and relics, many of them, no doubt, of more sentimental than historic interest, superior persons are inclined to regard this museum with contemptuous tolerance, as a kind of official Madame Tussaud's. But there is no doubt that, with most of us, the "personal equation" cannot be eliminated. Besides, this large and unique collection of relics connected with the most stirring period of French history has a distinct educational value, as an impressive object-lesson on an epoch which has had a permanent influence on the French national character.

Then the Revolutionary souvenirs form a small portion of the museum, occupying only a few rooms out of the forty salles of which the museum consists, and there are a large number of objects of real artistic importance.

The building itself is one of the finest Renaissance houses still remaining in Paris. It is situated in the Rue de Sévigné, not far from the Place de la Bastille.

The following outline of its history, from "Murray's Guide to Paris," is well summarised, and tells us all the important facts:

"It was began in 1544 by Jean Bullant, after the designs of Lescot, continued by Androuet du Cerceau, and finished by Mansard and Germain Pilon. The trophies, lions, and Fame of the façade, and the Four Seasons in the court, are by Jean Goujon. It derives its name from the widow of the Sire de Kernevenoy (corrupted into Carnavalet), whose property it was. It became celebrated as the residence of Madame de Sévigné (1677-96), and was for many years the centre of wit and literature in Paris. Much of the garden and the



interior remains unaltered. It was for many years the *École des Ponts-et-Chaussées*, or College for Civil Engineers, but was purchased, through the efforts of M. Haussmann, Prefect of the Seine (1866), by the city of Paris, and has been enlarged in the same style in order to be converted into a civic museum (*Musée Municipal*), in which interesting fragments of sculpture and architecture resulting from the demolitions, and such antiquities as are laid bare in digging new foundations, can be collected, so as to illustrate the history of Paris, and the manners, usages, etc., of its inhabitants."

The *Hôtel Carnavalet* is also connected with a celebrity of a somewhat different character, — Ninon de L'Enclos. This celebrated personage occupied a suite of rooms in this house for several years. It was here that she died, in 1708, at the age of eighty-nine, preserving, if the tradition is to be credited, her remarkable beauty to the last. Voltaire, when a boy, was presented to her in this house; and she left him in her will two thousand francs for the purchase of books.

The first six rooms (which contain a very complete collection of maps, drawings, pamphlets, plans, etc., dealing with the ancient and modern topography of Paris) concern historical students only. The relics of Paris of the Revolution and the First Empire are to be found in Rooms IX. to XIV. Only a few of the more striking souvenirs can here be noticed.

Room IX. On the wall is a veritable picture-gallery of notabilities of the Revolution (*Lafayette*, the poet *André Chénier*, *Marat*, *Danton*, *Robespierre*, etc.). In the cabinets which line " " is a valuable collection of coins and medals c.

Room XI. Here is an even better collection of portraits, including Philippe Égalité by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Marat by David. Some interesting documents, with autographs, and the *dossier* — to use the modern term — of the execution of Louis XVI., are collected in one of the cabinets.

Room XII. (Salle de la Bastille). The principal curiosity here is a copy of the Bastille made out of one of the stones of that noted fortress. A lugubrious relic is a copy of the constitution of 1793, *bound in human skin*. The rope-ladder by which Latude effected his escape from the Bastille, after thirty-six years' confinement, will attract the notice of visitors. Several swords of honour are preserved here, including one given to Garibaldi.

Room XV. (Salle de Sévigné) is devoted to a small but valuable collection of souvenirs and relics of Madame de Sévigné.

Here a particularly characteristic letter of this famous writer has been preserved. It contains a piece of a brocaded pink silk she had ordered for a dress. It is as stiff as a board, and seems to have been made to last for ever. The flowers are red carnations, cornflowers, forget-me-nots, and yellow laburnums, on a gay pink ground. From the letter we learn that the dress was intended as a present. Somebody had lent her a small box in one of her journeys from Brittany to Paris. She did not seek an early opportunity to send it back, and was reminded that she ought. How gracefully she explains why she delayed, a paragraph of the letter shows: "Since you absolutely require the box, here it is; and I conjure you to open it yourself, and receive as tenderly as I present

it a little present I have long intended for you. You will like, I think, the colours."

Madame de Sévigné came to live in the Hôtel Carnavalet in October, 1677. Her rooms were on the first floor of the main building, now occupied by the officials of the library. It was from this house that many of the famous letters to her eldest daughter, the Comtesse de Grignan, were written.

The other rooms (XXI.-XXV.) are interesting to the specialist only, and we may pass on to Room XXVI., in which are collected a large number of relics of the War of 1870 and the Commune; and some of these grim souvenirs are of thrilling interest, and, indeed, "palpitate with actuality." To many this room will prove the most fascinating of all in this remarkable museum.

The garden of the hôtel has been converted into a kind of architectural museum of Mediæval and Renaissance Paris, and, like that of the Hôtel de Cluny, should prove particularly attractive to those who take an interest in the archæology of Paris. Note especially a beautiful specimen of late Renaissance architecture in the façade of the hall of the Drapers' Guild, and a curious old gateway, removed from the Cité, known as the Arc de Nazareth.

Adjoining the Carnavalet Museum is the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, which, though founded only some twenty-five years ago, already contains about one hundred thousand volumes and eighty thousand engravings and maps, dealing chiefly with the topography of Paris. It replaces the municipal library of the Hôtel de Ville, which was destroyed in 1871, when the Communards set fire to that building.

The Cluny Museum, near the Sorbonne, has been called the South Kensington Museum of Paris, but the resemblance is but superficial. Like the London museum, it contains an enormous collection of specimens of Mediæval and Renaissance decorative art in almost every medium, — gold, silver, copper, iron, ivory, porcelain, enamel; but the museum as a whole is far more complete, and the arrangement and classification far more scientific. The Cluny Museum has not, indeed, been used, as is notoriously the case with South Kensington, as a kind of overflow receptacle for all sorts of incongruous and miscellaneous collections from the other museums of London and the various international exhibitions. "The Cretan labyrinth of military ironmongery, advertisements of spring blinds, model fish-farms, and plaster bathing nymphs," which aroused the ire of Ruskin, has no counterpart in Paris. Consequently, a visit to the Cluny Museum is not nearly so tiring and tedious, and a couple of days' intelligent sightseeing will leave the tourist with a very good idea of all the more important objects of this great treasure-house of art.

The actual building of the Musée de Cluny is itself a museum, and is a delightful specimen of late Mediæval French mansions. "It is a happy system that exists in France," observes Mr. Sieverts Drewett, "of placing objects of antiquity in buildings that are of historic renown. Thus the Hôtel Carnavalet is utilised as a museum, so is the Louvre Palace, and part of that of the Luxembourg. Thus surrounding these precious relics with a halo of appropriate environments, a double interest is engendered. The Hôtel de Cluny is in reality an old mansion, built at the end of the fourteenth

century by the Benedictine monks of Cluny, near Macon, and lent by them to the Kings of France, commencing with the residence there in 1515 of Mary, widow of Louis XII. of France, and sister of Henry VIII. of England. For a couple of centuries it was used by royalty, occasionally by religious orders and various other occupants, until the Revolution, when it was declared national property. It was then untenanted, and presented a very forlorn appearance. But its Gothic architecture was unrestored, or injured by later styles incongruously introduced, and it remains to this day a fine specimen of fourteenth and fifteenth century work."

At the Revolution, when all monastic property was confiscated, the hôtel changed owners several times, till in 1833 it fortunately came into the possession of a certain M. du Sommerard, a zealous antiquary, who began this priceless collection of archæological remains and objects of art. On his death in 1842, the government bought the museum and the historic house in which it was stored for five hundred thousand francs, and united it with the remains of the ancient Roman palace and baths which had been incorporated with the garden of the hôtel.

Since then the collection has been considerably increased by private donations and grants of antiquities by the state and the Paris municipality, who sent to the Musée de Cluny the valuable results of the excavations in Paris; and now the catalogue contains a list of nearly ten thousand antiquities and works of art. Numerically, no doubt, this is quite eclipsed by the fifty thousand objects in the official catalogue of the South

Kensington Museum, but, as has been already suggested, a considerable number of these exhibits are of no historic or artistic importance.

The entrance of the hôtel, with its Gothic gateway, bears a striking resemblance to that of an Oxford college. Some of the rooms on the ground floor (Rooms I. to IX.) have been little altered, and the fine wooden ceilings should be noticed.

In Room II. is a fine stone chimney-piece, dated 1562, by Hugues Lallement, representing Christ and the woman of Samaria. Notice the quaint Italian marriage-chests of the sixteenth century. There is a curious collection of shoes here from different countries, which might interest some visitors.

The most valuable object in Room IV. is a beautifully carved Renaissance chimney-piece by Hugues Lallement, representing Actæon transformed into a stag by Diana, as a punishment for having surprised the goddess while bathing. It will be noticed that episodes from the mythical history of Diana are favourite subjects of the courtly artists of the sixteenth century, out of compliment to Diane de Poitiers, the reigning favourite.

The Audeoud Collection, which was acquired in 1885, is placed in Room V. It consists of works of art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and does not repay much study. The quaint Neapolitan *Presèpio*, though of a debased style of art, is interesting. Specimens of these Ober-Ammergauß in miniature, as they might almost be called, are to be seen in most museums in Italy, — a very characteristic one at the S. Martino Museum, Naples. The motive is the Nativity, but accessory scenes from the life of Christ are often added.

This custom of giving these curious sacred wax-work exhibitions at Christmas is still kept up at many churches in Roman Catholic countries. There is nothing likely to attract the ordinary visitor in the next three rooms, which contain pictures, sculptures, church furniture, tapestries, etc., except a portion of the original relief of the Last Judgment, formerly on the façade of Notre Dame, and below it a very fine stone reredos illustrating the history of St. Eustace, from the Abbey Church of St. Denis, in Room VI. Then a fine marble statue of Ariadne, attributed to Germain Pilon, should not be overlooked.

The first two rooms on the first floor contain an unrivalled collection of French and Italian Faience (from the city Faenza in Italy, where this porcelain originated), of the greatest interest to collectors and connoisseurs, but decidedly caviare to the general.

The Palissy ware here is very good, and enthusiasts in china can profitably spend a whole morning in these two rooms. Palissy's devotion to art is well known, but to his wife, not equally buoyed up by the self-sacrificing enthusiasm of the artist, his life must have seemed one long martyrdom. From the artist's standpoint, no doubt, nothing could have been nobler than to sacrifice the household furniture for his furnace when ordinary fuel was lacking, but to Madame Palissy it must have been indescribably galling.

In this room some magnificent specimens of Della Robbia ware should not be overlooked. The best is the martyrdom of St. Catherine, in which angels are represented breaking the spokes of her instrument of torture.

The next room is noteworthy both for the tapestries and the splendid collection of enamels. The tapestry consists of a set of six pieces, illustrating the legend of the Lady and the Unicorn (the symbol of chastity). They were originally in the Château of Boussac, and are considered the finest specimens known of fifteenth century tapestry. Another fine Renaissance chimney-piece—in which this museum is so rich—is placed in this room. It was brought from Rouen, and represents the history of the Santa Casa of Loretto.

The collection of enamels is one of the finest in Europe, and contains specimens of every country and age. The series of nine enamelled plates from the Château de Madrid (see Bois de Boulogne) of Francis I. are said to be the largest enamels in existence. The figures are supposed to represent the cardinal virtues.

In the next room (IV.) is a small but choice collection of Arabic pottery, which is worth studying by all who have not had the opportunity of visiting the Arabic Museum at Cairo, the largest and best collection of Mohammedan art in the world.

The collection of ivories in Room IX. should be carefully studied by all tourists. The Cluny ivories and ebonies are perhaps unsurpassed. In the centre of the room are placed some of the earliest known specimens, dating from the fourth and fifth centuries. One of these, a quaint statuette of a woman crowned by genii, was discovered in a tomb near Rouen. Other pantheistic figures are shown here, whose "style recalls at once classical art and the art of Byzantium." Two exceedingly beautiful fourteenth century triptychs, one representing the Annunciation, and the other the Madonna



and Child, with four saints, are among the most valuable treasures of art in this room. Notice also an eleventh century cross found in the tomb of St. M<sup>er</sup>ard, in the Church of St. Germain-des-Prés.

Other beautiful specimens are a reliquary of St. Yved (twelfth century), from the Abbey of Braisne. "Of the same epoch, or still earlier, are the sheets of ivory used for the binding of the Gospels, on which are painted admirable pictures in illustration of the divine books. The ivory looking-glass frame, representing two figures, which are supposed to be those of St. Louis and Blanche of Castille, comes from the treasure of St. Denis. The pastoral staff, which, twice ennobled, belonged first to the famous Debruges-Dumesnil collection, and afterward to the collection of Prince Soltikoff, dates from the thirteenth century. The rod of ivory is crowned with a lion in boxwood, enriched with precious stones."

Probably the most attractive room in the whole museum, to the generality of visitors, is Room XI., devoted to objects of art in the precious metals, and the work of goldsmiths and silversmiths. In a central case are the nine massive gold crowns (seventh century) belonging to the Visigoth sovereigns of Spain, found near Toledo in 1858 and 1860. These relics have long served as a bone of contention to antiquaries and archæologists. One of the crowns, which is inscribed to an unknown sovereign, Queen Sonnica, has in particular baffled the *cognoscenti*. It bears a striking resemblance to the crown of Queen Theodelinda at Monza, near Milan. The crowns are probably votive ones, and were not worn. The workmanship is somewhat heavy and Byzantine in

character. The discovery excited considerable interest in archæological and antiquarian circles, as it was not supposed that gold work was known in Spain under the Visigothic kings. It is supposed that these treasures were buried by the Christians at the time of the Moorish invasion.

Most of the other objects in this room are reliquaries, shrines, crucifixes, monstrances, and other articles of church furniture. Notice a gold shrine (eleventh century) of the rarest workmanship, which was given by the Emperor Henry II. to Basle Cathedral. Then there is a beautiful specimen of a Golden Rose (still presented annually by the Pope to some notable Romanist), given to the Bishop of Basle at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Placed somewhat incongruously among all these ecclesiastical ornaments and curios is a remarkable piece of mechanism in the form of a ship. It is, in short, an elaborate toy of sixteenth century workmanship, more ingenious and quaint, perhaps, than beautiful or artistic. Grouped around the stern of the vessel are figures of Charles V. (in gold) and his courtiers. Inside the ship a hidden mechanism can be set in motion, which makes the figures move, the band play, and the cannons roar out a salute. This remarkable curiosity is naturally as popular with the less serious-minded English tourists as Tippoo Sahib's organ at the South Kensington Museum, decorated with a tiger devouring a British officer, which, when set in motion, is made to growl while the unfortunate officer screams!

The pictures in the Cluny Museum are artistically of slight importance, and even the authenticity of a few

by the old masters is doubted. For instance, most critics are now agreed that Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, attributed in the catalogue to Gentile da Fabriano, is not by that painter. There are, however, a few good pictures by fifteenth century Flemish painters. There was formerly a good collection of Renaissance armour in this room, but it has been very properly transferred to the State Collection at the Invalides.

An extraordinary relic was once exhibited here, viz., a portion of the lower jaw of Molière, but this was transferred in 1899 to the theatrical museum of the Comédie Française.

“The furniture is particularly fine, and is as historical as it is artistically beautiful. Remarkable among the examples of church furniture is the great sideboard of the Cathedral of St. Paul, carved by a Cellini in the fifteenth century. He must have spent his whole life at the work. Nor is the house furniture less magnificent. Witness the delicate sculpture of the benches, the high chairs with emblazoned backs, the chests for marriage-gifts, the bed which is said to have belonged to Francis I., the cabinets of all times and of every shape, the harpsichords, the spinets, the gala carriages, covered with gilding, the sledges, the sedan-chairs, and a hundred other objects of luxury, — reminiscences of a time when between the workman and the artist there was scarcely any distinction, and when objects destined for the most common use were fashioned and adorned with an elegance and grace which told of true artistic feeling.”

The small chapel whose groined roof (as in the case of the Chapter House of Westminster) is supported by

a single octagonal pillar in the centre is a good example of Gothic architecture. The chapel is but dimly lighted by the painted windows. The church furniture is mediæval. Notice the fine fifteenth century wooden altar-piece of Flemish workmanship, and a quaint twelfth century crucifix. Underneath is a crypt of the same size and design as the chapel.

In the garden of the museum are the remains of the old Roman palace known as Les Thermes, which was supposed to have been built by the Emperor Julian, till the discovery of a Roman altar with an inscription,<sup>1</sup> showing that the palace with its baths (*thermæ*) was built by Constantius, who inhabited Lutetia from 287 to 292 A. D.

In 360 Julian the Apostate was proclaimed emperor in this very palace, for which reason, perhaps, this city was often spoken of by him as "dear Lutetia."

The history of Gallo-Roman and mediæval Paris centres around these venerable remains. It is occasionally referred to in the chronicles of Gregory of Tours, and in an old deed of 1188 it goes under the name it still bears. The palace was sacked by the Normans, and was still in a ruinous condition when Philippe Auguste made over the property to his chamberlain in 1218. When the Revolution broke out the buildings belonged to the Abbey of Cluny, and were sold with other monastic estates to private persons, who built dwelling-houses and shops on and around the old Roman ruins. "Louis, as a lettered monarch, endeavoured to save the ruins from these profanities of the infidels, and he seems even to have entertained the thought of turning

<sup>1</sup> "Hoc quod erexit atrium virtus Constantii, D. Solis ornav. alt. B. virtus Juliani Cæsaris."

the remains of the ancient edifice into a sort of museum, but he did not carry out his idea ; it was not until the reign of Louis Philippe that the town of Paris regained possession of the Palais des Thermes. It ceded the relic to the state in 1843.

“ After the lapse of so many centuries, the astonishing thing is that one stone of the ancient Roman edifice should now remain. The part of the original edifice which time has spared is that which enclosed the baths. The large hall, with its highly interesting vaulted roof, was the Hall of the Cold Baths : the so-called frigidarium. The place occupied by the fish tank can still be recognised, and the remains can be seen of the cascade which brought the water into the baths. Bricks and stones have been alternately employed in the walls, whose surface has been blackened by ‘Sluttish Time,’ and impaired in all sorts of ways. This hall has had the most varied fortunes, and for a long time it served as depot to a cooper, who here stowed away his casks and barrels.”<sup>1</sup>

The frigidarium is a hall of magnificent proportions, being sixty-six feet long, thirty-eight feet wide, and about sixty feet high. The masonry is extraordinarily massive, and has withstood not only the ordinary ravages of time, but does not seem to have been materially injured by the weight and moisture of a garden which for many years concealed the roof. Some remains of the leaden pipes which brought water from Rungis beyond Arcueil may still be seen. In this hall and the adjoining garden have been placed most of the Roman and mediæval remains which have been brought to light

“<sup>1</sup> Old and New Paris.”

during excavations in Paris. The most interesting are two Roman altars of the time of Tiberius, dedicated to Jupiter, found in 1711, when excavating beneath the crypt of Notre Dame.

In the garden some fragments of mediæval and Renaissance architecture have been preserved, such as the Romanesque portal of the Church of Argenteuil, a portion of the façade of the College of Bayeux, and some curious tenth century statues from the old Abbey of St. Magloire in the Rue St. Denis. These were found during some excavations which were undertaken on the site in the reign of Louis Philippe.

Among the architectural curiosities to be seen here is the iron cross from the Church of St. Vladimir at Sebastopol, a war trophy presented to the museum by Marshal Pélessier.

## CHAPTER X.

### MUSEUMS AND PICTURE GALLERIES.

(Continued.)

THE great industrial museum of France, known as the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, close to the Gafeté Théâtre, is seldom included in the traveller's itinerary. The frequent comparison with the London Patent Office museum is absurdly inadequate ; in fact, such a collection is only one of the many departments of this great institution. Besides being an important technical university, including schools of mines, agriculture, engineering, etc., it is an "arts and crafts" museum on an enormous scale. Only those keenly interested in the mechanical and industrial arts would care, however, to devote much time to the Arts and Métiers, but a few of the objects and curiosities which are likely to appeal to the ordinary visitor may be briefly described.

In Salle 2 are many specimens and models of armour, turret-forts, etc., from the famous ironworks at Le Creusot, of particular interest at the present juncture, when these big guns are being extensively used by the Boers against the British troops in the Transvaal war.

In the Gallery of Machines (formerly the church of the abbey) is a primitive locomotive, designed by Cugnot in 1770.

In the engineering galleries are some interesting models of various big engineering enterprises, such as the Paris sewers and the famous Garabit Viaduct, — the highest and longest railway bridge in France. On the first floor in the central room (Salle d'Honneur) are some curious electrical appliances, including a natural magnet with an attractive power of 110 pounds, the original Voltaic pile, etc.

In the textile fabric department is exhibited the original Vaucanson's loom. It was in this gallery that the members of the extreme Republican section of the Chamber of Deputies assembled on the 13th of June, 1849, when the demonstration against the expedition to Rome was dispersed by General Changarnier in the Rue de la Paix. Their consultations were soon interrupted by the arrival of a detachment of soldiers, leaving them no other alternative but flight. Some, including Ledru-Rollin and Boichot, made their escape through one of the windows of this gallery which look upon the garden.

It might not be supposed that this great industrial museum would be particularly attractive to those fond of art and archæology, but, as so often happens in the case of the public institutions of Paris, it is located in a building of considerable artistic and historical interest, — in fact, the church, though of course much altered and restored, is one of the most perfect of the early Gothic churches in Paris. The Conservatoire occupies the site of the wealthy Benedictine priory of St. Martin-des-Champs, and a considerable portion of the ancient building has been incorporated in the museum fabric.

It was founded in 1060 by Henri I., and was fortified



in the thirteenth century. One of the ancient towers, known as the Tour Vertbois, still exists, having been preserved in 1877 during certain improvements undertaken in this region, through the efforts of Victor Hugo and some influential archæologists.

“Toward the end of the fourteenth century it stood within the walls of Paris, but covered about sixteen acres, a great part of which was occupied by fields or gardens. Here judicial combats took place: one very celebrated in 1385, between La Trémouille, a Frenchman, and Courtenay, an Englishman. Here the bodies of the Constable d’Armagnac and his friends were thrown in 1418. The priory was dissolved in 1789, the fortifications levelled, and the immense estates of the monks sold, except the conventual buildings, which remained national property. In the year 1798 the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers was established here, and in 1802 the collection of models, etc., originally begun in 1775 by Vancanson, was transferred to this building; in 1806 schools for workmen, children, and adults were added. Since the accession of Emperor Napoleon III., vast additions have been made to this institution, the buildings have been entirely restored and remodelled, and the collections largely increased. It has a regular staff of professors, and is under the management of a council, with a director at its head; besides the collections, there are lecture-rooms, laboratories, schools, etc., all gratuitous.”

The chapel of the priory, which has been converted into a hall of machinery, has still a portion of the twelfth century choir. The building was in a very ruinous condition when it was taken in hand by the government

architect in 1854. The refectory of the abbey has been turned into a library. The architect is said to have been Pierre de Montereau, who built the Sainte Chapelle. It is in a tolerable state of preservation, and, though little known to strangers, one of the finest relics of Gothic architecture still remaining in Paris.

“The interior is very fine, both for the original design and execution. It is one hundred and thirty-eight feet long, twenty-three feet wide, divided longitudinally by seven slender pillars, supporting the double-vaulted roof. The windows are of the same early pointed, being composed of two lancet-headed apertures, with a circular one above. They are now filled with very indifferent modern painted glass. The whole building was restored in 1850 under the direction of M. Vaudoyer. The pillars and walls have been decorated in true Parisian café style. The painting on the west wall represents St. Martin; those on the east the arts and sciences. On the north projects the ancient pulpit, from which prayers were read during the monastic meals, with a staircase in the depth of the wall leading to it. This is of the same date as the rest of the building, and is one of the oldest and best examples in France.”<sup>1</sup>

Many visitors to Paris do not even know of the existence of the valuable collection of armour and weapons of war at the Invalides. To them the Invalides means Napoleon's tomb, and if the armory is visited at all, the inspection is short and perfunctory. Yet the Musée d'Artillerie is one of the largest and most important in Europe. If the collection

<sup>1</sup> Murray's "Handbook to Paris."

cal armour is inferior to that of Madrid, Malta, or Turin, yet the museum taken as a whole is unsurpassed in Europe. There is much to interest the ordinary tourist here, while military men, as well as those fond of archæological research, will not find a whole day too much for the inspection of this complete and comprehensive collection of arms of all ages.

The present collection dates from the Revolution, though Louis XIV. had formed a small museum of arms (chiefly models of artillery then in use) in the Bastille, and on the destruction of that fortress a few of the models and weapons were saved and placed temporarily in the Convent of St. Thomas Aquinas; and these formed the nucleus of the present museum. Considerable additions were made under the National Convention and the Directory, as the most valuable weapons and war trophies in the various royal residences and the châteaux of the *émigrés* were brought to Paris, and by this legalised plunder the national collection was considerably augmented. Under Napoleon I. the museum was greatly enriched by specimens from foreign collections, taken as spoils of war, but a large number of these trophies were restored by the Allies in 1815. According to one historian, the Prussian troops carried away five hundred and eighty chests of weapons!

The foregoing is a brief outline of the history of this remarkable museum, which "contains specimens of every arms known, from the primitive flint hatchet to the weapons actually in use. It offers many gaps, entire centuries are unrepresented, but these gaps are unavoidable: they exist everywhere; and the historical char-

acter of the collection is as complete as the present condition of archæological research permits."

A first impression is that the various collections are distributed haphazard about the galleries. But a careful inspection will show that most of the ten thousand objects of which the museum consists are carefully classified and arranged on a scientific and logical basis, either according to chronology or to the class of weapons. The museum is divided into five sections: (1) Ancient arms; (2) defensive armour, helmets, shields, coats of mail, etc.; (3) arms of offence. These three departments are, of course, more of archæological than military interest. (4) Firearms, manual and portable guns, pistols, etc.; (5) artillery.<sup>1</sup>

In the first gallery, known as the *Galerie des Armes Blanches*, is a collection of considerable historical value of weapons and firearms from the earliest ages to the present day. It begins, of course, with the flint hatchets and javelins of the stone age. Then there are a few specimens of Frankish armour and weapons. The tenth and eleventh centuries are very inadequately represented. In fact, there is only one specimen of the armour of the epoch which is historically represented by the Bayeux tapestry, a long sword having a point like those of the time of Nero, that is, not gradually tapering, but suddenly by a sharpened end. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries make also a poor show in this armory.

There are some good specimens of thirteenth century coats of mail. This defensive armour was, however, soon replaced by steel, as it was found that the effect of

<sup>1</sup> The great size of the collection may be gathered from the fact that the catalogue is in five volumes (price, five francs).

the shock of lances and other thrusting weapons was lessened by steel plates. By the end of the seventeenth century plate armour disappears altogether. The collection of armour in Galleries I. and II. des Armures shows very clearly the changes in this armour from the fifteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The most interesting series is a very complete set of armour belonging to the Kings of France from Henri II. to Louis XIV.

On the second floor are the collections of thrusting weapons and firearms. The musketry collection is one of the best in Europe, and contains specimens of every kind of musket, from the flintlocks and arquebuses of the sixteenth century to the latest patterns of rifles now in use.

The models of artillery — used in warfare for some time before portable firearms — are particularly interesting. A fourteenth century cannon shows that, contrary to what is generally supposed, breech-loaders (though of course of a primitive kind) preceded muzzle-loaders. "The earliest firearms were loaded at the breech by means of a box which was received in a strong stirrup and fastened with a key." The development of artillery in the French army is shown very clearly in chronological order, from the heavy and clumsy piece adapted for stone cannon-balls down to the latest pattern of breech-loading rifled Creusot cannon. But this section of the museum can be properly appreciated only by those possessing some technical knowledge. There are, however, many historical curiosities and warlike relics which appeal to the civilian visitor. Among these are the huge cannon known as the "Griffin," a heavy piece

of ordnance weighing thirteen tons, cast in the sixteenth century, which was brought here from Ehrenbreitstein on the Rhine, in 1797, and a huge chain nearly two hundred yards long, and weighing three tons and a half, which was used by the Turks in constructing a bridge of boats over the Danube, at the siege of Vienna in 1688. Other interesting curiosities are the battle-axe of Edward IV. of England, and a magnificent suit of Oriental armour worn by an Emperor of China, part of the booty of the Summer Palace, near Pekin, taken in 1861.

Certain portions of the museum are only shown to strangers with tickets obtained from the Ministry of War. Among these is the Gallery of Plans of Fortresses. This is a collection of plans in relief of the fortresses of France. Here may be seen, in the proportion of one to six hundred, the models of Perpignan, Cherbourg, Antibes, Strasbourg, Bayonne, Belle Isle, Oléron, Saint-Martin-de-Ré, Ham, Villefranche in the Pyrenees, Dunkerque, Mont-Saint-Michel, Besançon, etc. Several of them occupy a space of from 220 to 240 square feet. There are also models of the battle of Lodi, the last siege of Rome, and that of Sebastopol.

A recent addition to the departments of the Invalides Museum is the so-called Musée d'Armée, though it might more appropriately be called the Musée Napoléon, as the numerous relics and souvenirs of the great emperor, formerly scattered throughout the various museums of Paris, are now all collected here, and naturally form the principal feature in this supplementary museum. Here is to be seen the actual overcoat worn by Napoleon at Marengo, his camp bedstead

(brought from St. Helena), the bridle of the charger he rode at the battle of Waterloo, his pistols, etc.

An extraordinary collection, which is absolutely unique, has recently (1899) been added to the Musée d'Armée, which should prove highly attractive to juvenile visitors. It consists of no less than seventeen thousand wooden soldiers dressed in all the variety of uniforms of the Napoleonic period. Infantry, cavalry, artillery, all are correctly represented there, down to the minutest details, so that the Grand Army as a whole, and each individual member of it as regards uniform and equipment, is accurately reproduced in miniature. The donor is a certain M. Wartz, an Alsatian who devoted a good many years to forming this remarkable Lilliputian army.

The Hôtel des Invalides — the French Chelsea Hospital — is an establishment capable of accommodating over five thousand pensioners, but at present there are not more than a hundred and seventy or so, and the number is constantly diminishing. In 1880 there were about four hundred. The pension of a private is twenty-four francs a year, with board. It is expressly provided in the regulations of the institution that a pensioner who has lost a leg in the service of his country shall receive an extra allowance in lieu of shoes!

In addition to the five large museums described above, there are several minor ones, which could be visited by those with plenty of leisure. Of these the most interesting is the Guimet Museum of Religions, which has been founded only recently, and the Comparative Museum of Sculpture at the Trocadéro. As they are within a few

hundred yards of each other, both can be conveniently visited in the same morning.

Some of the finest specimens of modern French sculpture decorate the Trocadéro Palace itself and its terraces and fountains. The central dome of this Moorish-looking palace is crowned by Mercié's statue of Fame, one of his finest colossal works. The principal façade is decorated with magnificent groups of statuary, representing the five continents. Of these the best are Asia, by Falguière, and Africa, by Delaplanche, though the latter sculptor is not usually seen at his best in large sculptures.

The famous cascade, one of the finest ornamental water-works of the kind in Europe, descends from the balcony to the Seine, filling on its course eight enormous basins, with groups of statuary arranged along the banks. Among the finest groups of animal statuary ever chiselled by Frémiet (on whom the mantle of Barye has fallen) are the elephant, stag, and turtle groups around the largest basin. Other splendidly modelled bronzes are a bull by Cain, a horse by Rouillard, and a rhinoceros by Jacquemart.

The museum of casts of the great masterpieces of mediæval and Renaissance sculptors is very complete, and art students would find a visit to this collection a useful introduction to the collections of ancient and modern sculpture at the Louvre and the Luxembourg. The museum is mainly confined to French sculptures of every period, but for the sake of comparison some casts of ancient *chefs-d'œuvre* are also included.

The collection is due to the famous architect, Viollet-le-Duc, and in its formation the municipality has



strictly followed the principles of selection which he recommended.

It is divided into four departments: (1) Examples showing the relations that exist between the various styles of sculpture, at different epochs of civilisation. (2) Mouldings of French sculpture, classed in schools and epochs, only the best examples being chosen. (3) Mouldings of other nations, parallel with the same periods as those selected for France. (4) Relief work in buildings from historical monuments, showing the place occupied by sculpture in architecture.

“These casts of mouldings have been executed under the able superintendence of M. Geoffroy Dechaume, and a very valuable collection for the student it has become. For students of architecture in its highest forms, and for sculptors who apply their art exclusively to the decoration of buildings, and particularly for the mason who combines art and knowledge with his chisel, hours may be profitably spent here. Copies of the finest mouldings in the French cathedral porches, façades, choirs, and tombs; of some of the richest examples of Herculaneum and Pompeii; of Michael Angelo and Benvenuto Cellini,—all are most valuable for the purposes of study.”<sup>1</sup>

The new Guimet Museum consists of the valuable collections illustrating the religions of the East, which M. Guimet of Lyons presented to the nation in 1886. Though of course a specialised museum, and appealing principally to the clergy, missionaries, teachers, etc., laymen will find much to interest them in this remarkable collection, especially those who have travelled

<sup>1</sup> Sieverts-Drewett.

in the East. Those, too, who are fond of anthropological studies will find this museum unusually instructive.

The religions of India and China: Buddhism, Brahmanism, Taoism, Confucianism, etc., are well represented by a rich and varied collection of idols, statuettes, models, temple fittings, votive offerings, jewelry, and relics of all kinds, and there are a few objects connected with the special form of Buddhism prevalent in Thibet. In a separate room is a particularly good collection of jade ornaments, the fruits of the loot of the Summer Palace in Pekin.

It is unfortunate that the donor was unable to form a collection of objects relating to Islamism, Judaism, and other leading faiths of the East, so that the museum might be fully representative of Oriental religions.

The Japanese collection will interest artists as much as antiquarians, as many of the objects here are as beautiful as they are curious.

In the Galerie Boissière is a small collection of Egyptian antiquities of no great value as regards archæological importance. It would be more appropriately placed in the Egyptian Museum, at the Louvre.

The Bibliothèque Nationale, which occupies a large isolated block of buildings (in which portions of Cardinal Mazarin's palace have been incorporated), is the largest public library in Europe. It is not, however, generally known that in this vast building are several distinct museums of the highest importance, and there are several collections of objects of art which one would naturally expect to find housed, instead, in the galleries of the Louvre, or the Cluny Museum. Among these is an

admirable collection of cameos, — perhaps the most complete in Paris. Then there is a large collection of medals and coins, recently much enlarged by the transfer of a large portion of the collection from the Hôtel des Monnaies (mint). The geographical collection is small, but very valuable.

In addition to these somewhat extraneous collections, the Museum of Manuscripts includes the richest collection of French historical autographs in existence and an enormous collection of engravings (said to exceed two millions). These facts will show the stranger that, quite apart from the library proper, there is enough to interest the ordinary tourist for a whole day.

The origin of the Royal Library, the germ of the present National Library, though generally attributed to Francis I., can be traced back to mediæval times. It is known that Charles V., in 1373, possessed a small collection of about nine hundred books at the Louvre, and a catalogue of these volumes still exists, though the books themselves were dispersed at his death. Louis XII. formed a library at Blois, which contained valuable works of Visconti, Sforza, and Petrarch. This library was removed by Francis I. to Fontainebleau. This monarch, owing to his detestation of the new art of printing, hardly seems an appropriate subject for the title "Father of Letters," by which he was known! It has been supposed that his hostility to the mechanical production of books was really prompted by a desire to raise the value of manuscripts which he particularly prized. The royal collection of manuscripts numbered some four hundred and fifty, many of them being

original, while most of the rest were transcribed from rare Greek texts.

Henri IV. removed the king's library to the Collège de Clermont, then unoccupied owing to the expulsion of the Jesuits. In the reign of Louis XIII. the royal library consisted of nearly seventeen thousand volumes, which were lodged in a mansion in the Rue de la Harpe. Louis XIV. did much to augment the royal collection of books, and at his death the catalogue included over seventy thousand volumes. But the *Grand Monarque* did much, also, to ensure the permanent prosperity of this library by reviving an obsolete law of Henri II., by which all booksellers (the only publishers of those days) were compelled to send copies of new books issued by them to the royal library. Louis XV. bought the famous library of Cardinal Mazarin from his heirs, and added it to the royal collection, which was also transferred to the mansion of the late cardinal in the Rue Richelieu.

At the beginning of the Revolution, the library was in imminent danger of incurring the same fate as the famous Alexandrian library at the hands of the Caliph Omar. However, the proposals of the extreme fanatical party of the Republic, who wished to destroy an institution so intimately connected with the sovereigns of France, were overborne, and the library as the Bibliothèque Nationale was carefully administered under the various governments of the First Republic. Enormous additions were made from the libraries of the suppressed religious houses and sequestered châteaux of the *émigrés*, and later on the National Library was enriched by the acquisitions from countries conquered by France. Most of these works of literature had, however, to be



given back, along with the objects of art, to the original owners at the Restoration. The Bibliothèque Nationale is now thought to be the largest, if not the richest and rarest, collection in the world. In the number of printed books it is certainly superior to the British Museum, as it is said to consist of between 2,600,000 and 2,700,000 books, while it contains over 150,000 volumes of MSS., nearly 15,000 volumes and portfolios of engravings, and 300,000 maps and charts.

There is much to interest the ordinary visitor as well as the historical student in the MSS. department on the first floor, which is also a museum of historical curios and relics. Among the more remarkable objects exhibited here are a set of bindings by Grolier, the prayer-book of St. Louis, two ivory tablets which belonged to Philippe le Bel, with notes of his journeys in 1301-2 and the expenses incurred, and a number of objects from the suppressed Musée des Souverains at the Louvre.

The library is very rich in autographs, and here may be seen the original MSS. of "Télémaque," a Sophocles annotated by Racine, a Hippocrates with the autograph of Rabelais, autograph letters of Turenne, Madame de Maintenon, Madame de Sévigné, Racine, Corneille, etc., and a series of autographs of most of the Kings of France, including those of Henri IV. to Gabrielle d'Estrées.

The department of medals includes not only a very large collection of ancient and mediæval medals and coins, but a rich collection of cameos, a unique collection of works of art in gold and precious stones, and a portion of the ancient treasuries of St. Denis and the

Ste. Chapelle. It is unfortunate that these are not placed for purposes of comparison in the Cluny Museum, their natural home.

A judiciously selected summary of the richest treasures in this division will be found below, borrowed from Murray's excellent little guide. The agate goblet, known as the Cup of Ptolemy, was formerly in the treasury of St. Denis.

"Here also are placed some of the most valuable objects in the museum, — the gem of the collection, the cameo of the Apotheosis of Augustus, one of the largest known; a bust in chalcedony of Constantine; a beautiful gold patera or flat cup, with gold coins of the family of the Antonines set around it; a finely carved agate cup of the Ptolemies; a vase and tray in gold called the Trésor de Gourdon, of the sixth century; and a curious *tasse* in coloured glass, known as the Cup of Chosroes. In an adjoining case are numerous silver vases, with a statue of Mercury, found near Bernay, in Normandy. The series of smaller cameos is magnificent, one of the largest and finest representing Germanicus carried off by an eagle. With the intaglios are placed a series of stone and agate cylinders from Nineveh, on which are engraved cuneiform inscriptions. Around the walls of this room are numerous Etruscan vases, — a rich series of Greek and Roman glass and enamels; some silver vessels, — amongst others a large silver plate found in the Rhone, vulgarly called the Shield of Scipio, representing in low relief Briseis and Achilles; and numerous Etruscan Greek and Roman bronzes. The magnificent collection of the Duc de Luynes, occupying the second hall, is particularly rich

in coins and medals of the Greek colonies in Italy and Asia Minor. Many of them bear Phœnician and Cypriote legends. There are many cameos and intaglios, Greek and Etruscan bronzes, arms and armour, which are also very remarkable. A fine colossal torso of Venus in marble is probably of Greek sculpture, although purchased in Rome. Here also is kept the chair of Dagobert."

In the vestibule at the foot of the staircase leading to the Cabinet des Médailles is an antique which seems to have strayed from the Egyptian Museum at the Louvre. This is the famous zodiac from the Temple of Denderah in upper Egypt. At one time it was supposed by antiquarians that this astronomical tablet dated from the Pharaonic period, but a more advanced knowledge of Egyptology proves conclusively that it belongs to a late Ptolemaic period.

There is a very valuable and interesting collection of autographs and letters of Napoleon I., and of his principal generals at the Dépôt de la Guerre, 231 Faubourg St. Germain, which collectors and, indeed, all those interested in the career of the great emperor should take an opportunity of inspecting. It is hardly known at all to strangers, and is not mentioned in the standard guide-books, which probably accounts for the neglect of travellers. It should be mentioned that foreigners must apply in writing to M. le Directeur, but, in view of the unique interest of the collection, the trouble is well worth taking. The correspondence of Napoleon is extremely voluminous and fills three hundred drawers. In a separate volume are preserved his certificates of baptism and nobility and the order transmitted to him by the

Directory regarding the conduct of his earlier campaigns. Here also are preserved autograph letters of Louis XIV. to his grandson, Philip V. of Spain.

From this collection of purely military archives, the transition is natural to the Collection of National Archives. This is situated in the Hôtel de Soubise, next the Imprimerie Nationale in the Temple Quarter, and is not far from the Musée Carnavalet. Indeed, so rich is this museum of archives in Revolutionary documents and relics, that the historical student will find a visit here even more entertaining and instructive than one to the Carnavalet Museum. Until Napoleon I. bought the Hôtel de Soubise for the purpose of lodging the state archives, they had been preserved by the particular departments, — political, legal, administrative or ecclesiastical, — to which they belonged, not only in the capital but in the chief towns of the Departments to which they belonged. In fact, so far was the principle of decentralisation carried out in the custody of state documents, that it is said there were, in 1782, over a thousand different places where papers of national importance were preserved.

This immense mass of historical, administrative, and judicial matter, which fills over half a million portfolios or volumes, and occupies one hundred and thirty rooms, is divided into four sections. (1) Ministerial (*Secretariat*), in which are preserved all state papers from Louis XVI. to the fall of Napoleon I. (2) Historical, which includes old charters and records from the seventh century. Many of these are placed for public inspection in the museum. (3) Adminis-



trative, relating to topography and the state domains.

(4) Legislative.

The most interesting portion of the museum to ordinary sightseers consists of the collections in the four rooms of the first floor. The rooms of the ground floor, containing the mediæval documents, are more of historical and antiquarian interest. In Salle II. is the most valuable document, from an antiquarian point of view, in the whole museum. It is a papyrus deed of the Merovingian king, Clotaire II., granting certain lands to the Abbey of St. Denis. The deed (the oldest record in the museum) is dated 625 A. D., and was deciphered for the first time in 1852. Here, also, is preserved the famous Roll of Vital, a funereal scroll, thirty-five feet long, of Vital, Abbé de Savigny. It is popularly attractive as containing Latin verses said to be by Héloïse, when Abbess of Argenteuil. Then there are also some curious wooden tablets overlaid with wax, containing the household accounts of Louis IX., and the celebrated Edict of Nantes, with the signature of Henri IV. The revocation of this decree is preserved in Salle II. on the first floor.

The next room (Salle III.) contains a series of reproductions from seals, including all the seals of French sovereigns from Childéric I. (A. D. 457) to Louis Philippe. But as they are merely casts they are of little archæological value, though, of course, of great interest to historians.

The remaining two rooms on the ground floor are filled with treaties and foreign documents containing treaties, protocols, and other state documents from the twelfth to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Since this date, in spite of the government decree which requires all important public documents of the various departments of state to be kept at the Archives Nationales, those of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères from the eighteenth century to the present time have been retained there. Then, as we have seen, many of the state papers of the Directory, the Consulate, and the First Empire are preserved at the Dépôt de la Guerre.

In Salle II. on the first floor are exhibited relics and souvenirs of more popular interest, and, indeed, some of the objects seem a little out of place in an important government institution, and would be more appropriately lodged in the Musée Carnavalet. Of these is the actual table upon which Robespierre was carried, after his attempt to shoot himself at the Hôtel de Ville, before the Committee of Public Safety at the Tuileries. On this table the fallen dictator lay in his horribly mangled state for several hours before his wounds were dressed and he was removed to the Conciergerie and (a few hours afterward) to the guillotine. This lugubrious relic was formerly in the Louvre.

A large number of valuable relics of the Revolution are kept here. In one cabinet are the Constitutions of 1791, 1793, *An III.*, and *An VIII.* The *armoire de fer*, which is a prominent object here, was made by order of the National Assembly to hold the plate for printing assignats. There are several MSS. of the greatest historical importance connected with the imprisonment and trials of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, including the journal of the king and a speech delivered by him before the National Convention. Some doubts

have, however, been cast by experts on the authenticity of the will of Louis XVI. and of the last letter of Marie Antoinette, which are exhibited in this room. The signature of the queen is, at all events, wanting.

The will of Napoleon I. was formerly shown to the public, but can now be seen only by special permission. There are, however, several documents in his writing. But those who are interested in Napoleon's autograph must go to the Dépôt de la Guerre, which is supposed to have the largest authentic collection in existence.

Visitors who examine the Revolutionary relics collected in Salle II. will look in vain for many which are mentioned in some of the guide-books and books of reference. For instance, the model of the Bastille cut out of one of the actual stones, is at the Carnavalet Museum, and the key of the fortress is preserved in the Washington museum at Mount Vernon, United States of America. Another interesting relic which should not be overlooked is the famous *Livre Rouge* found at Versailles. The next two rooms are of secondary interest.

In France the calling of archivist has been elevated to a regular profession. The rules for qualification are severe. The student has to attend a course of lectures for three years at the École des Chartes. This was formerly established at the Archives Nationales, but is now attached to the Sorbonne. After passing the examination, the student has to write an essay on some department of palæography, and if successful he is employed at the archives or at one of the public libraries.

The Imprimerie Nationale is established in another large block immediately behind the Archives Nationales.



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This is the government printing-office, one of the departments of the Ministry of Justice. It was established in the hôtel of the Cardinal de Rohan in 1808 (notorious for his complicity in the affair of the diamond necklace, which brought Marie Antoinette into such bad odour with the Parisians at the eve of the Revolution). The original palace forms, however, but a small portion of this large establishment, in which over 1,200 work-people are employed. The bedroom of the cardinal, and one of the reception-rooms, now used as a library and popularly termed the Hall of Monkeys from the paintings on the walls, can be seen by visitors.

The government printing-office dates from the reign of Louis XIII., though Francis I. had already in 1552 established a private press in the Louvre. The National Convention transferred the printing-office to the Hôtel de Toulouse, afterward occupied by the Banque de France, and Napoleon finally established it in the hôtel of the Rohan family.

The national printing-office has remained there ever since, the changes of dynasty being marked merely by the change in the title of the establishment. It would not, however, be accurate to say that the government printing-office had remained altogether undisturbed during this long period, for in the July Revolution of 1830 it was sacked by the mob, and the printing-presses smashed. Then on the night preceding the *coup d'état* (December 2, 1851), the building was taken possession of by gendarmes, and the national printing-presses were used as instruments of Louis Napoleon's treacherous attack on the Republic, and the printers were compelled to spend the night striking off

enormous quantities of the President's decree dissolving the Assembly.

Though the Imprimerie is a national institution, it does not receive any direct subsidy from the state, but it has a monopoly of the government printing. It has also the monopoly of printing playing-cards, and over twelve thousand sets are printed daily on an average. For some reason, only the court cards and the ace of spades are printed here, the remaining cards being printed by the card-makers.

In the museum may be found an interesting collection of bindings and specimens of typography. The principal curiosity is the *Grec du Roi*, which consists of a complete set of Greek characters made by order of Francis I., for his Louvre press. So well engraved were they that in 1692 the Cambridge University Press applied for a complete font of them. Another curiosity is a copy of the *Lord's Prayer*, printed in one hundred and fifty different languages, a reminiscence of a visit of Pope Pius VII. The collection of fonts of Oriental and foreign type in non-Arabic character, even including Chinese, is the most complete on the Continent.

The Library of *Ste. Geneviève*, close to the *Panthéon*, in spite of the mediæval suggestion of its title, is the newest public library in Paris, the present building having been erected in 1850, on the site of the ancient Abbey of *Ste. Geneviève*. The library itself was founded in 1624, by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld. At the Revolution it became national property, and up till the time of Napoleon III. the institution was not only a good deal neglected, but it was stripped of many of its

richest treasures for the benefit of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Among these was a unique series of sketches and portraits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There still remain, however, many objects which will interest the literary and artistic sightseer. The collection of precious bindings, in particular, is the admiration of all bibliophiles. It includes an almost faultless collection of Aldines and Elzevirs. The collection of manuscripts is far inferior to that at the National Library.

Among the non-literary objects of interest to be seen here, is a remarkably fine specimen of Gobelin tapestry, representing "Study Surprised by Night," a subject peculiarly appropriate, as Ste. Geneviève is the only public library in Paris open at night. A large and very elaborate model of the city of Rome, and a death mask, in plaster, of Henri IV., taken in 1790, when the tombs of the kings at St. Denis were sacked by the mob, are among the most notable of the miscellaneous curiosities.

The Arsenal Library, near the Place de la Bastille, is not, as might naturally be supposed, a technical library of military works. The nomenclature is due to the fact that the libraries of the Marquis de Paulmy d'Argenson, the Duc de Vallière, and other famous bibliophiles, were lodged in this huge building, which served from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries as the Arsenal of Paris, and under Napoleon I. as a reserve granary. The library is the richest in Paris in the early French poets, Italian authors, and dramatic literature. In the collection of state documents are included



some of the archives of the Bastille, a few of which have recently been published. Many distinguished men of letters have held the post of librarian of the Arsenal, including Charles Nodier, Hippolyte Lucas, Édouard Thierry, Ancelot, and Paul Lacroix, the well-known bibliophile.

The Arsenal, under Louis Philippe and Napoleon III., served as a well-known rendezvous for men of letters, and it was at a great literary gathering here that Victor Hugo recited his first poems, shortly afterward published under the title of "Odes et Ballades."

# HISTORIC CHURCHES



## CHAPTER XI.

### NOTRE DAME CATHEDRAL.

“ The architect  
Built his great heart into those sculptured stones,  
And with him toiled his children, and their lives  
Were builded, with his own, into the walls,  
As Offerings unto God.”

THE little island of La Cité contains in its circumscribed area two of the finest churches in France: the magnificent metropolitan church of Notre Dame, one of the earliest examples of Gothic architecture in the country, though to a certain extent a tentative work; and the noble shrine of La Sainte Chapelle, in which the pointed style is seen at its highest perfection. This insignificant islet is, indeed, the germ of the French capital. In mediæval times it comprised all Paris, and was a labyrinth of narrow winding streets and alleys. Now, in spite of the expansion of Paris, both topographically and as regards population, the Ile de la Cité probably contains fewer residents than in the middle ages, for the tortuous streets are replaced by huge public buildings.

For tourists, however, the Ile de la Cité is the *clou* of the sightseer's Paris. Besides Notre Dame and La Sainte Chapelle — a cathedral in miniature — there is the huge congeries of buildings known as the Palais

de Justice and the Hôtel Dieu, — as hospitals in France are piously termed, — not to mention the vulgar but essentially popular sight, the morgue, with its gruesome associations.

In any description of the churches of Paris, Notre Dame naturally demands attention first. As has been well said by Mr. W. Loneragan, one of the best authorities on the historic churches of the French capital, the three churches of Notre Dame, the Sainte Chapelle, and St. Denis stand out with special prominence among the numerous ecclesiastical buildings of Paris, partly because they are the only churches in which the average visitor seems to take any real interest, and, secondly, “because they are the three great legacies of Gothic genius in the possession of the inhabitants of the French Mother City. Rouen, Beauvais, and Chartres have their own monuments to show the skill of the early French architects and sculptors, but in Paris, the cathedral, the Chapel of the Law Courts, and, to a large extent, the elegant edifice of St. Denis, are the only structures produced by the genius of the soil, untrammelled by the necessity of imitating Greek temples or Roman basilicas at the bidding or command of royal or imperial patrons.”

Notre Dame is a church of twofold significance. It is the cathedral church of Paris, — its mother church, — and is to Paris what St. John Lateran (and not St. Peter's) is to Rome. It is also the royal church of France, though in this aspect it is rivalled by the famous basilica of St. Denis, the Westminster Abbey of Paris. Perhaps the relationship of the two churches to Paris may be best understood by saying that St. Denis and Notre Dame are to Paris what Westminster Abbey

and St. Paul's are to London, respectively, but the analogy is not quite perfect.

Little is known of the early history of the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame. In 1711 a Roman altar dedicated to Jupiter was discovered on its site. These and other remains (now at the Palais des Thermes) indicate that a still earlier temple once existed here. Childebert, in 528, built a church on its site to Our Lady, in gratitude for recovery from a severe illness. Under the Frankish kings a church which occupied part of the site of Notre Dame was dedicated to St. Stephen (St. Étienne), and in the early part of the twelfth century another church, also, was erected on this spot dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. In the reign of Louis VII. these two early churches were razed and the present cathedral erected on the site by Bishop de Sully, the first stone being laid by the Pope in person.

The new church was dedicated not to St. Stephen but to the Virgin Mary, whose cult had been recently making considerable progress. The veneration of the Mother of God had recently received a great impetus in France. "God changed sex, so to speak. The Virgin became the God of the world. She invaded nearly all the churches, and occupied all the altars."<sup>1</sup> The devotion to the Virgin in France, even in these materialistic times, is extraordinarily prevalent, and it is probable that, if Notre Dame Cathedral had been actually destroyed by the Commune in 1871, funds would have been provided for the rebuilding of the church in an even more magnificent and sumptuous scale than the present building. The devotion to the cult of Our Lady is startlingly

<sup>1</sup> Michelet. "History of France."

shown by the fact that at the present day almost every second girl in France, Italy, and Spain is named after the Blessed Virgin, and in the more orthodox families one of the names of every male child is Marie.

The relics of the deposed saint were conveyed to Ste. Geneviève (see St. Étienne du Mont, in the chapter on historic churches).

The present Cathedral of Notre Dame is an historical no less than an ecclesiastical landmark, and in this respect it is as historically interesting as Westminster Abbey. In short, this grand Gothic pile epitomises the whole history of France from the twelfth century to the Second Empire, and its famous restorer, Viollet-le-Duc, hardly exaggerates when he observes that, if the pillars of Notre Dame had a voice, they could recount the annals of France from the days of Philip Augustus to our own. This historic continuity of Victor Hugo's "Symphony in Stone" is, indeed, one of the chief charms of Notre Dame.

The following chronological outline gives the history of the building of the present cathedral. It was begun under Bishop Maurice de Sully, the seventy-second successor of St. Denis in the see of Paris, and the Pope, Alexander III., himself laid the first stone in 1163. In 1185 the choir was finished, and in this year Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had visited Europe to excite enthusiasm for the Third Crusade, preached in Notre Dame. About 1218 the west front was begun, and in 1235 the west towers and connecting gallery. Toward the end of the thirteenth century the choir chapels and apse were added.

Dates are wanting for the exact period of the com-



CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME.





pletion of the cathedral, but it was certainly finished early in the fourteenth century, during the reign of St. Louis. The somewhat squat towers were meant to have been covered with spires as at Chartres, but want of funds prevented the original scheme of the architect (which would have made Notre Dame the finest Gothic church in France) being carried out.

The cathedral was, fortunately, left unrestored till the reign of Louis XIV., when this monarch thought it incumbent on him to improve it, in fulfilment of the vow of his father, Louis XIII., who had formally dedicated himself and his kingdom to Our Lady. The inartistic restoration under this king has been vigorously attacked by Victor Hugo. During the Revolution Notre Dame was saved from destruction through the efforts of some of the leaders of the Terror, who still retained some artistic instincts. They could not, however, prevent the destruction of the statues of the Kings of Judah which adorned the west front. Since the stormy days of the Terror there have been many attempts at the restoration and improvement of the metropolitan cathedral, but "the ignorance which prevailed at the commencement of the present century with regard to Gothic architecture rather added to the destruction than mended it; and it was not until the Christian-art, liberal Catholic revival, led by Montalembert and his friends, that a thorough and rational restoration of the church was commenced by the eminent architects, Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus."

Little damage was actually done to the sacred fabric by the Commune, though a determined attempt at destroying the cathedral by fire was made in the last days

of the fighting between the Communists and the Versailles troops, but it was fortunately frustrated. The insurgents had actually piled up all the chairs around the high altar and set fire to them, but the flames were extinguished by the government troops before much damage was done to the building.

The most striking view of this magnificent building is to be had from the Place du Parvis, the open space in front of the west front; but for the most beautiful view we should cross the Pont Sully, which intersects the eastern end of the Ile St. Louis. Here the architectural defects are not apparent, and the delicately modelled central spire is seen to best advantage.

The west front is, of course, like that of Peterborough and York Cathedrals, the great glory of Notre Dame. Formerly the view of this grand façade was more impressive, as the ground in front has gradually become raised. Once a series of thirteen steps—the usual number in French churches of this period, imitated from the Temple of Jerusalem—led to the western portals.

For the best description of this magnificent Gothic portico we must go to Victor Hugo, who has immortalised in prose this “Epic in Stone.”

“There are, assuredly, few finer architectural pages than that front of that cathedral, in which, successively and at once, the three receding pointed gateways; the decorated and indented band of the twenty-eight royal niches; the vast central circular window, flanked by the two lateral ones, like the priest by the deacon and subdeacon; the lofty and slender gallery of trifoliated arcades, supporting a heavy platform upon its light and

delicate columns ; and the two dark and massive towers, with their eaves of slate, — harmonious parts of one magnificent whole, — rising one above another in five gigantic stories, — unfold themselves to the eye, in combination unconfused — with their innumerable details of statuary, sculpture, and carving, in powerful alliance with the tranquil grandeur of the whole, — a vast symphony in stone, if we may so express it — the colossal work of a man and of a nation in which, upon every stone, is seen displayed, in a hundred varieties, the fancy of the workman controlled by the genius of the artist — a sort of human Creation, in short, mighty and prolific as the Divine Creation, of which it seems to have caught the double character — variety and eternity.”

Technically, Notre Dame, though usually described as a Gothic cathedral, is a building of the transition period from the Romanesque to the early Gothic. “With the cathedrals of Chartres, Rheims, Amiens, and Bourges, it forms a link in the chain of the great architectural constructions raised by the mediæval builders, and decorated by those able sculptors who were called *Magistri de vivis lapidibus.*”<sup>1</sup>

The sculptures in the west front constitute a whole volume of hagiology in stone, but we can find space for only a few of the monkish legends there depicted. This façade in many respects resembles that of Rheims Cathedral, though the decoration is not so rich. A detailed description of the beauties of the façade, which has been imitated in many other French cathedrals, must be looked for in Viollet-le-Duc’s monograph, but the more salient features may be given here.

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Lonergan.

It consists of two stories only, for the third story of the guide-books is merely open screen-work continued from the flanking towers in order to conceal the featureless roof of the nave. The first story consists of three portals. The central one (generally known as the *Porte du Jugement*) is the Door of the Redeemer, the Son of the Blessed Virgin, the other two portals being that of the Virgin herself on the north, and the southern, the Mother of the Blessed Virgin, Ste. Anne, forming a trilogy in stone. The mass of sculpture in the design of the Last Judgment, the Virtues and Vices (the former being portrayed as women), and the Wise and Foolish Virgins, is almost bewildering, and a description without some plan would be of little use. There is grim humour in the mass of sculpture in the tympanum (triangular area) representing the Resurrection, where we see the souls being weighed, and under one scale is a cheating little demon pulling it down with a hook.

The whole of this façade is, in short, an Ober-Ammergau in stone, and the statuary is worth the closest inspection. We are all familiar — at all events from photographs — with the Bible of Amiens, and here we have a Bible in stone, of almost equal interest.

The numerous statues of the *Porte de la Vierge* are by some judges thought to be the best specimens, for composition and modelling, extant of the thirteenth century French school of statuary. This door, which is at the base of the northern tower, is distinguished from the other two portals by the curious triangular formation over the archway. As this is the special gateway of the Virgin, the Holy Mother and Child occupy the central place. Here are five curious bas-reliefs representing



the creation of Eve, who is seen emerging from the left rib of Adam, represented asleep under the shelter of a rock, and the temptation. The serpent, with the head and breasts of a woman, offers the apple to Eve, who bites it, and hands it to Adam. This series of Old Testament pictures is completed by the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise. On the lintel of the portal are graven prophets and kings, the former being intended to symbolise the advent of the Messiah, while the kings are represented to show the Virgin's royal descent. These figures are perhaps the best modelled of any in the west front, and are remarkable for their expression and life-like vigour.

On the sides and pillars are a strikingly excellent series of figures, representing the signs of the zodiac. These almanacs in stone are very common in French churches. The twelve signs are quaintly illustrated by representatives of the agricultural operations, recreations, etc., of each year. Under April is a fawn-like figure, with one side of his body warmly clad, and the other naked. No doubt our Gallic friends would declare that this is typical of the English spring climate!

May is represented by a man wearing some kind of airy costume which suggests the nineteenth century pyjamas, while June is symbolised by a nude bather.

The further portal (*Porte Ste. Anne*) is dedicated to the mother of the Virgin. It is of earlier date than the other two doors, which are more Gothic than Romanesque, and was in a large measure built from fragments of the old Church of Notre Dame. The Romanesque style of this portal gives it a close resemblance to part of the façade of the Church of St. Denis.

The central figure here is St. Marcel, ninth bishop (died 436 A. D.), who is represented as a kind of Parisian St. Patrick, expelling a huge serpent. This commemorates the following legend: This monster had devoured a certain rich and frail woman as a punishment for her vices. St. Marcel seems to have pitied this sinner, and went forth to the forest to admonish her destroyer. The serpent showed repentance, which was manifested by his bending his head and flopping after the saint for some three miles, wagging his tail like a dog! But the holy man declined to forgive the reptile. "Go forth," said the saint, "and inhabit the deserts, or plunge thyself into the sea." He was presumably obeyed, for no more was heard of the serpent from that day forth.

The wonderful ironwork of the three portals is attributed to supernatural agency, though as a matter of fact it probably came from the old Church of St. Stephen, which was built on the site of Notre Dame. The legend, which is, of course, common to many other mediæval churches, runs, that the original artificer, the smith Biscornette, to whom the ironwork of the three doors had been entrusted, being behindhand with his task, called in the assistance of the devil, who agreed to help him on the conventional Satanic condition, viz., in return for his soul. The devil donned the smith's apron and worked so vigorously that in one night two of the doors were finished. But the central door, through which the blessed sacrament was carried, was beyond the devil's power. Consequently, Biscornette was able to retain his soul, as his Satanic Majesty was unable to keep his contract. The origin of this legend is probably

to be found in a curious design in the iron tracery of a little man with horns and tail sitting upon a branch of a tree.

The best time to see Notre Dame façade is at sunset, when the noble front is seen in its full glory, and each statue stands out in full relief from the beautiful stone tracery.

No visitor should neglect to climb the western tower, not only for the sake of the view, but in order to see the famous gargoyles, popularly known as the Devils of Notre Dame, which constitute a veritable nightmare in stone.

Arrived at the summit, Paris of the twentieth century lies mapped out at our feet with its new and interesting modern buildings, relieved here and there by the domes and towers of those which have escaped destruction.

“The view may not be so picturesque as in the old times, but it is deeply interesting, and the city, when bathed in spring or autumn sunshine, fascinates by the brightness and cheerfulness of its general effect, so different from the darker and duller shades of other Northern cities.”<sup>1</sup>

The grotesque monsters which stand out so obtrusively from the towers and galleries of Notre Dame should not be considered merely as an embodiment of a waggish design or passing whim on the part of the architect. These monsters, however grotesquely horrible they appear to the casual sightseer, must be taken seriously. A careful study of this remarkable form of animal statuary in the early Gothic churches of North France shows that there are distinct and definite stages

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Lonergan.



in the development of what is really a kind of monstrous symbolism in stone. These strange figures were meant, in short, as a moral or religious object-lesson, — a literal sermon in stone. In the primary stage, these grotesque creations may be traced to the study of the apocalypse, the dragon<sup>1</sup> typifying the enemy of mankind. Later on, the chief aim of the sculptor seems to be to symbolise the devil in as many hideous, monstrous, and varied forms as possible.

“The evil one is depicted either as an active agent or a crafty counsellor; in the former capacity he is given more or less human form, with wings, and possibly a tail, ending with a serpent’s head; the naked limbs are lean and emaciated, the hands and feet are abnormally huge, the hair wildly disordered, and the mouth a gaping cavity. In the rôle of counsellor he is more often represented as a grotesque animal, or a dog with a man’s head.”

In the next stage we find animals real or mythical employed to typify the principal virtues and vices. The lion stood for courage, strength, and watchfulness; the mermaid, pleasures of the flesh, — the “pleasant vices;” the pelican, charity; while the devil had innumerable types, the serpent, basilisk, griffin, and dragon being the favourite symbols.

In succeeding centuries we find the art of the sculptors of these chimeras in stone degenerates, the monsters becoming more grotesque and fantastic, and inspiring ridicule rather than dread. But in Notre Dame there are few examples of this later development,

<sup>1</sup> Some derive the word gargoyle from *Gargouille*, the fabulous dragon which was supposed to infest Rouen, till slain by St. Romanus.

for even in the nineteenth century devils, which are the work of Viollet-le-Duc, the architect has carefully followed the treatment of the twelfth century sculptors. This later series of demons is chiefly on the galleries of the great western façade. Some of the larger monsters are represented crushing the life out of some weak, defenceless creatures. One of them, an amorphous harpy, tears a hare limb from limb, another is seizing a frog, while another devil has seized a smaller devil with its teeth, and the victim tries to defend itself by fixing its fangs in its captor's leg.

One particularly bizarre-looking monster Mr. Joseph Pennell describes as "an obscene and bald bird crouching over a bunch of grapes, possibly representing habitual and debased drunkenness."

Miss Beale, in her description of Notre Dame, gives a graphic impression of this Inferno in stone which is worth quoting :

"The monsters stand, as they did centuries ago, gazing down upon Paris, and its doings for good or for evil. Think of the events they have witnessed, — from the burning of fifty-four Templars in a slow fire by Philippe IV., to the horrors of the Commune. They must have seen the flaming villages and châteaux during the Jacquerie, and witnessed those useless sorties during the last war, when the Parisians vainly endeavoured to escape from the city and gain one of the outside army corps. They seem to look down in scorn upon humanity, whether in the form of the coronation of Henry VI. of England, so mean an affair that 'un bourgeois qui marierait ses enfants ferait mieux les choses,' or the misery of the famine of 1419-21. 'Vous auriez en-

tendu dans tout Paris des lamentations pitoyables, des petits enfants qui criaient "Je meurs de faim." On enterrait 100,000 personnes. Des bandes des loups courraient les campagnes, et entraient même la nuit dans Paris pour enlever les cadavres.' And all the ages through, the brutes have had the same expression of scorn, of spite, of diabolical ugliness, that one feels it to be a comfort that they are fixed safely to the gallery of the towers, out of the way of working mischief."

But as the setting of Victor Hugo's immortal romance, one feels an additional interest in these towers, with their grim guardians. These monstrosities in stone irresistibly suggest the pathetic figure of "the misshapen hunchback Quasimodo, whose whole life was bound up in the cathedral, and who was regarded with superstitious fear and hatred by those who deemed themselves the victims of his sorcery.

"Quasimodo loved the most hideous of the monsters with a grim fellow feeling. He was drawn to them by a common tie of repulsiveness, and yet, at the risk of his life, he destroyed one of his stone comrades when he found that it frightened Esmeralda. It was from behind these devils that he rained down the stones, and through two of the gargoyles on the west façade that he poured the molten lead upon the seething rabble that had come, as he thought, to drag his darling from the sanctuary.

"The other figure that suggests itself is that of Claude Frollo, the renegade priest, *l'âme damnée*, who watched Esmeralda's dying throes from the north tower, unmindful of the presence of his slave the hunchback, till, when the tragedy was consummated, he uttered the demonia-

cal laugh which quenched the lifelong flame of grateful love in the heart of his protégé. Then we see him after Quasimodo has hurled him from the battlements, clinging convulsively to one of the monster-headed gargoyles, quivering, cursing, gasping between earth and heaven. He raises his dying eyes to the graven figures above him, hanging in like manner over the abyss; but their passions are impassive in their petrification; they feel neither terror for themselves nor pity for him.”<sup>1</sup>

On the northern side of Notre Dame is the famous *Porte Rouge*, by which the canons enter. This is a late addition. It was built in 1407 by John, Duke of Burgundy, in expiation of a murder. The principal motif is the “*Coronation of the Virgin*,” and on either side are kneeling the donor and his wife. The other door in this transept, the *Portail de Cloître* (so called because this was the entrance to the cloister long ago demolished), contains a fine antique statue of the Virgin, and in the tympanum is an almost undecipherable group of figures which represent the legend of St. Theophilus selling his soul to the devil. St. Theophilus was a monk who lived in the third century, who is said to have abjured his faith, and he is here represented prostrate before the devil. He was saved by the intervention of the Virgin Mary, who tore up the infernal contract, and the enraged demon is sculptured seizing the Virgin’s garment.

Continuing the tour of the exterior, it is worth while stopping in the little plot east of the garden to observe the beautiful effect of the flying buttresses of the choir and apse.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Mary Fermor.

The interior of the cathedral is apt to oppress most visitors, partly owing to the darkness, which is as extreme as in Florence Cathedral. The general effect is heavy, owing, no doubt, to the forest of huge pillars in the nave, which detracts from the height. The principal architectural details may be summed up as follows: The plan of the church is that of a Latin cross. The nave is nearly 225 feet long, and the width of the church at the transepts is not far short of 150 feet. The height of the nave is over one hundred feet. The side aisles are continued around the choir so that some reckon them as five in number. Above the inner aisles is a triforium, and above this tower the high clerestory windows.

The interior contains singularly few objects of interest, for the chief beauties are outside. The chapels are poor and little in harmony with the rest of the fabric. Most have been restored and decorated by Viollet-le-Duc.

Near the west gallery entrance is the horribly realistic monument of Etienne Yver, a statue meretricious in treatment and decidedly gruesome, but which the guides will not allow one to miss. This repulsive statuary represents the body of Yver being devoured by worms, from whose attack two saints are represented as attempting to rescue him!

Thanks to the improving zeal of the eighteenth century restorers, notably an artist called Leveil, there is very little good glass painting in Notre Dame. But the beautiful rose-windows here were fortunately left alone by the *soi-disant* artist in glass. The painting is here exquisite. The windows are "masterpieces of the art; equal to the windows of Metz and Strasburg, and con-

temporaneous with the stone walls which surround them."

Most of the side chapels, as we have said, are not worth close inspection, but those dedicated to St. Madeleine, St. George, and St. Denis should be visited, on account of the strikingly dramatic monuments to the three murdered Archbishops of Paris.

In the Madeleine Chapel is the kneeling statue of Archbishop Sibour, who was murdered by a fanatical priest in St. Etienne, in 1857. In the Chapel of St. Denis is the famous statue of the saintly Archbishop Affre, who was killed when attempting to make peace between the insurgents and the government troops, in the 1848 revolution. The archbishop is represented on the barricade, falling, struck by a bullet. A crucifix is slipping from his left hand, while in his right he holds an olive-branch. The epitaph is peculiarly appropriate, "*Le bon pasteur donne sa vie pour ses brebis.*"

In the Chapelle St. George is a statue of another martyred archbishop, the liberal-minded Monseigneur Darboy, who was one of the hostages murdered by the Communists, at La Roquette, in May, 1871. The heroic priest is represented, with strict historical accuracy, in the act of blessing his murderers.

Tragic, indeed, has been the fate of the last three Archbishops of Paris. To them, indeed, the pregnant phrase, "*The blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church,*" applies with especial significance.

Near the choir entrance, on the right, is the large statue of the Virgin, holding the Infant in her arms, which is said to be the identical wonder-working mediæval statue referred to below.

“After the battle of Poitiers, the citizens of Paris, with a view of inducing the Virgin to succour France, made a solemn vow to offer annually a candle to Notre Dame, as long as the city of Paris. When Paris increased in dimensions, and the vow became difficult of fulfillment literally, they substituted in 1605 a silver lamp, which is still kept continually burning.”

Of more artistic interest are the famous scenes from the life of Christ, carved in stone in high relief around the ambulatory by Jean Ravy, in 1351.

“Though inferior in merit to those in the same position in Amiens Cathedral, they are admirable examples of animated and vigorous French sculpture of their period. The series begins on the north side of the choir. The subjects which remain (for some, like the Annunciation, are destroyed) comprise the Visitation; Adoration of the Shepherds; Nativity; Adoration of the Magi (note the three kings, representing the three ages of man; the oldest, as usual, has removed his crown, and is offering his gift); the Massacre of the Innocents; the Flight into Egypt (where a grotesque little temple, containing two odd, small gods, quaintly represents the prevalence of idolatry); the Presentation in the Temple; Christ among the Doctors; the Baptism in Jordan (with attendant angel holding a towel); the Miracle at Cana; the Entry into Jerusalem (with Zachæus in the tree, and the gate of the city); the Last Supper; the Washing of the Apostles’ Feet; and the Agony in the Garden. The tourist should examine carefully all these subjects, the treatment of which strikes a key-note. Similar scenes, almost identical in their figures, will be found in abundance at Cluny and elsewhere. Note, for example,

the symbolical Jordan in the Baptism, with St. John pouring water from a cup, and the attendant angel, all of which we shall often recognise elsewhere." <sup>1</sup>

On the south side the series is continued. The subjects represent the various apparitions of Christ: Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen ("*Noli me tangere*"); Christ appearing to the Holy Women; Christ appearing to the Disciples at Emmaus, with the disciples dressed as mediæval pilgrims; the Conversion of St. Thomas, etc. The sculptures are painted and gilt. There is a good cast of them in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

Few will care to leave the cathedral without visiting the treasury, but unfortunately most of the relics are mere imitations, replicas of those which were formerly in the Sainte Chapelle, and even the one precious relic which is said to be well authenticated, the nail of the true cross, is shown only on Fridays in Lent. This and the other sacred relics (the reputed crown of thorns, the scourge of St. Louis, St. Vincent de Paul's crucifix, and a portion of the holy cross) are lodged in a secure resting place for safe custody, viz., the huge ball below the cross of the central spire. The sacred or historic souvenirs which are usually shown to the tourist are a gold cross of St. Thomas à Becket, the twelfth century gold cross of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, which survived the sack of the treasury during the Revolution, Napoleon the Great's coronation robes, and the melancholy relics of the three murdered archbishops, Affre, Sibour, and Darboy, — the actual robes in which they died.

The high festival services are very imposing and are celebrated on a grand scale, — notably that of the Feast

<sup>1</sup> Grant Allen. "Historical Guide to Paris."



of the Assumption. "The myriads of lights, the gorgeous vestments of prelates and priests, the high, overarching pillars, the organ music, the voices of choristers, and the deep rich colours flung over all by the great rose-windows, combine to bring home to the worshipper or spectator the Gothic conception of heaven."

The Lenten sermons at Notre Dame are historical in interest, inasmuch as they were begun by Lacordaire, the Dominican, who was called "le Romantique de la Claire." It was the period of Romanticism in France, and the eloquent friar, who had thrown off the lawyer's robes for the black and white habit of the sons of St. Dominic, was supposed, rather irreverently, to represent in the pulpit what Hugo, Gauthier, and De Banville represented in literature, and Delacroix, Scheffer, Horace Vernet, Ingres, and Paul Delaroche represented in painting.

"Another famous preacher at Notre Dame was Père Ravignan, a Jesuit of noble family, and in later years the pulpit has been occupied by Père Hyacinthe (now M. Hyacinthe Loyson), Père Monsabré, and Monseigneur d'Hulst, rector of the Paris Catholic University." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Lonergan.

## CHAPTER XII.

### LA SAINTE CHAPELLE AND ST. DENIS.

THE environment of the Sainte Chapelle prevents the exterior view from being very impressive. It is much shut in by the buildings of the Palais de Justice, which is, unfortunately, a criminal as well as a civil court. Consequently, the surroundings are painfully incongruous. The Holy Chapel faces the Tribunal of Correctional Police, and almost touching this noble monument of mediæval architecture is the Dépôt, or "Bow Street of Paris, where all the drunkards, demireps, thieves, murderers, tramps, swindlers, pickpockets and garotters, arrested overnight by the police, are interned, while awaiting examination before a magistrate, or trial and imprisonment. Close by, in the Rue de la Sainte Chapelle, may be seen every day rows of black prison vans disgorging candidates for jail, or receiving those who have been condemned. The noise of the cursing, swearing, and coarse jokes of hardened criminals frequently reaches the sanctuary where St. Louis sought seclusion and prayed."

The Holy Chapel was built by Louis IX. for a twofold purpose. It was meant to serve both as the chapel of the royal palace, and to be a shrine for the sacred relic acquired by St. Louis. This beautiful church is, in short, the religious mysticism of the

saintly king. Then it was also intended to be a royal oratory, just as the gloomy Escorial served as the oratory of another royal *dévo*t, Philippe II. of Spain. The contrast between these two famous buildings, one "an ashy pile looming like the Palace of Death," and the other an incomparable gem of mediæval architecture, "the brilliant harmonies and translucent colours of whose windows reminded Louis of the splendours of that heaven for which he sighed," is as striking as that between the characters of the two sovereigns, Philip of Spain, a morose and selfish ascetic, bigoted and intolerant, intent only on the saving of his own miserable soul, and Louis of France, equally pious and zealous, but warm-hearted and liberal-minded, imbued with that wide enthusiasm for humanity which was so rare among the self-centred saints and fanatics of mediæval times.

It must then be constantly borne in mind, when visiting the Sainte Chapelle, that it is above all the shrine of the crown of thorns, — it is, in short, a colossal reliquary. The whole history of the acquisition of this sacred relic is recorded at great length in Canon Morand's history of this church. It is too long to quote, but Gibbon's description is sufficient for our purpose.

"But another relic of the Passion was preserved in the Imperial Chapel of Constantinople; and the crown of thorns which had been placed on the head of Christ was equally precious and authentic.

"In the absence of the emperor, the barons of Roumania borrowed the sum of 130,134 pieces of gold on the credit of the holy crown; they failed in the performance of their contract; and a rich Venetian, Nicholas Querini, undertook to satisfy their impatient

creditors, on condition that the relic should be lodged at Venice, to become his absolute property if it were not redeemed within a short and definite term. The barons apprised their sovereign of the hard treaty and impending loss; and, as the empire could not afford a ransom of seven thousand pounds sterling, Baldwin was anxious to snatch the prize from the Venetians, and to vest it with more honour and emolument in the hands of the most Christian king. His ambassadors, two Dominicans, were despatched to Venice, to redeem and receive the holy crown, which had escaped the dangers of the sea and the galleys of Vataces. On opening a wooden box, they recognised the seals of the doge and barons, which were applied on a shrine of silver; and within this shrine the monument of the Passion was enclosed in a golden vase. The reluctant Venetians yielded to justice and power; the Emperor Frederic granted a free and honourable passage; the court of France advanced as far as Troyes, in Champagne, to meet with devotion this inestimable relic; it was borne in triumph through Paris by the king himself, barefoot and in his shirt; and a free gift of ten thousand marks of silver reconciled Baldwin to his loss. The success of this transaction tempted the Latin emperor to offer with the same generosity the remaining furniture of his chapel: a large and authentic portion of the true cross; the baby-linen of the Son of God; the lance, the sponge, and the chain of the Passion; the rod of Moses, and part of the skull of St. John the Baptist. For the reception of these spiritual treasures, twenty thousand marks were expended by Louis on a stately foundation, the Holy Chapel of Paris."

Louis, having set his heart on building a shrine

worthy of the relics, issued a proclamation calling upon the master-builders of Europe to give in plans, or, as we should describe the transaction to-day, invited tenders for the building. The architect selected was Pierre de Montereau.

A curious legend is related in connection with the actual design which was accepted for the Holy Chapel. Two of the candidates for the work met on their way to Paris, at an Alpine inn, and the younger, an enthusiastic and confiding artificer, showed his plan to his fellow traveller, who preserved silence about his own plan. That night the elder of the two attempted to murder his rival, stole the plan, and set off for Paris early the next morning. King Louis was delighted with the design, and entrusted this unknown artist with the task of building the chapel. When it was finished, the architect retired secretly to a monastery, in order to expiate his heinous crime. The actual designer became mad, and, some years afterward, wandered to Paris; whereupon, seeing the realisation of his plan in stone, he suddenly recovered his reason. It was, however, too late, his story was discredited, and the unfortunate architect died in obscurity.

Probably the legend owes its origin to the fact that, as frequently happened in the middle ages, the actual builder of the Sainte Chapelle had adapted and used as his own work the design of some poor craftsman. This is common enough in our own days among artists and architects, as well as among inventors. For instance, the original idea of the Eiffel Tower is said to have been suggested to the able engineer and organiser, whose name is always associated with it, by a young and

obscure artisan ; and in the middle ages many famous painters had their "ghosts."

The Sainte Chapelle was consecrated in 1248. The Upper Chapel, for the church is a double one, was expressly dedicated to the Holy Crown of Thorns, and the Lower Chapel was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

The church has had many brilliant pageants and splendid ceremonies celebrated within its walls. The wives of Philip III., Charles IV. (le Bel), and Charles VI. were crowned here, and in this chapel was celebrated the marriage of the Emperor Henry VII. with Margaret of Brabant. The betrothal of our King Richard II. to Isabella of France was also solemnised here.

In short, almost as many important historic ceremonies have taken place in the Sainte Chapelle as in Notre Dame Cathedral and St. Denis, and the history of these three churches is, in a great measure, the history of France.

But the most striking ceremonies of all these royal pageants were those in connection with the canonisation of St. Louis and the translation of his bones from St. Denis in 1306. The formal bull of canonisation had indeed been issued nine years previous to this by Pope Boniface, after a most searching inquiry into the claims of the defunct sovereign, and the veracity of the fifty-seven alleged miracles attributed to his relics.

The procedure in the inquiry into a saint's claims to canonisation is curious. They are submitted to as searching an examination and scrutiny as are those of a claimant to a lapsed peerage in the English House of Lords. In the first instance, commissioners are appointed by the Pope to institute preliminary inquiries.

Their report is submitted to a special tribunal of clerics, who decide if the candidate is worthy of the first degree of hierarchical rank, which is called beatification. A second tribunal, after a considerable interval, then considers the question of the admittance of the saint to full canonisation. At this trial, the candidate's interests are looked after by an official who is styled the *Dei advocatus*, who is opposed by the *diaboli advocatus*. It is from this that the familiar expression, "devil's advocate," is derived.

After the decision of this tribunal in the candidate's favour, the final ratification by the Pope is alone required for the admittance of the saint into the Roman Catholic calendar. In this calendar, St. Louis (August 25th) has taken high rank, and is perhaps the greatest *lay* saint of mediæval times who has been thought worthy of canonisation.

Since the Reformation the admittance of fresh saints into the calendar is comparatively rare. One reason for the paucity of claimants for canonisation is said to be the enormous cost of the procedure. A curious example of this is to be found in the history of the Borromeo family of Milan. It was found that the cost of obtaining the bull of canonisation for the famous saint, Charles Borromeo, was so great, that the family refrained from pressing the claims of another saintly personage, a cousin of St. Charles, on account of the expense! Then it must be remembered that in a less credulous and superstitious age a more searching examination into the antecedents and alleged miracles of saints is now insisted upon. It is also said that the canonisations which have been granted by the Vatican

have, to some extent, been influenced by motives of public interest and Church policy. The canonisation of the Jesuit martyrs in Japan, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, for instance, was said to be prompted by a desire to encourage the zeal of the Church at a time when the temporal power was threatened.

The remains of the monarch, who was now a duly accredited saint, at once became of immense value as relics, and the bones of St. Louis were scrambled for by sovereigns, the great abbeys, and cathedrals in a most indecent fashion. The first distribution of the relics resulted in a part of the skull of St. Louis being apportioned to the Sainte Chapelle, and another to the Abbey of Poissy, while Notre Dame had to be satisfied with a rib. Then the Church of Montjoie venerates a relic which is said to be one of the bones of the sainted king's hand. As for the heart, though several churches claim to possess this, the balance of evidence is in favour of the relic enshrined at the Cathedral of Monreale, near Palermo. What remain of the personal relics of St. Louis, as well as the crown of thorns and other alleged relics to which the Holy Chapel owes its existence, are now in Notre Dame.

A remarkable discovery in the course of the restoration of the Sainte Chapelle in 1843, threw, however, some doubt on the alleged genuineness of the saint's heart enshrined at Monreale Cathedral. On the death of St. Louis at Tunis, in 1270, his heart was carefully preserved in the chapel which he founded, and a casket containing what was apparently a heart was discovered in the course of the restorations mentioned above. A formal commission was appointed to "sit on" the relic



and decide on its authenticity. Their verdict was unfavourable, but, notwithstanding this official disclaimer, the relic is still held in strong veneration by devout Catholics.

In 1790, when all the abbeys and other religious foundations in France were laicised, the Holy Chapel was closed, and its relics removed to St. Denis. The sacred building was profaned to various uses till the Restoration, — at one time it served as a club-house, at another time a warehouse, and finally as a kind of record office, in connection with the Palais de Justice. In the reign of Louis Philippe the government undertook its complete restoration, and spent enormous sums on the work. Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus were the architects entrusted with the restoration, and they carried out the difficult task with remarkable skill. “The windows in especial were admirably restored by MM. Steinheil and Lussion. So well have these artists matched the colours, that it is not easy to distinguish between the modern glass and the little that still remains of the thirteenth century.” No less an authority than Mr. Ruskin speaks very appreciatively of the manner in which the work has been carried out. This triumph of window restoration compares very favourably with the work at St. Denis (see next chapter), where the restorers seem to have eliminated all the beauty of the original twelfth century glass.

A visitor might profitably devote a whole morning to these wonderful windows, where the whole history of the Bible is written, to quote Fergusson’s expressive phrase, “in the hues of the rainbow, by the earnest hands of faith.”

These windows, indeed, comprise a sacred picture-gallery embodying all the religious symbolism of the mystic king, and in these thousand panels of fragile and precious paintings a whole Christian East is to be found.

Let us now proceed to examine the architectural and decorative features of this unique church. It is a twin or double church, consisting of a lower and upper chapel. The crypt-like Lower Chapel is a comparatively featureless building, containing the tombs of canons of the Sainte Chapelle. Boileau was once buried here, but his remains were taken to St. Germain-des-Prés after the Revolution.

The beautiful porch of the Lower Chapel has a curious statue of the Virgin with bowed head. This is a replica of the famous statue which had the reputation of working miracles, and of which many legends are told. The significance of the bowed head is explained by the story of the famous theologian, Jean Duns Scotus, who was one of the first to preach the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which, it may be remarked, had to wait some six hundred years for its formal recognition by the Vatican. When strenuously defending this doctrine in the Holy Chapel, in 1304, the statue, out of gratitude, bowed its head.

The portal is very richly decorated, and has been most conscientiously restored. The Last Judgment in the tympanum is modelled upon the famous sculpture on the Notre Dame central portal, and "each figure was fitted into its place upon the lines of the original, whenever any trace of the old sculpture had been preserved."

The magnificent rose window is of fifteenth century work. Here is represented the Vision of the Apoca-

lypse. "Perhaps the slight variation in this window," observes Mr. Sieverts Drewett, "which is in the flamboyant style, is to critical eyes somewhat out of place, but it is Gothic, nevertheless, and does not appear incongruous by reason of its more florid character."

The beautifully proportioned spire is comparatively modern, and on the whole it must be admitted to be a successful restoration. Over the apse stands a colossal angel holding a processional cross. It was originally intended that the angel should turn around mechanically upon a pivot during the twenty-four hours, and thus present the emblem of salvation to each quarter of Paris in turn. But the idea was never carried out.

The Upper Chapel is reached by a small spiral staircase. On entering, what strikes the visitor most, next to the brilliant colouring and the richness of the decorative work, is the great height of the windows. Like the Royal Chapel of St. George, and King's College Chapel, Cambridge, it is merely a choir, not a complete church. Judged from the strictest canons of art, its proportions are faulty, but, says Fergusson, the "noble simplicity of its design, the majesty of its tall windows, and the beauty of all its details, render it one of the most perfect examples of the Gothic style."

The beauty of the interior and the rich scheme of colour is a good deal enhanced by the approach from the semi-darkness of the Lower Chapel and the gloomy, tunnel-like stairs. "Add to the beauty of the chapel all the associations which crowd upon the memory, — St. Louis's beautiful faith and noble life, his enthusiasm for God's work and man's welfare; all the ceremonies and the processions which have taken place there, with the

lights, the flowers, and the incense, and our imagination forms a picture that no hand could adequately paint.”<sup>1</sup>

But, after all, the windows constitute the great glory of the Sainte Chapelle. If Rheims is remembered by its porch, Rouen by its west front, Chartres by its spire, Beauvais by its choir, so will the Holy Chapel of Paris always be recalled to mind by its exquisite stained glass.

If one visits the chapel alone in the early morning, one can better understand the pretty story told of a child entering for the first time a cathedral in France, and sitting awed by the great rose window facing him, when all at once the organ burst into music, and it seemed to the child “as if the window spoke.”

The interior, consisting as it does almost entirely of lofty windows, is a good illustration of the architectural principle so predominant in the thirteenth century, which demanded the greatest possible space and the best arranged localities for the display of painted glass. The style and arrangement of the windows resemble very closely those in the chapter-house in Salisbury Cathedral. There are fifteen windows altogether, each some fifty feet in height. Most of the glass, as we have seen, is of later date than the thirteenth century; indeed, some of the best of the original glass is to be seen in South Kensington Museum.

Most of the windows are filled with subjects taken from the Old and New Testaments, but one which is of considerable historic as well as artistic interest deals with the finding and translation of the sacred relics.

At the foot of the piers, which divide the windows and form the sole support of the roof, are statues of

<sup>1</sup> S. S. Beale.

the twelve apostles, each with his proper symbol. In the quatrefoils between the arches are beautiful enamelled mosaics representing the lives and deaths (chiefly deaths) of martyrs. "Each wears his own crown of thorns: a pretty conceit wholly in accord with St. Louis's ecstatic type of piety," observes Mr. Grant Allen in his well-informed "Historical Guide." Among them we notice St. Denis carrying his head in his hand, St. Sebastian pierced with arrows, St. Lawrence and his gridiron, St. Stephen being stoned, etc.

The sacred reliquary, which was melted down in 1793, used to stand where now a wooden baldachin has been erected.

A good description of this church, as it appeared in the fifteenth century, will be found in Victor Hugo's "Notre Dame:"

"This chapel, which was still quite new, having scarcely been built six years, was all in that charming taste of delicate architecture, miraculous sculpture, and bold and exquisite carving, which characterises the close of the Gothic era, and which we find perpetuated through the first half of the sixteenth century in the fantastic fairy work of the period of the revival. The little pierced *rosace* or rose-shaped window above the entrance of the chapel was, in particular, a masterpiece of grace and lightness; it had almost the airiness of lace."

The Sainte Chapelle is now little more than a museum, for divine service is solemnised only once a year, at the opening of the Law Courts in the autumn. This service, known as the *Messe Rouge*, still takes place annually ( *pace* the guide-books, which, for some reason,

insist that it has been discontinued). Tourists should make a point of visiting the chapel for this impressive service, which takes place on the 3d of November. The Archbishop of Paris presides, with judges and advocates in their robes. From the Tribunal of Commerce come the judges and counsel of that court dressed in their sombre robes of black silk, while from the Appeal Court is formed the procession of judges and advocates in robes of red merino trimmed with black fur. Next comes the procession from the Tribunal Civil and other courts. From another part of the palace defiles the Council of the Order of Advocates with the quaintly garbed bâtonnier at the head of the procession. When all are seated, the interior of the chapel is one blaze of colour, which harmonises well with its rich decorations and gorgeous windows.

English visitors are no doubt tempted to compare this beautiful church with the royal chapels at Windsor, Westminster, and Cambridge. In beauty of decoration and richness of detail these three royal chapels need not fear comparison with the French chapel, but for dignity of design and correctness of proportion, St. George's Chapel at Windsor can alone approach it. In short, the royal chapels of Louis IX. at Paris, and of Henry VII. at Windsor, are, indisputably, the most beautiful miniature cathedrals of the pointed style in existence.

“Thanks to the restorers, the interior of the chapel once more produces the effect of harmonious splendour which belonged to it in the days of St. Louis. Of all the Gothic edifices I have ever visited, this one seems to me the most preëminently a visible poem. It is hardly of this world, it hardly belongs to the dull

realities of life. Most buildings are successful ones in parts, so that we say to ourselves, 'Ah, if all had been equal to this!' or else we meet with some shocking incongruity which spoils everything; but here the motive, which is that of perfect splendour, is maintained without flaw or failure anywhere. The architect made his windows as large and lofty as he could (there is hardly any wall, its work is done by the buttresses); and he took care that the stone-work should be as light and elegant as possible, after which he filled it with a vast jewelry of painted glass. Every inch of wall is illuminated like a missal, and so delicately that some of the illuminations are repeated of the real size in Guilhermy's monograph. When we become somewhat accustomed to the universal splendour (which from the subdued light is by no means crude or painful), we begin to perceive that the windows are full of little pictorial compositions; and if we have time to examine them there is occupation for us, as the windows contain more than a thousand of these pictures."<sup>1</sup>

I have given considerable space to the survey of this noble building, as, next to Notre Dame, it is probably the most popular church from the sightseer's point of view in Paris. La Sainte Chapelle holds a unique position among the historic churches of Paris in that it impresses the ordinary tourist equally with the artist and the architectural expert. The ordinary unæsthetic sightseer cannot help being attracted by the rich colouring of the stained glass and the gorgeousness of the decorations, while the artist is entranced with its perfect symmetry of form and its perfect pro-

<sup>1</sup> P. G. Hamerton.

portions, and the architectural student is struck with the technical merits and the academic correctness of this incomparable gem of Gothic architecture.

In addition to Notre Dame and La Sainte Chapelle, there are at least a score of famous historic churches which deserve to be treated at some length. Consideration of space will, however, prevent my doing more than to give a brief description of the principal ones.

Of these, St. Denis may be considered to rank as the first in importance. It is, in a sense, the mother church of Paris, and is the oldest of any. This being so, one is naturally prepared for a certain elementary character in its architectural style. In some respects it has formed a model for other thirteenth century churches in Paris, and it offers a striking object-lesson to the architectural student, as it illustrates the strides the master builders of France had made in the century which divides St. Denis from the Sainte Chapelle; for, as Fergusson aptly observes, during this period the "French had jumped from the tentative example of St. Denis to the perfection of the Sainte Chapelle."

In mediæval times St. Denis, as the shrine of the great Apostle of the Gauls, was one of the most sacred spots in Western Europe, a kind of Christian Mecca.

St. Denis is the patron saint of France, and, as is natural, the legendary lore connected with him is very voluminous, and it is difficult to extract from the mass of legend and tradition many authentic details. But it is tolerably certain that St. Denis was the first Christian missionary in Paris and that he was beheaded on the hill of Montmartre (Mons Martyrum). It was there that the miracle always associated with St. Denis is



supposed to have taken place. According to the legend, the saint walked from the place of martyrdom to the spot where the church now stands, carrying his head in his hand. Here a certain pious lady named Catulla gave the saint burial. Some years afterward a small chapel was built over the grave, and in 680 King Dagobert built a basilica in place of the chapel, but of this no trace, of course, remains.

There are many variants of the story of the saint's martyrdom and burial, but the incident of the miraculous transport of the head is common to all of them, and it is believed by many devout Catholics. It gave rise to a clever bon mot of Voltaire, who remarked that he did not see anything so very incredible in the story of the saint's expedition from Montmartre, for "*en pareille circonstance il n'y a que le premier pas qui coûte!*"

Not much is known of the history of the church between the seventh and twelfth centuries, when the building of the present basilica was begun by the great Minister Suger in 1121. "The earliest part of the church is in the Romanesque style; it still retains the round Roman arch and many other Roman constructive features. During the course of the fifty years occupied in building the basilica, however, the Gothic style was developed; the existing church therefore exhibits both Romanesque and Gothic work, with transitional features between the two which add to its interest."<sup>1</sup>

Though the main body of the building is due to Suger, the nave chapels were built in the fourteenth century. A beautiful circular chapel built in the sixteenth

<sup>1</sup> "Historical Guide to Paris."

century was destroyed early in the eighteenth. Only a colonnade (set up as a sham ruin in the Parc Monceaux) now remains.

The façade is irregular and lacks the dignity and impressiveness of the west front of Notre Dame, though in its main features there is a strong resemblance. The beautiful rose window has been converted into a clock-face, and the general effect of the façade is spoiled by the coarse and heavy battlements, for the church was fortified in the fourteenth century.

The three Romanesque portals are worth inspection, though much of the sculpture is modern, and the really old stone-work betrays the somewhat heavy and rude style of the thirteenth century. The subject of the central tympanum is, of course, the last judgment, and the treatment is as conventional as it is in the Notre Dame façade.

We are reminded by Mr. Grant Allen that this central door formed the model on which those of Notre Dame, the Sainte Chapelle, St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and many others in Paris of later date were originally based. On the other two doors are represented scenes from the life of St. Denis. The southern one commemorates his martyrdom. The bas-reliefs have been so much restored by Viollet-le-Duc that they may be considered modern. The architect took for his model in the composition of the groups the French picture of the same subject in the Louvre. The portal of the north transept is adorned with highly interesting mediæval figures representing the ancestors of Christ. They are the counterpart of the famous series of Notre Dame, and are usually mistaken for statues of French kings. They

are curious examples, says Miss Beale in her charming monograph on the ancient churches of Paris, of the amusing manner in which archæological frauds have been unwittingly perpetrated in France by Viollet-le-Duc's restorers. Casts of these statues may be seen at Versailles, where they figure as portrait-statues of the Capetian sovereigns!

Unfortunately, this transept cannot be seen except by special permission, as the south side of the church is shut in by the college for daughters of officers of the Legion of Honour.

Until the church was taken in hand by Viollet-le-Duc, attempts at restoration in the vilest taste were made by the royal architects in the reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., and from an æsthetic point of view the church suffered more at the hands of the royal architects than from its spoliation and desecration by the Revolutionists.

“ Perhaps few churches have seen more changes than the silent walls of St. Denis have witnessed. The burial-place of most of the Kings of France, it was also upon its high altar that Louis le Gros deposited the oriflamme, the famous standard of France, while some seven centuries later its tombs were only preserved from utter ruin by the wit of Alexandre Lenoir. Even the church itself was threatened with destruction, and was only saved by an architect seriously suggesting that it should be turned into a market, the side chapels forming shops. By turns a Temple of Reason, a dépôt of artillery, a theatre of acrobats, a flour warehouse and a granary, its desecration was not consummated until the glass was removed and the leaden covering of its roof converted into



GRAND CORRIDOR, OPERA HOUSE.



bullets. Napoleon saved what remained, and began restoring it as a resting-place for the defunct members of his dynasty. The Concordat granted it a chapter, and religious services were restored. But the nineteenth century proved as disastrous as wars and revolutions. Still, through the talent and learning of Viollet-le-Duc, it is one of the finest of thirteenth century churches, and, now that the tombs have all been replaced in their former positions, one of the most interesting."

A modern replica of the famous oriflamme here alluded to hangs over the high altar. This banner was removed only when the sovereign himself took command of the army in the field. It was last used at Agincourt. It derived its name from being made of red silk covered with golden flames. It is curious to think that the red flag, once the emblem of loyalty and chivalry, should nowadays symbolise all that is revolutionary and anarchistic.

The view of the interior, entering from the vestibule (which recalls the galilee of Durham Cathedral), is beautiful and impressive. Owing to the peculiar arrangement of the choir, which is raised above the nave as at San Miniato in Florence, the high altar, with the beautiful background of lofty windows and columns, has a very striking aspect.

The proportions of the nave are very pleasing, and the architecture is of the purest early Gothic, more than a century older than Suger's vestibule. The contrast between this older portion and the nave and choir, with their light and lofty arches and columns, is striking. Most of the stained glass is modern and of poor design and workmanship. The only genuine thirteenth century glass is

to be seen in the windows of the apse. The painted windows of St. Denis were once as famous as those of the Sainte Chapelle, whereas now the church contains perhaps the worst specimens of stained glass in Paris. In short, the one eyesore in the whole glorious east end of the church is formed by the hideous stained windows representing scenes in the life of Louis Philippe, in which the personages are represented in blue swallow-tail coats and white trousers !

But it is as the mausoleum of the French kings rather than as the shrine of St. Denis that this church is chiefly visited. St. Denis is, in short, to Paris what Westminster Abbey or St. George's Chapel is to London. Though few of the Merovingian and Carlovingian kings are buried at St. Denis, the remains of nearly all the French kings from Hugues Capet to Louis XVIII. have found sepulchre here. France has not shared its defunct sovereigns between two churches, as has been done on the other side of the channel, where the twin Valhallas of Westminster and Windsor have claimed the ashes of the English kings.

The best monuments are those of the Renaissance period, while the tombs of the early kings are merely late copies.

The reduplication of memorial tombs to a sovereign or saint strikes observant visitors to French cathedrals and abbeys as curious. It is due to the strange custom, frequently practised in the thirteenth century, of dividing the bodies of royal and saintly personages, and burying the portions in different churches. For instance, the tomb at St. Denis contains only the trunk of Charles V., while his heart is at Rouen, and the less honourable por-

tions of the defunct sovereign are at Maubuisson. The Benedictines of St. Denis naturally protested against the division of the most valuable assets of their abbey, but other orders disputed their claims, and later on even the convents demanded a share of the holy spoil. Thus the nuns of Val de Grâce managed to obtain the hearts of most of the royal princesses, from Anne of Austria, the mother of Louis XIV., downwards.

This custom of dividing bodies of saints and kings, says the historian of St. Denis, M. de Guilhermy, is of very ancient date. It was sanctioned by the Church in order that the remains and relics might benefit, by their miraculous power, as many places as possible. In fact, there was a kind of relic exchange instituted by the leading monasteries, and we read of "a rib" of one saint being exchanged for a bone a cubit long of another, a tooth for a tooth, etc.!

The monuments now occupy the same positions that they did before they were removed by the Convention in 1793. "If we stand upon the raised platform of the apse behind the high altar, we can gaze down upon what may be called the history of France, from the artistic point of view, during four or five centuries."

The most beautiful monuments in St. Denis are the Renaissance tombs of the royal family of St. Louis, from Louis XII. to Charles II. Though the later sovereigns down to Louis XVIII. are buried here, or at all events their reputed remains are, none of these later kings have any separate memorial. The tombs erected in memory of Louis XII., Francis I., and Henry II. belong to the same period, and are evidently copied from the famous Visconti tomb in the Certosa



of Pavia. Unfortunately, visitors are not allowed to approach near to some of the monuments, though a judicious veil to the attendant might induce him to relax the rule. For instance, the shrine of Dagobert, which is on the right of the high altar, can be seen only from the farther end of the choir. This monument was erected by St. Louis, and, though it has been almost entirely restored, the original quaint design has been faithfully copied. It is intended to portray the legendary history of this monarch. It is a significant story, which seems to point the moral of the spiritual advantage of founding a monastery. The history is told in three tableaux in stone, one above the other. In the first is represented a monk asleep, who dreams that King Dagobert's soul is in danger. To the right, the king stands in a little boat and is attacked by demons. In the second bas-relief we have Sts. Martin, Denis, and Maurice attended by two angels coming to the king's rescue, St. Maurice putting to flight the devils, while the two angels succour the tortured soul of the king. In the third we have a kind of apotheosis of Dagobert, who stands on a sheet which is borne heavenwards by the saints and angels.

The magnificent Renaissance tombs of the kings of the Valois dynasty already referred to should be carefully examined. The tomb of Louis XII. and the twin monuments of Henry II. and his wife, Catherine de Médicis, are in the north transept, while the tomb of Francis I. is south of the choir over the crypt.

In the tomb of Louis XII. and his wife, Anne of Brittany, the king and his wife are represented kneeling on the tomb. The cardinal virtues are at the corners,

and the twelve apostles in the arcaded niches of the monument. The treatment is, of course, conventional in the extreme, but the monument is decidedly beautiful. In the interior of the tomb the king and queen are strangely represented lying on a mattress in the death agony. In order to heighten the religious symbolism, they are entirely nude. It will be seen that the motive of this and the tombs of Henry II. and Francis I. is precisely similar. This tomb is the work of Jean Juste of Tours, the author of the beautiful monument to the children of Charles VIII. in the cathedral of that city. The workmanship of the tomb of Henry II. and Catherine de Médicis is equally good, but the realism is unpleasantly intrusive. In this tomb the cardinal virtue which represents Temperance carried *two* cups, but the precise signification of the two cups is not evident. This tomb has been much admired by sculptors, and Bernini declared it was the finest monument of the kind in France. The recumbent figures of the two sovereigns are wonderfully executed, and the artist has — fortunately for the sensitive sightseer — avoided the horribly materialistic treatment of the expression so repulsive in the Louis XII. tomb, and shown us the peaceful and ideal side of the last sleep. Close by is a replica of this monument, but in this the recumbent figures are not undraped. It is said that this copy was made because Queen Catherine, in her devouter old age, was displeased with the nudity of the figures in the original monument.

The magnificent mausoleum of Francis I. is the largest and the costliest of all these splendid tombs. The decorative design around the base and sides of the

tomb is more ambitious than that of those already described. The tomb was designed and built by Philibert Delorme about 1552, but many sculptors assisted him in the work. The kneeling figures on the top of the monument represent Francis, his wife Claude, and their three children. Then, as in the other Valois tombs in the interior of the monument, these figures are represented sleeping. These recumbent statues, owing to their exceptional beauty and delicacy of treatment, have been attributed to Jean Goujon. The bas-reliefs on the sides of the tomb represent the battles of Marignano and C erisoles. This tomb, though undoubtedly modelled on the Certosa monument, "exhibits," says Mr. Grant Allen, "a much later and more refined development of French Renaissance sculpture than its predecessor."

In the apse beyond the sacristy is a very curious monument which should not be overlooked. It is a kind of mosaic statue of Fr ed egonde of medi eval workmanship. This was originally in the Church of St. Germain-des-Pr es.

The crypt is the oldest portion of the building as it now exists, and the architecture, with the curious Romanesque capitals, is very interesting. The crypt was built by Suger to contain the bones of St. Denis and his two fellow martyrs. It was originally more of a sanctuary than a burial-place, but was soon utilized as the burial-place of the royal family. In 1793, when the Bourbons began the horrible massacre of the guillotine, the crypt was used as an open vault, and the bodies of the kings and queens were placed in coffins containing the bodies of the martyrs, and were placed above ground in the new chamber of the guillotine.

tombs were sacked by the Convention there were "fifty-four bodies arranged upon iron trestles, side by side, Henry IV. heading the list." Louis XVIII. restored the bones of his ancestors to their former place of sepulchre, and also added the reputed remains of Louis XVI. and his family, which had been buried near the Madeleine in the spot now commemorated by a memorial chapel (see Madeleine chapter).

Louis XVIII. and the Duke of Berry, father of the Comte de Chambord, are the only members of the Bourbon dynasty buried in the course of this century at St. Denis. Charles X. and his grandson, the Comte de Chambord, are buried with several other Bourbons at Göritz. Of later occupants of the French throne, Louis Philippe is buried at Claremont near Esher, and Napoleon III. at Chiselhurst; while Napoleon I., of course, rests under the dome of the Invalides, and the Orleanist "Pretender," the Comte de Paris, is buried at Weybridge.

The view of the mausoleum where the Bourbon kings are buried will probably impress the least imaginative visitor as he looks through the iron gratings upon the charnel-house of the French kings — full of "*souvenirs de bannissement, de meurtre, et d'échafaud.*"

Opposite the vaults, in the small chapels built into the walls of the crypt, are some modern statues of inferior merit. The most noticeable and the most striking, owing to its incongruity, is a statue of Marie Antoinette, kneeling and dressed in a ball costume.

In 1793, the Abbey Church of St. Denis, along with the other sacred establishments, was "laicised," — in desecrated, and pillaged by the authority of the Convention, and the remains of the kings,

from Henry IV. to those of the eighteenth century, were dug up and thrown into a huge *fosse*. The tombs and monuments were also removed, but even the Convention had retained some sense of artistic decency, and the tombs and monuments were spared. They were collected by Lenoir, and placed in the Museum of the Petits Augustins, whence they were returned to St. Denis at the Restoration. Unfortunately, in order to make statues fit certain niches, etc., a procrustean principle had been adopted by the curator, and as the statues were restored in haste and carelessly, many were matched indiscriminately. The great object was to provide each king with a queen, whether his own or another's consort. This naturally resulted in absurd anachronisms, and also, as Guilhermy observes in a burst of somewhat Rabelaisian humour, "*singulières incestes de pierre et des adultères de marbre de le pire espèce.*" However, these archæological immoralities concern chiefly experts and connoisseurs.

We have now seen the principal features of interest in St. Denis, a church of which almost every stone seems incorporated with the fabric of the national history of France.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### SOME HISTORIC CHURCHES.

THERE are many other historic churches in Paris which deserve being described almost as fully as St. Denis or Notre Dame, but we must perforce be content with a briefer survey of these. If topographical sequence were aimed at, the next church noticed would naturally be St. Vincent de Paul, in the Montmartre quarter, which would be conveniently reached by or from St. Denis. But as this is a modern structure, it is more suitably included in the account of the modern churches of Paris, in a separate chapter.

After the three churches described above, the Church of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois is perhaps the most historically interesting of any Paris church. The surroundings of the church (which faces the Louvre) are curious. With the well-meant intention of harmonising the sacred building with the adjoining Mairie, the latter has been "built to match," and an imposing flamboyant bell-tower connects the church and the municipal building. Unfortunately, the effect is not happy, as the result is that the modern building rather "kills" the old one.

This church is one of the oldest portions of the Louvre, to which it served as the chapel. Consequently, as a royal church, its historical associations are numerous and important. The present church (or rather the

tower, the oldest portion) was built in the twelfth century, but, like Notre Dame and St. Denis, most of the fabric has been subjected to numerous reconstructions and restorations, the last important restoration being undertaken by Lassus in 1837. This church replaced an earlier one dedicated to St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, in the sixth century. This saint is chiefly known for his success in crushing out the Pelagian heresy, which was making headway in Britain in the fifth century. Though the spire is twelfth century, and the choir and apse belong to the thirteenth century, the greater part of the façade and the porch (the principal feature of the church from the sightseer's point of view) was built in the fifteenth century. The porch is the work of Jean Gausse, and is embellished with numerous statues of royal and local saints. A very curious one is that representing Ste. Geneviève holding a candle, which a demon tries to extinguish, and is frustrated by an angel holding a chandelier with which to relight the taper. On the tympanum of the façade is the usual Last Judgment, but the frescoes are so decayed that it is difficult to distinguish the subject. Careful inspection will show the quaint realism by which the Jaws of Death, and Abraham's Bosom are illustrated: On one side sits Abraham holding a napkin containing three souls; while upon the other is a boiling cauldron containing three lost souls (one of which the artist has slyly represented with a mitre!) tormented by two demons.

The whole of the exterior of the portico is "richly and capriciously carved by the stone-workers of the fifteenth century; and near the pierced terraces or galleries are gables, gargoyles, crochets, cornices,

brackets, corbels, mullioned windows, and pinnaced flying buttresses."

The gargoyles which fill every available projection are as grotesque and hideous as the famous Notre Dame devils. Among them are a grinning savage vomited from the jaws of a monster which is perhaps meant for a hippopotamus, a man making a monkey dance, while another, a more ambitious design, is a kind of allegory, illustrating the crime and punishment of the wicked. A globe is gnawed by rats, symbolising the wicked who devastate the earth, while a demon cat is represented as being ready to pounce on them.

The stained glass windows of this church were once famous, but the eighteenth century restorers did not spare the glass. They considered the church too dark, and ruthlessly destroyed the fourteenth century windows of the nave. But the north and south aisle windows and the beautiful rose windows of the transept were fortunately not disturbed. "They give the interior of the church the appearance of an immense illuminated missal. The eye meets deep, rich, and mellow colours at every corner, and the place is well worthy of a visit if only for its pictured panes."<sup>1</sup>

This church, which was at one time a museum of tombs of persons once famous in history, is rich in historical associations. It is, of course, chiefly identified with the religious wars of the sixteenth century. It was the bell of this church (now preserved in the Théâtre Français) that gave the signal for the massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572. It was within bow-shot of this church that Admiral Coligny was assassinated.

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Lonergan.



As St. Germain was the parish church of the Louvre, it was usually attended by the sovereign when residing there for important festivals. On the Fête-Dieu (May 23, 1790) Louis XVI. and his family formally attended service along with the virtual rulers of France, — the Constituent Assembly. In the revolution of July, 1830, the church was turned into a hospital, and the dead were buried in a trench dug at the entrance. "It was here that the dog of one of the victims," observes Mr. Augustus Hare, "*le chien du Louvre*, as Casimir Delavigne calls him, lay for weeks refusing all food, and died upon the grave of the master he had followed through the combat."

In less than a year after, at the anniversary service to commemorate the death of the Duc de Berry, the mob broke into the church (whose clergy were noted for their attachment to the Legitimist cause) and sacked it. For six years there was no attempt at restoration, and the church remained closed. In 1837, as we have seen, the great work of restoration was at length put in hand.

On the left bank of the Seine are three of the oldest churches of Paris, St. Germain-des-Prés, St. Séverin, and St. Etienne du Mont. St. Germain in the Fields, to give it its English equivalent, can be most appropriately visited after its namesake of Auxerre. The connection between the two is very close. They belong to the same period, and while St. Germain, Bishop of Paris, formally dedicated St. Germain l'Auxerrois to the famous saint of Auxerre, the other church, though originally built by King Childebert and St. Germain in honour of St. Vincent, and to serve as a shrine for his relics,

was eventually popularly dedicated to the local saint and bishop.


Many of the early Merovingian kings were buried here, just as the later kings were in St. Denis, and many of their sarcophagi may be seen in the Cluny Museum. As in the case of most of the mediæval churches in Paris, Ste. Geneviève, St. Denis, St. Séverin, La Sainte Chapelle, etc., St. Germain-des-Prés owes its origin to a sacred relic, — the tunic of St. Vincent. When King Childebert (son of Clovis), in the course of his campaign in Spain against the Visigoths, was besieging Saragoassa, the inhabitants, instead of resisting, were satisfied with a solemn procession around the walls, headed by the famous tunic of St. Vincent. The king, impressed by the miraculous properties of the saintly garment, promised to raise the siege in return for the relic, and just as St. Louis some seven centuries later built La Sainte Chapelle as a shrine for the sacrosanct relic, the crown of thorns, so Childebert built the great church and abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés for the reception of the sacred garment.

Such was the origin of one of the richest and most powerful monasteries in Europe, whose history was for centuries bound up with that of the greatest names in France. Like most of the mediæval churches of Northern France, St. Germain was destroyed by the Normans. The present church was dedicated by Pope Alexander III. in 1163, so that it is older than Notre Dame and the Saint Chapelle, and consequently it is of great interest to antiquaries and archæologists. "It exhibits throughout," says Mr. Grant Allen in his "Historic Paris," "the Romanesque style which formed the transi-

tional term between classical architecture and the pointed arches of the Gothic period. The upper part of the building is, however, pure pointed."

Some traces of the original church of Childebert are to be found in certain columns built into the walls of the apse, the oldest part of the church. The sculpture on some of the capitals is very quaint, the subjects ranging from conventional Bible scenes to fanciful allegories. Some of these columns have been removed to the Cluny Museum.

The most popular feature of St. Germain is the magnificent series of frescoes by Hippolyte Flandrin, which may be compared with his more finished work in the Church of St. Vincent de Paul (see the next chapter). An admirable and appreciative account of these famous paintings is given by Miss S. S. Beale in her "Churches of Paris," which will be found of great value in supplementing the bald lists given in Baedeker and other standard guides. Flandrin stands perhaps alone, among nineteenth century religious artists, in combining the devotional sentiment of the early Florentine painters with the superior technical skill of modern painters. He seems, indeed, the Fra Angelico of the nineteenth century. "Like the great Dominican artist, Flandrin, too, was pious. His was no skin-deep Christianity, flavoured with the æstheticism so much in favour with the cultured admirers of the traditions of Rome." Hippolyte Flandrin won the Grand Prix de Rome in 1832, and died at Rome in 1864. His best works in St. Germain are the two large compositions in the choir, the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, and the Via Crucis, both full of intense religious feeling. Flandrin's won-



derful Adam and Eve also repays careful study. "The treatment is at once almost classic in its simplicity and realistic in its naturalism."

The most striking exterior view of the church is from the south side, and even now one can easily understand, from the massive proportions of the church, the importance of this great monastic stronghold in mediæval times, for the church was only a small portion of the original abbey, as one can see from Guilhermy's engraving. New streets, such as the Rue de l'Abbaye and Rue de Rennes, destroyed the last remains of the old abbey.

The fine Gothic church of St. Séverin is near the Cluny Museum, and, though not reckoned by the local guides as one of the great show churches, should not be omitted from the sightseer's programme. The church is especially interesting as an object-lesson of the development of the various architectural styles from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, for the church has been subject to numerous restorations and enlargements for nearly four hundred years. It is said to occupy the site of a hermitage in which St. Séverin lived, though the church is dedicated to a later and better known saint of the same name, who founded the Abbey de Château-Landon, and received Prince Clodoaldus, grandson of Queen Clotilde (afterward canonised as St. Cloud), into the Benedictine Order, but whose chief claim to distinction, according to the early French chroniclers, is that he cured King Clovis of some malady by covering him with a chasuble. The early church on the site of St. Séverin's hermitage was, as usual, sacked by the Normans, and a new church built on its site in the eleventh



century, but the oldest portion of the present church only dates from the thirteenth century.

There is a large number of chapels, the walls of which are covered with modern paintings, some of which are of fair merit, but to artists the most attractive features are the painted windows, a good deal of the stained glass of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries having escaped the ravages of the revolutionists.

Most of the subjects deal with the usual Biblical episodes, but a few are out of the beaten track, among them being St. Anthony with his staff and bed and holy fire under his feet, at which reclines his faithful pig, and — an unusual subject for a foreign church — the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The door of St. Martin's Chapel used to be covered with ex-voto offerings, in the shape of horse-shoes, for the saintly Bishop of Tours, when he divided his cloak with the beggar, was on horseback, and was thus adopted as a patron saint by travellers. It is said that "travellers about to ride a great distance would brand their horses' hoofs with the church key, made red-hot for that purpose!"

Notice the two sculptured lions on each side of the principal portal. These lions are thought to explain the legal formula which is often found at the end of mediæval ecclesiastical judgments, — "*Datum inter duos leones.*"

A portion of the western façade is of the fifteenth century, but these sculptures are foreign, having been brought from a church in the Cité which was pulled down in 1837. The interior is rather bare, but the proportions of the nave are fine. The triforium resembles that of Westminster Abbey.

While in this region a visit to the famous tomb of Richelieu, in the Church of La Sorbonne, the university which owes its foundation to St. Louis, may be conveniently made. The church itself, which appears to be modelled on St. Peter's, is a good example of the Renaissance classic style of the Palladian school. The tomb of the great cardinal, though considered meretricious and theatrical in design by severe critics, is a fine and effective composition. Girardon was the sculptor who built the monument from Lebrun's design.

The cardinal, dressed in his robes, is supported by Religion, while at his feet is a weeping woman, supposed to represent Science. These are portrait statues, and are meant for the cardinal's nieces, Duchesse de Guyon and Duchesse de Fronsac.

The attitude of the recumbent cardinal is graceful, and the spectator feels that, if the cardinal could rise, "he would move about with the same grace as that portrayed in the noble portrait of the great statesman by Philippe de Champagne in the Louvre. It has not the feeling of the Renaissance sculpture, and, although Religion forms a principal part of the composition, it is puny and small, a pagan design, and it would be just as appropriate in a town hall, a garden, or a theatre."

The tomb was rifled during the Revolution, and the head was carried off and paraded through the streets at the end of a pike. After passing through many hands, it was formally reinterred in the year 1866, with an impressive ceremony in the presence of some members of the Ministry and Archbishop Darboy. A funeral oration was preached by the Bishop of Autun. It is, however, a disputed question whether the actual head of

the cardinal was then reinterred. It was stated that the head and body of the cardinal were actually seen by M. Hanotaux, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, by M. Duruy, Minister of Public Instruction, and other high functionaries, in the coffin when it was opened. There is a curious conflict of evidence about the head of the cardinal, which, according to some historians, must have undergone as many vicissitudes as the head of the regicide Cromwell. M. Hanotaux's account of the opening of the coffin in 1867 is, however, very exact and circumstantial. He asserts that the excellent state of preservation of the cardinal's corpse surprised the spectators, and describes the neck being surrounded by a lace ruffle, and the moustache and beard being in perfect condition. The latter was cut square, which is explained by the fact that, during the last illness of Richelieu, he was annoyed by the dripping on his peaked beard of the various syrups and *tisanes* he had to drink, and accordingly he directed that the beard should be cut square.

Besides this famous mausoleum, which in its time was regarded as "the finest modern funeral monument in the world," there is nothing to notice in the interior of the church. The stately dome, the earliest in Paris, is a magnificent piece of work, though palpably too large for the church. One can conveniently compare this dome with the other famous domes on this side of the river, viz., those of the Panthéon, Invalides, Institute, and Val de Grâce.

Standing on the summit of the hill behind the Panthéon is the highly picturesque church of St. Etienne du Mont (St. Stephen on the Hill), "that *fine et délicate*

*merveille de l'art français.*" Architecturally this church is one of the most interesting in Paris, and is especially attractive to students of ecclesiastical architecture, as "every school of architecture prevailing through the early and middle ages is represented, and proves for once that all styles contain within them elements of great beauty."<sup>1</sup>

Though St. Etienne is admittedly an architectural amalgam of late Gothic and Renaissance classic, — "a Gothic church disguised in the trappings of classic details," — yet this incongruity here does not detract from the general beauty of the structure. "Irrégulière et capricieuse dans sa structure, mais pleine de coquetterie et de mouvement, l'église de St. Etienne du Mont a l'heureux privilège de charmer les yeux et de séduire les esprits de tous ceux qui préfèrent la variété à la monotonie, la grâce à la correction," observes that high authority, Baron M. F. de Guilhermy.

As so often happens in these historic churches of Paris, several successive churches have been built on the site of the present one, which was commenced in 1517, but not completed till 1626. The curious Renaissance gabled façade was built by Margaret of Valois, the first wife of Henry IV., that queen "who prances about Paris upon a white palfrey at dead of night in the popular but controversial opera."

Like the Panthéon, the church is closely connected with the patroness saint of Paris, Ste. Geneviève (see the description of the Panthéon below). The original Church of St. Etienne was a kind of oratory or chapel of the Convent of Ste. Geneviève, founded by Clovis,

<sup>1</sup> Sieverts-Drewett.



After three hundred years the church was found to be too small for its congregation, and the greater portion of the fabric was pulled down early in the sixteenth century to make room for the present building. In 1802 the remains of the tomb and relics of the saint, which had survived the destruction of the shrine in 1793, were removed from the crypt of the Abbey Church of Ste. Geneviève (the few remains of which were demolished to make room for the Rue Clovis).

The shrine of Ste. Geneviève is the chief attraction of the church. According to the official record of the *Moniteur*, only some of the saint's bones were burnt by the revolutionists in the Place de Grève in 1793, and certain bones, which had been distributed to different monasteries, were restored when the saint's coffin was removed to St. Etienne. At all events, pious Catholics regard this shrine as the unique treasure of St. Etienne. The decorations of the tomb are late Gothic in style, but of modern workmanship. Near the shrine is a monument containing the heart of Monseigneur Sibour, Archbishop of Paris (whose monument we have seen in Notre Dame), assassinated during the Fête of Ste. Geneviève at the principal altar of the church in 1857.

"During the octave of this fête (January 3d to 11th) the church is visited by thousands of pilgrims bringing rosaries, handkerchiefs, crosses, etc., to place on the shrine. Many, of course, come tempted by idle curiosity, and all around the church to be seen the same class of itinerant vendors as at the various fêtes and fairs. At some of the stalls bread, pop-guns, and trumpets are sold, and particularly at St. I. their mere

of rosaries, pious books, medals, and the like; it is a curious combination of the world and heaven: 'Vous avez reçu le bon Dieu, madame?' 'Mais oui, mademoiselle; et après, nous sommes allés, mon fils et moi, déjeuner au restaurant Voltaire,' is the edifying conversation one hears in the omnibus."<sup>1</sup>

The curious religious ceremony of washing the feet on Holy Thursday is performed at St. Etienne in a realistic but impressive manner. At most churches in Paris, where this service is kept up, it is performed as perfunctorily as at St. Peter's in Rome, but at St. Etienne it is a very real ceremony, which has of course its quaint and almost ludicrous aspect to a Protestant. A portion of the nave is railed off, and within sit the boys whose feet are to be washed. The curé gravely goes to each in turn and thoroughly and deliberately washes and wipes the feet of each, afterward distributing the bread and wine.

The interior of St. Etienne is singular, but unusually picturesque. The aisles are nearly as high as the nave, and the bays are of the same elevation as the side aisles. "In order to diminish the enormous height of the bays, the architect conceived a curious device. At about one-third of the height of the shafts he has thrown a depressed arch from pillar to pillar, which forms an elevated passage around the choir." This sham triforium or gallery is called a *tournée*. The curious old rood-screen (the only one in Paris) is connected with the *tournée* by a spiral staircase.

There is a curious "fault" in the perspective of the church which is very noticeable. The choir and high

<sup>1</sup> S. S. Beale.

altar incline to the right. This deviation is, however, not uncommon in mediæval churches, and is probably due to irregularities of the site or other difficulties of construction. It is attributed, however, by the devout chroniclers, too ready to read religious symbolism into all portions of the holy fabric, to the desire of the mediæval architects to typify the position of Christ at the moment of his death on the cross.

Visitors should not fail to inspect the magnificent stained glass of St. Etienne, which, after the shrine of Ste. Geneviève, is its crowning glory. The oldest glass windows are in the apse. Here is the famous painting of the mystic wine-press, a curious if rather painful example of artistic imagery in which the materialism of treatment is apt to shock a sensitive spectator. Christ lies upon the press, in the presence of the Father and the Holy Spirit, while from his hands and side blood pours down into a large cask. Prelates and kings carry away the casks filled with the sacred blood, while under a classic portico we see the faithful collected to receive the Holy Sacrament. In the distance the patriarchs are represented pruning the vines, while the apostles gather the grapes. In another part of the window we see St. Peter throwing the grapes into a vat, and a chariot guided by St. Matthew carries the divine vintage to the four quarters of the earth. In this manner has Nicolas Pinaigrier attempted to illustrate the verse in Isaiah, "I have trodden the wine-press alone, and of the people there was none with me."

The imposing domed temple, known indifferently as the Panthéon and Ste. Geneviève, would naturally be visited next. In the survey, however, of the churches



PLAGE DE LA CONCORDE.



of Paris it is sometimes more convenient to ignore topographical order, and the Panthéon will be described later, in a chapter devoted to the three most important modern churches, — Panthéon, Madeleine, and the Invalides.

Not far from the Panthéon is the magnificent late Renaissance church of Val de Grâce. This was built by Anne of Austria as a thank-offering for the birth of her son, afterward Louis Quatorze (*le roi Soleil*). The church was built, like St. Roch, in the face of peculiar difficulties as to site. At St. Roch the space available was small and uneven, while here, owing to the Catacombs being below, the church has been constructed on huge stone piers. The chief architectural features are the elegant dome and the ornate façade. Both are fine specimens of Mansard's work, though Molière's praise is absurdly extravagant. The artistic judgment of the great dramatist may be gauged by the fact that by way of giving the highest praise to the painted dome he compares it to an "amply furnished theatre!"

The ambitious, richly decorated façade possesses the usual features of what has been happily termed Jesuit's Gothic, a mass of rich but unmeaning decoration and detail, — ornamented pillars, niches, and statues, and, what is perhaps the most characteristic feature of all, the huge stone scrolls which flank the upper story.

This church has some historical interest as the burial-place of Queen Henrietta of England, and also as having served for centuries as the reliquary for the hearts — the bodies reposing at St. Denis — of many members of the reigning family from Louis XIV. downwards. These

emphatically royal relics were of course objects of peculiar detestation to the *sans culottes* of 1793, and not a single heart was spared.

St. Sulpice, near the Luxembourg, is another church built by the mother of Louis the Great. Its proportions are magnificent,—in fact, after Notre Dame and St. Eustache, it is the largest church in Paris. It is no doubt imposing, but it is a handsome rather than a beautiful building, and the general effect is hardly pleasing. Its most important architectural feature is the great western façade, but concerning this there are many opinions among experts, one authority going so far as to claim for it that it represents “the most vigorous effort yet made to apply classical architecture in the building of Christian churches.” A severer criticism, however, urges with some justice that this imposing front offends the first canons of architectural construction, because it is meaningless, and does not harmonise with the rest of the building. It is not, in fact, a real integral portion of the fabric, but merely a gigantic screen. Still, the same defect is to be found in many famous cathedrals,—in the Florence Duomo, for instance. “Architecture of this kind,” remarks that sound critic, Mr. Hamerton, “may excite admiration by majesty and grandeur, but, unlike the work of the elegant Renaissance, it can never charm or delight.” This much criticised façade consists of a Doric portico with an Ionic loggia or colonnade forming the second story. Two lofty ornate towers crown the façade. They are actually higher than those of Notre Dame, but lack their dignity and impressiveness. Mere height alone is not an element of beauty. A good instance of this is afforded by

the Spire of Amiens. This is some twenty feet higher than that of Salisbury, yet "the latter is among the most imposing objects of which Gothic architecture can boast, while the Amiens spire is an insignificant pinnacle that hardly serves to relieve the monotony of the roof on which it is placed." These towers were meant to be crowned with spires, but it was found they were not strong enough to support them.

By the light of modern criticism, which finds this grandiose pile full of artistic defects, it is curious to notice how extravagantly the writers who formed the taste of our grandfathers praise this church. This is how Dibdin describes it:

"Yonder majestic portico forms the west front of the church called St. Sulpice. It is at once airy and grand. There are two tiers of pillars, of which this front is composed; the lower is Doric, the upper Ionic; and each row, as I am told, is nearly forty French feet in height. We have nothing like this, certainly, as the front of a parish church in London. When I except St. Paul's, such exception is made in reference to the most majestic piece of architectural composition which, to my eye, the wit of man hath yet ever devised. . . . Behind the choir is the Chapel of Our Lady, which is certainly most splendid and imposing. Upon the ceiling is represented the assumption of the Virgin, and the walls are covered with a profusion of gilt ornament, which, upon the whole, has a very striking effect."

No historical events of importance seem associated with this church, except that the Republicans temporarily secularised it in 1799 by converting it into a "Temple of Victory." A grand banquet which was



given in the church to General Bonaparte afforded the excuse for this sacrilege.

The interior would be hardly worth visiting were it not for the famous frescoes of Eugène Delacroix, in the Chapel of the Holy Angels. These paintings, which were finished in 1861, show great mastery of colour and composition, but the action is almost too vigorous for the walls of a church, and the "feverish energy of Delacroix seems out of harmony with the stately and massive architecture of St. Sulpice."

The subjects are the Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple, Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, and, on the ceiling, St. Michael Triumphant over Lucifer.

In the Chapel of the Virgin, behind the high altar, is a very fine Assumption by Lemoine.

A historic souvenir of some sentimental interest is preserved in the church, viz., a harpsichord which once belonged to Marie Antoinette. It is not known how this curio, which would be more suitably placed among the collection of royal souvenirs in the Carnavalet Museum, came to be preserved here.

On leaving the church, the visitor will notice on the south side of the Place St. Sulpice a plain long building. This is the Seminary of St. Sulpice, which once included Ernest Renan among its pupils.

Behind the general post office and the Halles Centrales is the fine Church of St. Eustache, of the flamboyant Renaissance type. It is a church which is not easy to classify, being in the main a magnificent architectural blend, or amalgam of various styles. The guide-book description — a Gothic church with classical modifications — is a little misleading. One feels inclined

to say, *more Hibernico*, that it would be a Gothic church did it not lack the most typical Gothic features. However, there is no doubt that the exterior, if not attractive, is imposing, and to a certain extent stately. Its proportions are fine, and the nave exceeds in height that of any other church in Paris, while the area it covers is only exceeded by that of Notre Dame. St. Eustache was begun in 1532, and not completed till the middle of the next century. In plan this church is somewhat similar to the Metropolitan Cathedral, though the resemblance would not strike a casual spectator. It has the same short transepts, which extend only to the external walls of the chapels, a similar apse and ambulatory, and double aisles fringed with a series of chapels. Then, both Notre Dame and St. Eustache have flying buttresses and a spire at the intersection of the roof of the nave and transepts. The St. Eustache spire has, however, been shortened within the last few years to make a stand for a telegraph semaphore.

The artistic interest, such as it is, of St. Eustache consists in this, "that the designer, whoever he may have been, attempted to combine the general impressiveness of a Gothic edifice with the spirit of the Renaissance in every detail. He must have admired Gothic architecture in a certain fashion, and he must have appreciated its influence on the mind, yet, at the same time, he did not admire it enough to follow it slavishly in anything. . . . On the whole, we must come to the conclusion that the interesting experiment of combining Gothic effects with classical details and finish could not have been made more intelligently than here. It is not at all an unreasoned decadence of Gothic, it is a combination at once



logical and imaginative. The unknown architect was an artist, and a great artist; he could rise to the sublime, and enjoy the exercise of a delicate and discriminating taste. Yet, in spite of his rare power of combination, he founded nothing. The style of St. Eustache might have become the modern style, but it did not."

Such are the views held by Mr. P. G. Hamerton, an undoubted authority on church architecture, but the fact remains that the beauty of St. Eustache is not appreciated by nine out of ten visitors. The church is popular in the sense that it is ranked among the show churches of Paris, but the avowedly hybrid style of architecture is not generally admired.

There is not much to attract the visitor inside the church except the frescoes and mural paintings: Many of the most valuable were removed or destroyed during the Revolution, but a very large number of pictures and frescoes by such artists as Delorme, Pichon, Barrias, Pils, Damery, and other well-known French artists still remain. In fact, the numerous chapels of St. Eustache, like those of St. Roch and St. Sulpice, constitute a sacred art gallery in which many of the best French artists are represented.

In the Rue St. Honoré is the well-known Church of St. Roch, which is one of the most popular churches of Paris to tourists, though this, perhaps, is due more to its convenient position near the chief places of tourist resort — the Louvre, the Palais Royal, and the Tuileries Gardens — than to its historical associations or its architectural merits.

The church, like St. Sulpice, is of the Louis Quatorze



period, and its building — much interrupted for want of funds — also occupied nearly a century. It is a decidedly rococo building of the debased Renaissance type, and has been much criticised for its excess of ornament. It is, however, of special interest to architects, owing to the extraordinary skill by which the difficulties of the site have been overcome by the designer Lemer cier.

M. Viollet-le-Duc lays special stress upon the remarkable constructive skill of its architect. "The arrangement of the interior of St. Roch is perhaps the happiest conception of any church in Paris, that is, so far as the purpose for which a church of to-day is devoted. On an irregular patch of ground, with considerable variation of surface levels, the architect has composed an excellent plan, and, if the architecture adopted were not heavy and cold, we should consider this monument a *chef-d'œuvre*."

The most noticeable feature of the interior is the wealth of allegorical statuary, pictures, ornaments, and accessories of every description; the general effect is somewhat bewildering to the senses. But there are few really good paintings, and the rococo statuary is in doubtful taste, to say the least. The famous groups of statuary in three tiers behind the high altar, representing the Passion, contain good work, no doubt, but the general effect is theatrical and meretricious (owing partly, no doubt, to the "tricky" arrangement of the light) and utterly unsuited to the solemnity of the subject.

St. Roch is famed for its music and its generally ornate ritual, and the chief festivals are celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. It seems that the

congregation do not always refrain from applauding, as if in a concert hall, any particularly fine rendering!

“The writer remembers on one occasion being present at St. Roch to hear a new mass by Gounod performed. It was a Sunday evening, and the great composer himself conducted. After the performance — which was a grand one indeed — M. Gounod was led down the central aisle by a procession of priests and the choir, amid enthusiasm that could not be suppressed, and which, strangely enough, did not at the time seem out of place.”<sup>1</sup>

In the choir arrangements, the mediæval custom still obtains of the choristers grouping themselves irregularly round the huge lectern which stands in the middle of the chancel, instead of standing in their stalls. In this respect I believe St. Roch is unique among Paris churches.

“The grouping of the men and boys, in their picturesque costumes of red cassocks, white albs, and blue or red sashes, grouped around the lectern, gives the whole affair such a delightful old-world appearance that it is most refreshing, and the effect of the huge service-book, with its plain song notation up above the heads of the boys, takes one back hundreds of years.”

Several historic events of interest are connected with this church, and every tourist who has read that wonderfully dramatic chapter, “The Whiff of Grape-shot,” of Carlyle, will remember that the steps of the portico were the scene of the sanguinary conflict between the counter-revolutionists, headed by Lepelletier and the Sections, and the Republican troops under Napoleon, on

<sup>1</sup> Sleverts-Drewett.

the 5th October, 1795 (13th Vendémiaire). On these steps the insurgents made a last stand, to be mowed down in "swaths" by the "bronze artillery officer." Up to within a few years ago faint traces of this cannon-ading could be seen on the portico.

Sad memories of the martyred Marie Antoinette are associated with this spot. It was in front of St. Roch that the tumbril which was taking the hapless queen to the guillotine made one of its stoppages.

"Devant Saint-Roch la charrette de Marie Antoinette fait une station, au milieu des huées et des hurlements. Mille injures se lèvent des degrés de l'église comme une seule injure, saluant d'ordure cette reine qui va mourir. Elle pourtant, sereine et majestueuse, pardonnait aux injures en ne les entendant pas."<sup>1</sup>

I have now attempted to describe as fully as space permits the most interesting of the historic churches of Paris. But there are many others which should be visited by those interested in church architecture and church lore. Of these the ancient churches of St. Julien le Pauvre (near Notre Dame), St. Pierre de Montmartre (near the huge modern Basilica of the Sacré Cœur), and St. Merri (near the old tower of St. Jacques), are especially attractive to antiquarians; while St. Gervais has some magnificent sixteenth century stained glass, and St. Nicolas des Champs is worth seeing on account of its numerous historical and quaint epitaphs.

<sup>1</sup> De Goncourt.

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# MONUMENTAL PARIS







HÔTEL DES INVALIDES.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### MONUMENTAL PARIS.

“Numerous in citizens, superb in monuments, marvellous in amusements.” — *École des Femmes, Molière.*

MONUMENTAL Paris is here understood in a somewhat limited sense; its churches, palaces, museums, etc., are not included, as they form the subjects of separate chapters. But in these chapters I propose to confine myself to what may conveniently be called public or street monuments — fountains, statues, triumphal arches, bridges, etc. — and the great public buildings, such as the Hôtel de Ville, with whose exterior the tourist is chiefly concerned.

Those who intend “doing” Paris thoroughly and exhaustively would find it a useful preliminary to a systematic course of sightseeing to devote two or three days to a general topographical study of Paris, and view the city from the top of a bus — in London, as we well know, the tourist pure and simple cannot afford to neglect this coign of advantage, if he wishes to get a general idea of the topography of the British metropolis — and also from the deck of one of the little Seine steamers, “Mouches,” as they are popularly termed. Then, too, the bird’s-eye view to be obtained from the Arc de Triomphe, the Invalides’ dome, or the towers of

Notre Dame, would prove instructive as well as entertaining. It would, at all events, be the only way to get a general impression of the great buildings and monuments of Paris, and their relative proportions and topography. In fact, a couple of days devoted to a close imitation of Martin Chuzzlewit's famous system of sight-seeing — readers of Dickens will, of course, remember that Chuzzlewit attached great importance to London exteriors and monuments that could be seen gratis, and strongly deprecated the value of those sights to which there was a charge for admission — is not at all a bad preparation for one ambitious of "knowing his Paris." Those bitten with this laudable ambition might perhaps attain their object more agreeably and conveniently if they interspersed their hard-working days at museums and picture galleries with days devoted solely to these topographical excursions. Even the most devoted art-lover derives little benefit from two consecutive days spent wholly in picture galleries.

In these omnibus explorations, Baedeker would be a particularly appropriate guide, for the topographical basis of sightseeing (often so tiresome), on which these guides rely, would, of course, be especially convenient for these out-door trips.

In no other way can one get a better general idea of the architectural beauties of Paris. Paris in its historical and antiquarian aspects has been already dealt with as fully as space permitted. We have now to do with the Twentieth Century Paris, — the Paris of to-day *en plein air*.

We will begin our pilgrimage with the Arc de Triomphe in the Place de l'Etoile, perhaps the finest modern

monument of the kind in the world, and situated, too, on what is certainly the most magnificent modern street of all European capitals. The Rond Point de l'Etoile, as the Place de l'Etoile is officially termed, is like the hub of a colossal wheel, whose spokes are the twelve magnificent avenues, along which the black streams of the crowds are lost in the distance.

To the west, straight as a die as far as the Seine, at Neuilly, extends the Avenue de la Grande Armée, which did not, indeed, require that high-sounding title to remind us that this thoroughfare has been the path of empire as well as of revolution. Then eastwards we have the beautiful vista of the Champs Élysées Avenue, more like an elongated park than an avenue.

This part of Paris has certainly been nobly planned. The alignment of these magnificent avenues and their monuments has been so accurately measured, that if a cannon were fired from the extreme western extremity, from the middle of the Pont de Neuilly, the projectile in its flight would go through the archway of the Arc de Triomphe, through the Avenue of the Champs Élysées, through the Place de la Concorde, and then (unless stopped by the Luxor Obelisk) through the Golden Gates of the Tuileries Gardens, through the middle of the Arc du Carrousel, till it lodged in the Pavillon de l'Horloge of the Old Louvre, some four miles distant.

The Triumphal Arch was planned and commenced by Napoleon I., in 1806, and completed by Louis Philippe. It is covered with bas-reliefs which commemorate the chief campaigns of the Revolution, the Consulate, and the Empire. The bas-reliefs by Rude, on the eastern side, show the Republican troops leaving for the frontier in

1792, while those on the Champs Élysées side, by Cortot, commemorate the triumphant return of the Imperial armies after the defeat of Austria in 1810. Under the main arch are inscribed the titles of nearly a hundred victories. Some of them, to tell the truth, are somewhat equivocal victories; for instance, among them is the battle of Toulouse, which impartial historians claim for the British.

The doubtful character of this alleged French victory is indirectly admitted in the following bon mot of Madame E. de Girardin, who observed that "when Marshal Soult is in opposition, he is acknowledged to have won the battle of Toulouse; when he belongs to the government, he is accused of having lost it!"

The arch is some 150 feet high, and the cost, from first to last, was not less than £400,000. It is said that the arch is intended to be crowned by a group of statuary, but this would certainly destroy the grand and severe simplicity of this fine monument. One can better realise the colossal size of this structure by comparing it with the Porte St. Denis Arch or the Marble Arch, London, it being more than twice the size of either of these monuments. Certainly this triumphal arch is the most characteristic, if not actually the greatest, of the Napoleonic monuments in Paris. From the platform on the top is one of the most striking views in Paris.

The Champs Élysées was, up to the Revolution, the property of the Crown, but since 1792 it has belonged to the nation, and is now under the control of the Paris municipality. It has been called the Hyde Park of Paris, a term which would, however, be more appropriately applied to the Bois de Boulogne. The Tuileries

Gardens, at all events, may be considered to take the place of Kensington Gardens.

The Palais de l'Élysée, whose gardens extend to the Champs Élysées, is well worth taking the trouble of getting permission to visit it (application should be made through the British and American embassies, or through an officer of the President's household). But when the President is not in residence, it is sometimes possible to obtain admittance to the state rooms by presenting a visiting card.

Though the Élysée Palace is comparatively modern (dating only from the beginning of the eighteenth century) among the old historic hôtels of Paris, no mansion in Paris has been the temporary home of so many royal and distinguished guests. It has, indeed, since the fall of Napoleon I., served as the Buckingham Palace of Paris, and, in addition to its various official occupants, Alexander I., Mehemet Ali, Queen Christina of Spain, the Sultan Abdul Aziz, Queen Victoria, and Alexander II. of Russia have in turn been received here.

The palace has passed through many hands, and few historic buildings have in so short a time gone through so many vicissitudes. It was originally the hôtel of the Comte d'Evreux, and in 1745 came into the possession of Madame de Pompadour. On her death, it was purchased by the government as a residence for foreign ambassadors. A few years previous to the Revolution it became the property of the Duchesse de Bourbon. Its new designation, Élysée Bourbon, rendered the place particularly obnoxious to the Republican government. It is not surprising that it was confiscated and sold by public auction. Murat resided



there from 1805 to 1808, and, on his leaving Paris to assume the throne of Naples, he made a gift of it to the emperor, who often resided there. At the Restoration, the Duchesse de Bourbon made a successful claim for her property, but agreed to accept instead the Hôtel Monaco in the Rue de Varennes. Louis XVIII. gave the palace to the Duke and Duchess of Berry, and there they resided till the assassination of the duke in 1820, when his widow gave it up to her son, the Duke of Bordeaux, as a residence, but in 1850 it again reverted to the state. The palace was, at this time, in such a deplorably dilapidated condition that it was estimated that no less than £80,000 would be required to restore and refurnish it.

When Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic he occupied the Palais Élysée, as his official residence, and it was here on the night of December 1, 1851, that the President, with the assistance of his devoted adherents, De Morny and General Saint-Arnaud, planned the "Great Betrayal" usually known as the *coup d'état*.

When Napoleon proclaimed himself emperor on the first anniversary of the *coup d'état*, considering that the Élysée palace did not accord with the dignity of his imperial rank, he removed to the Tuileries palace. The Élysée was again set apart for the accommodation of foreign potentates and other great personages visiting Paris.

Since the establishment of the Third Republic the Élysée, as everybody knows, has been made the official residence of the President of the Republic.

Such, in brief, is an outline of the history of this, in some respects, remarkable building, which will show

that the comparatively modern palace is well entitled to rank as historic.

To reach the state apartments we cross the road. "A broad flight of steps, overspread by a veranda, gives access to a vestibule opening into the suite of apartments on the ground floor. The walls are painted by Dunouy with landscapes, some of the figures of which are by Vernet, and were executed for Murat. The views represented are the Pyramids of Egypt, the Crossing of the Tiber, the Château de Benrath on the Rhine, near Düsseldorf, once occupied by Murat (the carriage in the foreground contains Murat's children), and a view of the Château de Neuilly, at that time also Murat's property. This room gives access to a ballroom of recent erection, in the new wing of the palace, toward the Avenue de Marigny.

Returning to the dining-room, a door to the left leads to the state apartments. The Salle de Réception was used by Napoleon I. as a council-chamber. This room is now adorned with portraits of the Pope, Victor Emmanuel, the Queens of England and Spain, the Emperor of Austria, etc. There is also a beautiful mosaic representing the map of France in 1684. Adjoining is the Chambre de Napoleon I. This was his favourite bedroom, where he last slept in Paris after the battle of Waterloo. Next comes the Salle des Souverains, formerly the Salon de Travail, where Napoleon I. signed his last abdication. Here her Majesty, Queen Victoria, partook of a splendid collation on the 20th August, 1855. It is furnished in Louis XV. style with Beauvais tapestry." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Galluani's "Paris Guide."

We now come to the square of awful memories. Its resuscitated title of Place de la Concorde, — could there be a greater irony of nomenclature? — given to it under Louis Philippe, scarcely serves to obscure the terrible associations of this Golgotha of France from the most frivolous of visitors. Who can forget that here was shed the blood of some three thousand victims of the Revolution, from Louis XVI. and Queen Marie Antoinette downwards, in the short space of two years? At the Champs Élysées entrance to the Place de la Concorde stand the famous Chevaux de Marly, generally known to English visitors as “The Horse Tamers.” This group was carved by Coustou, and was formerly in the park of the royal château of Marly-le-Roi, near St. Germain. Few equestrian groups have been more often reproduced in small replicas than this. This group forms a suitable pendant to the winged steeds of Coyzevox on the opposite side of the place.

This magnificent place is generally admitted to be the finest site in Europe, and the patriotism of the British visitor need not blind him to the undeniable fact that Sir Robert Peel might with far more justice have applied this epithet to the French square than to Trafalgar Square. Not only does its size and its adornment, but the magnificent views which it commands from every point, fully entitle it to rank as the finest square in Europe.

The monumental views one gets from every point of this famous place are particularly striking. Southward are the Pont de la Concorde (of some historical interest as the stones from the Bastille furnished the building material) and the Chamber of Deputies (Palais Bour-

bon), with its handsome Corinthian façade which forms the river front, while to the right and left the noble gilded domes of the Invalides and the elegant twin spires of Ste. Clotilde make an effective background. Looking to the north, there is a curious repetition of the southern view, the beautiful façade of the Madeleine (suggesting at this distance the classical façade of the Palais Bourbon), flanked on the left by the Corinthian façade of the Ministry of Marine, whilst to the right rises the magnificent Opera House. Looking up the Rue Royale, one may notice a curious architectural delusion, — the government offices, with their Corinthian façade, which stand on either side the street, appear as wings of the Madeleine. Then east and west we have the pleasing vistas of park and gardens and avenues backed by the Arcs de Triomphe of the Place du Carrousel and Place de l'Etoile respectively. No capital of Europe can boast of such an architectural scheme as is afforded by the Place de la Concorde and its surroundings.

The embellishments of the place are on a commensurately large scale. In the middle towers the great Obelisk of Luxor, brought from the Temple of Luxor (where its fellow may still be seen erect), a magnificent monolith seventy-six feet high. The transport and erection of this stupendous mass of masonry, weighing 240 tons (fifty tons more than the London obelisk known as Cleopatra's Needle), was a far greater feat of engineering than the removal of the Alexandria Obelisk, which lay prone on the coast, only a few hundred yards from the sea and it is not surprising that three years were required for the task. It is difficult to exaggerate the amount of the work. The obelisk had first to be

removed to the Nile; then carried down the river (a voyage of some six hundred miles) to Alexandria, then towed through the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic to Cherbourg, and thence taken by road across Normandy to Paris. Some statistics of the monolith may be of interest. Its height is 76 feet, 6 inches (some eight feet taller than Cleopatra's Needle), its width at the base is 7 feet, 6 inches, and its weight, as we have seen, is 240 tons. A painstaking statistician has made the curious calculation that the cost of the obelisk to France has been at the rate of four francs per pound! An interesting model, showing the ingenious mechanism employed for the transport and erection of this monument, is to be seen in the Louvre. The two fountains at the foot of the obelisk are dedicated to the rivers and seas of France, respectively. The fine allegorical groups of statuary at the corners of the place, representing the eight great cities of France, are splendid specimens of plastic art on a large scale. Visitors will notice that Strasburg is included in the great cities, but its loss is symbolised by garlands of crape.

The obelisk is said to be on the exact site of the scaffold erected for the execution of King Louis XVI. No memorial, indeed, marks the actual spot (which was exactly midway between the entrance to the Champs Élysées and the obelisk). At the restoration of the monarchy it was, indeed, proposed that a fountain should be erected on the historic site, which would seem a fairly appropriate memorial. Chateaubriand's rhetorical objection to the proposal, that all the water in the world could not wash away the stains of blood shed there, however, carried the day, and the project was aban-



ARC DE TRIOMPHE DU CARROUSEL



doned. The scaffold for another illustrious victim, Queen Marie Antoinette, was not erected here, but on a spot (also unmarked by any memorial) half-way between the obelisk and the gate of the Tuileries.

Continuing our walk down the Tuileries Gardens (elsewhere described), we reach Napoleon's reduced copy of the Arch of Severus at Rome, which is known as the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel. The arch, owing to the height of the surrounding buildings and the extent of the square, looks somewhat insignificant, though it is actually not less than fifty feet in height. It is historically interesting, as it was once crowned with the famous bronze horses which Napoleon brought from Venice. These famous horses, artistically known as a quadriga (copies of which are to be seen in most European capitals), have travelled extensively. They were originally erected in front of the Temple of the Sun, at Corinth, whence they were taken by the Emperor Theodosius to Constantinople. The Doge secured them as war trophies, and brought them to Venice. France was scarcely ten years in possession of this valuable relic of antiquity; for the Allies, in 1815, in their work of breaking up and dispersing Napoleon's magnificent collection of antiquities and fine arts, the fruit of many a victory, ordered the restoration of this monument to Venice. The removal was virtually effected under arms, for naturally the Parisians did not regard with equanimity the loss of this historic monument, and battalions from the allied armies, among them a regiment of Highlanders, lined the Place du Carrousel. It was a work of weeks to dislodge the horses from the Car of Victory to which they had been harnessed by Napoleon. On the



day when the horses were at length taken down, the place presented a strange scene: the arch all shrouded with scaffolding, ladders, and gear of ropes; near the arch a group of officers, privileged foreign sightseers, among them one of Napoleon's best-known chroniclers, Sir Walter Scott; at a little distance a large gathering of Parisians, many gesticulating and muttering curses. "Disbanded officers, fiercely whiskered, in long frock coats and huge cocked hats; workmen, pale with anger; women of the people, with difficulty kept from shrieking forth exhortations to the mob to rise in riot. They must needs be quiet; so they weep piteously, and gesticulate, and point derisively at the abhorred foreigners." In the evening the four colossal steeds — amorphous masses shrouded in canvas and bands of hay — were safely secured in four large wagons, and, escorted by a squadron of Austrian Uhlans, were slowly dragged through the streets of Paris on their way to the coast, to be replaced ultimately on the portal of St. Mark's, Venice. But not yet to their proper owners, for the Austrians retained possession of the ancient quadriga for forty years longer. Mr. G. A. Sala gives a picturesque account of the scene in the piazza of St. Mark when Austria had to yield her Venetian territories, along with these unique trophies, to Italy.

"It was on a gray autumnal morning, in the year 1866, that, happening to be standing in St. Mark's Place, Venice, in front of the three great gonfalons, — poles which aforetime bore the banners of Venice, Cyprus, and the Morea, — I noticed on the pavement of the piazza certain spheroid bundles of bunting, connected

by cord with the flagstuffs. It was not time to hoist them yet. Napoleon the Third's general, Leboeuf, was signing a certain document at the Hôtel de Ville. Austria had sullenly yielded Venetia to France, and France was politely handing over the rare gift to the Podestà of Venice. The Baron d'Alemann, for a long time Austrian governor of the Queen of the Adriatic, had gone away quietly at early morn in a gunboat to Trieste. So the time wears on. By nine o'clock there are thirty thousand people in St. Mark's Place, agitated, trembling, panting with excitement. A cannon booms from Fort Haynau. There, the deed is done, the instrument is signed, the cession is complete. The bales of bunting take unto themselves wings, and, flying right up to the summits of the flagstuffs, stream out in three colours, — the Cross of Savoy in the middle banner, — while with one throat the thirty thousand Venetians are shouting their *Evvivas!* Another, and another, and another cannon booms forth from the Campo di Marzo. Then do more thousands, gathered in gondolas on each side of the Canalazzo, or crowding every window of every house of its length, watch a procession of huge barges and lighters, slowly towed by tiny steam-tugs, from the railway station toward the Molo. These barges and lighters are all alive with soldiers. They are clad in blue and green, and are sparkling with steel and silver. These barges bear the carabinieri and the Bersaglieri of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, and the Horses of St. Mark have come to their right owners at last."

The famous Winged Lion of the Piazzetta was also restored to Venice by the Allies in 1815. The Venetians, however, received their precious relic back in a some-

what mutilated state, the tail having been lost en route ! The present quadriga on the Arc du Carrousel, to which is attached Napoleon's Car of Victory, is a fairly successful modern work by Bosio.

Before leaving the Place du Carrousel, we may glance at the huge and hideous Gambetta monument, which might serve as an "awful warning" to contemporary sculptors. It is particularly unfortunate that Paris, whose outdoor statues and monumental sculpture, taken collectively, are unsurpassed in any European capital, should be saddled in so prominent a position with such an inartistic monument. This statue is heavy and massive, without being dignified or powerful, and is altogether the worst example of colossal statuary in Paris.

Retracing our steps through the Tuileries, we cross the Rue de Rivoli, and walk up the Rue Castiglione to the Place Vendôme. The huge Hôtel Continental, at the corner of these two streets, occupies the site of the Ministry of Finance, which was destroyed by the Communards.

"The Place Vendôme has seen so much political strife that it is entitled to a first place in French history, and for that reason a few words more expended on it than on most of the other squares will not be thrown away. Its name is taken from a house erected on the present site by a son of Henri IV., César de Vendôme. This was purchased and pulled down by the ever insatiable Louis XIV., by whose command its site was made into an open space, with — as usual — his own statue in bronze as the centrepiece. The Revolution — also as usual — melted this brazen image into cannon, along with several other effigies of the monarch. The name



LA PLACE VENDÔME.



of the place, too, was changed from Place des Conquêtes to Place de Louis le Grand, and after a few short years again to that of Place des Piques."<sup>1</sup>

The Vendôme Column, a magnificently executed replica of Trajan's Column at Rome, is 142 feet high. The column is not, as is sometimes supposed, made of gun-metal,—a moment's reflection will show that the cost of such a monument would be stupendous,—but is of stone with a casing of metal plates, cast from cannon taken in the Austrian campaign. The official designation was Colonne d'Austerlitz, but popular custom was too much even for Napoleon, and it was called after the place in which it stands. Completed only in 1810, the statue of Napoleon was taken down by royalists four years afterward, and was replaced by a colossal fleur-de-lys,—a decidedly feeble decorative device for such a monument. Louis Philippe, a year after his accession, was sufficiently magnanimous to restore the statue of the emperor, but this time in a military overcoat and three-cornered hat. This somewhat incongruous statue was replaced by Napoleon III. — who certainly possessed more artistic instinct than the Citizen King — with a statue by Dumont, after the model of the original Roman emperor statue. The old statue is now in the Rond Pont of Courbevoie.

During the Commune, as every one knows, the column was pulled down, but reërected in 1878, with Dumont's statue (patched up) of the emperor once more in Roman garb, and this is the statue we now see.

nothing further to delay us in the Place  
<sup>1</sup> proceeding along the Rue de la Paix, the

<sup>1</sup> Sieverts-Drewett.

Bond Street of Paris, we cross the Place de l'Opéra, and follow the Rue du Quatre-Septembre, to the Place de la Bourse, the great business centre of Paris, corresponding with the space in front of the London Royal Exchange.

The Bourse is a fine building in the Greek style, surrounded by a peristyle of sixty-six handsome Corinthian columns, and a stranger to Paris might be forgiven for mistaking it for the Madeleine. It has been closely modelled on the Temple of Vespasian at Rome. This inappropriate style for a building devoted to commerce has been much criticised, and it is due to the craze for a classic revival in architecture, with which French architects were bitten at the beginning of this century. At each corner are finely sculptured allegorical groups treating of the various branches of commerce, by Dumont, Duret, Pradier, and Seurre, sculptors of the old school, whose works are now somewhat at a discount. Pradier's symbolical figure of Industry is perhaps the best.

The Bourse is one of the costliest modern structures in Paris, the amount spent on it exceeding eight million francs.

The Bourse is a close and highly privileged corporation of *agents de change* (stock-brokers), strictly limited to sixty. These brokers are the official government agents, and they earn enormous profits; in fact, even to be a partner to the extent of one-eighth share of the business means usually a fortune. These privileged brokers stand within the circular cage, known as the *Corbeille*, but the greater number of the operators belong to what is called the *coulisse*. They approximate pretty closely to the outside brokers of the London Stock Exchange, and equally with these brokers they have no

official recognition, and there is no limit to their number. They do most of their business in the galleries of the building, and deal principally in stocks not officially quoted. Many of them do business in the unofficial Petite Bourse held after regular hours in the spacious vestibule of the Credit Lyonnais. These outside brokers were "much opposed at one time by the *parquet* or regulars, but both have now come to a good understanding on the principle of a division of the spoil."

Should it be early in the afternoon, it is worth while to enter the building, in order to see one of the recognised sights of Paris, the Bourse from the galleries. A tourist is accustomed to the deafening din and uproar of the Exchange of London, New York, or Hamburg, but here, in addition to the ordinary roar and hullabaloo of some thousand of excited "operators" common to all public exchanges, we have the frantic gesticulations, the yells and shrieks with which the distracted *courtiers* and *agents de change* of Paris transact their dealings in *obligations*.

In pursuance of our monumental programme, we might perhaps visit the Banque de France and the Bibliothèque Nationale, near at hand, but there is nothing of interest in the exterior (with which we are now chiefly concerned) of the bank, and the National Library is described in the Museums chapter.

From the Place de la Bourse, the Rue Montmartre should be followed till we reach the Halles Centrales, which no visitor should neglect. A whole morning might profitably be spent here by the student of manner. Continental markets are strikingly different from those of England or America, and therefore the market is one



of the most important sites that the tourist in a foreign capital can visit. "Probably in no place where men meet are the little differences of race and custom more apparent than in the market-place." In our itinerary we place the visit to the Halles Centrales after the Bourse according to topographical sequence. But it is a much better plan to begin a day's sightseeing with a visit to the Halles as early in the morning as possible. These markets, a vast structure of iron and glass, were built by Baltard, in the reign of Napoleon III., and it is probable that the architect was to some extent indebted to Sir Joseph Paxton's Exhibition Building (now the Crystal Palace) for the design of this huge building. The market is designed on an enormous scale, so that, compared to the Paris Central Market, London Covent Garden looks mean and insignificant. But then, the Halles is not only a flower market. It is, in fact, an Exposition Universelle of victuals, and might more aptly be compared to Covent Garden, Billingsgate, and Leadenhall combined. The Halles are divided into ten sections (called pavilions, each containing 250 stalls), intersected by covered streets, of which the central one (uncovered) is as wide as the Avenue de l'Opéra. The whole market covers an area of over twenty acres, and the cost of construction exceeded one and a half million pounds.

The vast vaults underneath the Halles can be visited. The various railway termini are in direct communication, by means of special tramways, so that the produce can be brought to the market almost direct from the producer with as little delay as possible.

In the Halles almost everything eatable can be obtained, and, indeed, many articles of consumption, such

as cuttlefish, escargots (edible snails), and horse-flesh, which to the British palate are decidedly uneatable. The fish can be bought actually alive as they swim about in huge tanks of water until they find a purchaser.

A unique and instructive feature in the Paris central market is what is popularly termed "Le Section de la Bijouterie." This is the department where all kinds of ready-cooked table delicacies—the leavings of the fashionable restaurants and hotels, or of public banquets—are re-arranged and tastefully redressed in small portions for the individual consumer, at ridiculously cheap prices. G. A. Sala, in his "Paris Herself Again," gives a diverting picture of this peculiarly Parisian institution :

"Here is the 'jewelry' at last. We pass between a double line of stalls heaped high with the most astonishing array of cooked food that I have ever set eyes upon. Fish, flesh, fowl, vegetables, fruit, pastry, confectionery, and cheese are all represented here, ready cooked, but cold, and arranged, not on plates or dishes, but on quarter-sheets of old newspapers. Imagine one pile, consisting of the leg of a partridge, the remnants of an omelette, the tail of a fried sole, two ribs of a jugged hare, a spoonful of haricot beans, a scrap of *filet*, a cut pear, a handful of salad, a slice of tomato, and a dab of jelly. It is the microcosm of a good dinner, abating the soup. The pile constitutes a *portion*, and is to be bought for five sous, or twopence-halfpenny. There are *portions* as low as two sous; indeed, the scale of prices is most elastic in ascending and descending. There are piles here to suit all pockets. Are your funds at a very low ebb, indeed? On that scrap of a back number of

the *Figaro* you will find a hard-boiled egg, the gizzard of a fowl, two pickled gherkins, and a macaroon. A breakfast for a prince, if his Highness be impecunious. Are you somewhat in cash? Behold outspread on a trenchant leading article from the *République Française*, a whole veal chop, a golden store of cold fried potatoes, an artichoke, *à la barigoule*, a sumptuous piece of Roquefort, some *barbe de capucin* salad, and the remains of a *Charlotte russe*. A luncheon for a king, if his Majesty's civil list be a restricted one. But there are loftier luxuries to be had. Behold an entire fowl. See at least the moiety of a *Châteaubriand aux champignons*. Yonder are the magnificent relics of a *demiselle de pré salé*, the remains of a *sole à la Normande*, the ruins of a *buisson d'écrevisses*, half a dozen smelts, the backbone of a pheasant, and, upon my word, some truffles; yes, positively, truffles. It is true that they are mingled with bits of cheese and beetroot, with a dash of *meringue à la crème*, and a suspicion of *sauce Robert*. All this is gathered together on a front page of the *Pays*. A dinner for an emperor, when imperialism is at a discount, and Cæsar does not find it convenient to dine at the *Café Riche* or the *Maison Dorée*.

“The fragments which form the ‘jewelry’ of the Halles Centrales are brought down in big baskets, between seven and eight every morning, by the *garçons* of the great boulevard restaurants, or by the *larbins* from the hôtels of the ministers and the foreign ambassadors. If there has been overnight a dinner at the Ministry of the Interior or at the Baratarian Embassy, the show of ‘jewelry’ in the morning will be superb. Whole turkeys and capons, all but entire hams and

*hues de sanglier* scarcely impinged upon, *pièces montées*, the majestic vestiges of a *poulet à la Marengo* or a *sau-mon à la Chambord*, will decorate the deal boards of the stalls in the Halles. Out of the fashionable season the supply comes principally from the leading restaurants, where the 'leavings' are the perquisites of the *garçons*."

"But, probably," writes a close observer of Parisian life in all its phases, "the most interesting features in the market are the ways and manners of the market women, they are such a happy contrast to the miserable creatures that eke out a bare existence at the corners of London streets. Muscular, well-fed amazons, the very type of the class who fought so desperately during the Commune, they seem to have lived all their days in the heart of the country, and not within the fortifications of a great and gay city." These *Dames de la Halle* have indeed made their mark in history, as every one who has read Carlyle's vigorous prose epic of the Revolution will remember. To say nothing of the historic expedition to Versailles in order to petition Louis XVI. to reduce the price of bread, this privileged body in pre-Revolutionary times occasionally waited upon their sovereign on certain festivals to offer him their loyal congratulations. Then, like their sisters, the *blanchisseuses* of Paris, the *Dames de la Halle* have found their way to the stage, for was not the celebrated Madame Angot a member of this famous corporation?

But the Samsons of the market, the *Forts de la Halle*, must not be forgotten. These men form a close corporation of some five hundred in number, and to these official porters all the internal service of the market is entrusted. They are admitted by the municipal author-

ities only after a searching examination, both physical and moral. The pay is extremely high for Paris, the average earning of these strong men being £80 or £90 a year. Compare this with the wages of English dock labourers!

Close to the Halles, off the Rue Berger, is the Square des Innocents, containing one of the most beautiful Renaissance monuments in Paris. It was built from designs by Lescot and Goujon. The fountain originally stood with its back to the Church of the Innocents, demolished in 1788. It has been altered and enlarged with a base and cupola, but in spite of this its beauty has been little affected. "It still remains a beautiful and typical example of French Renaissance architecture and sculpture. The coquettish reliefs, indeed, are not perhaps more lovely than those which adorn Jean Goujon's portion of the Louvre; but they are nearer to the eye, and the scale enables one to judge of the entire effect more truthfully."

The Square des Innocents was, for some six centuries, the principal burying-place of Paris. In 1784 the cemetery was closed, owing to the necessity of enlarging the space for the Marché des Innocents. The millions of crumbling bones were removed to the Catacombs with a considerable amount of ceremony. The removal was effected at night, by torchlight, and must have proved a strikingly picturesque spectacle, the hundreds of mortuary wagons being escorted by troops and headed by processions of priests and monks chanting the office for the dead.

The Marché des Innocents served as the principal Paris market till the present magnificent Halles were

built. Its connection with the new market was curiously commemorated on the inauguration of the Halles Centrales in 1858, when the fountain ran with Burgundy for some three-quarters of an hour ;— ostensibly for the use of the public, actually, however, the surging Maçon was enjoyed only by the *Dames de la Halle* and their champions, the above-mentioned *Forts de la Halle* ; but this was only natural.

These sights are probably all that can be comfortably accomplished in the first day's peregrination.

The second day's exploration of monumental Paris may conveniently be begun with a ride on the top of a 'bus along the grand boulevards, which extend from the Madeleine to the Place de la République and the Bastille. The boulevards are, indeed, an epitome of the French capital, and to see them is to see Paris.

At present we may confine ourselves to a bare enumeration of the principal monuments and objects to be seen during the ride, and it is assumed that the traveller is satisfied with merely keeping his eyes open, and noting the manifold phases of street life from his elevated coign of vantage till the Place de la République is reached. On arrival at this goal, more systematic sightseeing might be undertaken.

The crowds on the more fashionable boulevards, extending from the Madeleine to the Boulevard des Italiens, even to a casual observer, will be seen to differ considerably in character from those in Broadway, New York, or the Strand, London. Nine out of ten of the pedestrians appear to be strolling for strolling's sake, while in the above-mentioned thoroughfares almost every passer-by seems bound on some serious

errand. This is perhaps the most distinctive note of the Paris boulevards. In short, they are promenades more than highways, and are to the Parisian what Bond Street or the Bow are to the Londoner. But we are speaking, of course, of *the* boulevards, for in the vernacular of the Parisian *flâneur* the only boulevards are the Boulevards des Capucines and des Italiens. Each boulevard, however, has a strong individuality of its own, and for variety of phases and aspects our morning rides might be compared to a London 'bus journey from Hyde Park Corner to the Mansion House. In fact, the parallel is more exact than might be supposed, for certainly the Place de la Bastille is the nearest approach to the unique centre of traffic opposite the Mansion House, that Paris can show.

However, the boulevards of Paris and their characteristic features and aspects are more fully described in another chapter.

Starting, then, along the broad but short Boulevard de la Madeleine, we soon reach the magnificent Boulevard des Capucines, and pass the Grand Hotel (after the London Cecil the largest in Europe) on the left. Here we cross the nobly planned Place de l'Opéra, which may dispute with the Place de l'Etoile the title of the finest site in Europe. Here we can realise the grand scheme of Baron Hausemann, who seems to have remodelled Paris on a scale for a city with as large a population as London, while London, on the other hand, seems to have been planned for a city with the relatively small population of Paris.

Notice the surging crowds of promenaders of all nationalities at the Café de la Paix. According to



Rudyard Kipling, there are two places on the earth's surface where, if only we wait long enough, a missing friend is pretty sure to be found, viz., Charing Cross Station and Port Said. We might certainly add a third, — the Café de la Paix, Paris.

Passing the Place de l'Opéra, we have a good view of the finest opera house in the world on the left, while to our right is the noble Avenue de l'Opéra, the latest and the most striking example of modern street architecture in Paris. It was finished as recently as 1878, and is more than one hundred feet broad. Looking to the right, we get a fleeting glimpse of the Vendôme Column at the end of the Rue de la Paix.

The next great boulevard, Des Italiens, called after the Théâtre des Italiens, which formerly occupied the site of the Opéra Comique, is the gayest of all, though the houses have not quite the spick and span appearance which is so striking a feature of the trim and uniform mansions of the Boulevard des Capucines. On the left are the Vaudeville and Nouveautés Théâtres, while a little farther on the right is the Opéra Comique, the scene of the terrible fire in 1887. Right and left are magnificent cafés and restaurants, including the Café Riche, though its great rival and neighbour, the historic Maison Dorée, no longer exists.

Now the boulevards make a sweep and we reach the Boulevard Montmartre, and on the right is the Théâtre des Variétés, while on the opposite side is the Musée Grévin, the Paris Madame Tussaud's. Just here the boulevards seem almost as animated as those farther west.

The Boulevards Poissonnière and Bonne-Nouvelle come



next, and now the more ornamental shops begin to be replaced by those of less interest from a spectator's point of view, and the boulevard has a more business aspect. Paris of the *flâneur* is now left behind. There is little of interest to be seen during the rest of the journey till we reach the picturesque triumphal arch known as the Porte St. Denis. This arch was built in 1672, at the expense of Paris, to commemorate the remarkable campaign of Louis XIV. of that year, in which some forty fortresses were taken in a space of two months. A few hundred yards farther, and there is another triumphal arch, Porte St. Martin. This gate is of the same period as the Porte St. Denis, but must yield to it in boldness of design and richness of sculpture. Both were restored in 1887, for the bullets of the Commune had done considerable damage to the bas-reliefs.

Both these arches face north and south, fronting the Faubourg St. Denis and Faubourg St. Martin respectively, for of course they have no connection with the modern line of boulevards.

The southern portion of the Faubourg St. Denis, known as the Rue St. Denis, is one of the oldest main thoroughfares of Paris, and is still one of the most characteristic.

Exactly half-way between the Portes St. Denis and St. Martin the magnificent Boulevard de Sébastopol (its southern continuation is called Boulevard de Strasbourg) is crossed. This handsome street, which runs in a perfectly straight line from the Gare de l'Est to the Rue de Rivoli, is one of Baron Haussmann's greatest achievements in street architecture. The street, which was constructed in 1855, is as wide as the Avenue de l'Opéra,

and is in one respect even more pleasing to the spectator than that famous highway, as it is bordered with trees. The Avenue de l'Opéra was not embellished in this way, as it was thought that the trees would obstruct the view of the Opéra façade.

The boulevard has been cut through the nest of rookeries which in mediæval times served as the beggars' Alsatia, including the Cour des Miracles described in "Notre Dame de Paris."

The view from the 'bus-top at the point of intersection of this great boulevard with the Boulevard St. Denis is very striking, and offers one of the most interesting street views in Paris.

At the Porte St. Martin we reach a great theatre quarter, and the northern side of the Boulevard St. Martin is lined with no less than four theatres, Porte St. Martin, Renaissance, Ambigu, and Folies Dramatiques.

At the end of the Boulevard St. Martin is the fine Place de la République (called, till 1879, Place du Château d'Eau), one of the largest squares of Paris. In the centre is the colossal bronze statue, "La République Française," a really fine work of art, and superior to the other well-known statue near the Institute. The height of the monument (erected in 1883), from the stone pedestal to the top of the olive branch which the female figure (symbolising the Republic) holds in her right hand, is over eighty feet. Bronze bas-reliefs decorate the pedestal, while in front is a lion guarding an urn which is meant to typify universal suffrage.

From the Place de la République a wide boulevard, called Boulevard Voltaire, leads straight as an arrow to the Place de la Nation (formerly Place du Trône), which

in a few years' time will be one of the busiest places in Paris, as many as a dozen streets radiating from it. At present, however, the place has rather a suburban appearance for Paris, and this vast open space, evidently intended for an enormous amount of traffic, seems a little in advance of the expansion of Paris. It is designed to form the eastern goal of the magnificent series of grand boulevards which commence, at the Place de l'Etoile, some four and a half miles distant.

Our object, though, in visiting this place is to inspect the most recent of the magnificent groups (by Dalou) of statuary representing the République of France, which has only just (1899) been placed here. The monument is a particularly fine piece of sculpture, and is certainly worthy of the subject, "The Triumph of the Republic."

This monument has had an interesting history. In the year 1878, just at the close of the Universal Exhibition, the first under the Third Republic of France, the city of Paris decided to erect a monument in one of the Parisian squares, to strengthen the republican principles that, in order to ensure the success of the exhibition, seemed to have been professed even by those who, like President MacMahon, were considered to be somewhat imperialistic in their sympathies, and had accepted the actual form of government only while waiting for better times.

A competition was then opened, and the successful competitor was the celebrated sculptor, Dalou, then an exile in London, where he was expiating the crime of having foolishly accepted under the Commune the place of Director of the Louvre Museum.

The monument consists of an allegorical bronze group. In the centre stands a vigorously modelled figure

of a matron wearing the cap of liberty, who represents the triumphant republic. At her feet are two large lions and other symbolical figures. It is an excellent specimen of the sculptor's naturalistic style. Dalou, who, it is said, had devoted nearly twenty years to the modelling and carving of this colossal monument, is believed to regard it as his greatest work.

Continuing our tour of the grand boulevards toward our goal, the Place de la Bastille, we go down the handsome Boulevard du Temple, historically of little interest, though it abuts on the Temple Quartier, which still offers in its curious old streets and alleys, especially those around the Rue Brise Marche (not marked in many maps), attractions to those with artistic or antiquarian tastes. However, if space permits, I hope to be able to describe these bits of old Paris in a separate chapter.

Notice the house now numbered 42 Boulevard du Temple, almost exactly opposite the Brasserie which occupies the site of the historic Café Turc, for from one of the windows of the third floor of this house Fieschi discharged his infernal machine in his diabolic attempt on the life of Louis Philippe on 28th July, 1835. It was on this day that the Citizen King made a royal progress through Paris. The boulevards were lined with forty thousand regular troops, and as many National Guards. These precautions were thought necessary, as it was generally expected among the entourage of Louis Philippe that some attempt on the life of the king would be made. Curiously enough, it was the Boulevard du Temple that had been pointed out by rumour as the probable locale for the contemplated attack on the sov-

ereign, and the police had orders to watch all the windows carefully. Opposite Number 42, just as the king was leaning forward from his horse to receive a petition, the crowds heard a loud sound like a volley of musketry. In an instant the group of mounted officers who surrounded the king were thrown to the ground, which was strewn with dead and dying. Marshal Mortier fell wounded mortally in the head. "A young captain of artillery, M. de Villaté, slid from his horse, his arms extended at full length, as though they had been nailed to a cross; he had been shot in the head, and expired ere he touched the ground." There were several other victims, but the king was unwounded, and, so far, the odious attempt failed in its object. Louis Philippe behaved with remarkable courage and coolness. In fact, it is even related (on the authority of Marshal Maison) that immediately after the explosion, while all around were overwhelmed with dismay and consternation, the king was rapidly turning over in his mind all the possible advantages which might accrue from the fatal occurrence, and exclaimed, "Ah, now we are sure to get the appanages!"

Immediately after the explosion Fieschi attempted to escape in the confusion by a rope which he had let down from the window, but was instantly arrested. The infernal machine which had done such fearful execution was merely a primitive kind of mitrailleuse. Twenty-five musket-barrels were fastened at the breech to a stout piece of oak planking, while the ends of the barrels were placed on another piece of wood notched to receive them. The clumsy machine, joined by oak cross-pieces, stood on four legs, and was trained so that the projectiles would strike slantingly.

An exact copy of this infernal machine, if not the actual one, is to be seen at Madame Tussaud's, in London. Fieschi and his accomplices were tried and duly guillotined, and were the first regicides or would-be regicides in France who escaped torture. The remarkable nerve and courage shown by Louis Philippe in the face of this real danger was certainly lacking some thirteen years later, when the king tamely resigned his throne without making the faintest effort to retain it.

## CHAPTER XV.

### MONUMENTAL PARIS.

*(Continued.)*

FROM the Place de la République the boulevards run almost due south, and, after passing the crowded Boulevards du Temple and des Filles du Calvaire, we reach the Boulevard Beaumarchais, which leads into the Place de la Bastille. This street was the scene of many of the revolutionary outbreaks during the disturbed times of 1848.

Very marked has been our descent in the social scale, as evidenced by the physiognomy of the various boulevards traversed in our journey eastward, and we have now arrived at, in the Boulevard Beaumarchais, the lowest residential scale of the grand boulevards. Indeed, what the Faubourg St. Antoine used to be among the well-known streets of Paris, so is the Boulevard Beaumarchais among the great boulevards; in fact, till Louis Philippe thought it well to honour the author of the "Barber of Seville," who lived for some time here, by naming the street after him, this boulevard was called the Boulevard St. Antoine.

Socially or residentially, the great boulevards may be divided into three zones. There are the upper boulevards, those of the Madeleine, the Capucines, and the Italiens, which represent fashionable Paris; the boulevards from Boulevard Montmartre and the Porte St. Martin, the Paris



AVENUE DES CHAMPS ÉLYSÉES.





of commerce ; while the Boulevards du Temple, des Filles du Calvaire, and Beaumarchais comprise the Paris of *la petite industrie*, the artisans, and what are sometimes loosely termed the working classes.

The difference in character between the upper and lower boulevards was strikingly shown under the Second Empire, in the regulations for the National Guards. Neither the eastern boulevards nor those of the western district were allowed to furnish the usual contingents. The artisans and workmen were thought too turbulent to be entrusted with arms, while the rich tradespeople were of little use as citizen soldiers, as in time of popular disturbances they allowed, from timidity, their arms to be taken from them.

The Place de la Bastille is the goal of our boulevard excursion. This historic square, the terminus of innumerable omnibuses and tram services, is, partly on that account, the Mecca of all Paris sightseers.

The celebrated prison-fortress of the Bastille<sup>1</sup> occupied the southern side of this great square, in fact its moat was utilised in the construction of the Arsenal dock. This fort was built by Charles le Sage, toward the end of the fourteenth century, and was built to protect or overawe the east of Paris, as the ancient castle of the Louvre was constructed to guard the west. There is, probably, no historic building in Paris so well-known to foreigners by illustrations and descriptions as the Bastille, and the famous eight towers — its most characteristic architectural features — are familiar to every one.

<sup>1</sup> American visitors need not, perhaps, be reminded that the key of this famous prison is preserved among other historical relics in the Washington Museum, Mount Vernon, near Washington, D. C.

But it was less as a fortress than as a state prison that this stronghold was known and execrated by Parisians; and the Bastile, during the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. in particular, was the favourite place of confinement for all those who had rendered themselves obnoxious in any way to the sovereign, who were consigned to this living tomb by the simple process of a *lettre de cachet*. It cannot be said, however, that the Bastile has played so important a part in the history of France as its counterpart, the Tower of London, has in English history, which fortunately remains as a museum of mediæval antiquities of the greatest historical value.

The capture of the Bastile was one of the most dramatic and picturesque episodes in the whole history of the French Revolution, but, considering this event from a purely historical standpoint, there can be no doubt that it has earned a factitious importance owing to its popular but erroneous adoption as a great historical landmark, from which the commencement of the French Revolution is dated, and it was the centenary of this Revolutionary episode that the last Paris exhibition was supposed to commemorate. The destruction of the Bastile was little more than an isolated and premature manifestation on the part of the Parisians of their hatred of royal tyranny, of which the Bastile was regarded as the most conspicuous embodiment, and the political significance of its capture has been much overrated. It would be more historically accurate to date the Revolution either from the popular manifestation headed by Camille Desmoulins, in the Palais Royal (see below), two days before the taking of the Bastile, or from Sep-

tember 21, 1792, when monarchy was formally abolished and the République proclaimed by the National Assembly.

At Number 232, in the Rue St. Antoine, at the corner of a new street called Jacques Cœur, is a marble slab commemorating the taking of the Bastille. The house itself is built on the site of the outlying buildings which the mob destroyed before taking by assault the actual fortress itself.

The Place de la Bastille, as we see it, was formed by Napoleon I., in the early days of the First Empire, and he intended that its principal adornment should be a triumphal arch to the glory of the Grande Armée. But on the suggestion of the Academy, the arch was placed instead at the top of the Champs Élysées, certainly a far more appropriate site.

The magnificent column, known as the Colonne de Juillet, is the most graceful and artistic monument of its kind in Paris. It was built by Louis Philippe, in honour of the patriots of the famous Three Days' Revolution of July, 1830, as the following inscription records: "A la gloire des Citoyens Français, qui s'armèrent et combattirent pour la défense des libertés publiques dans les mémorables journées des 27, 28, 29 Juillet 1830."

The foundation-stone was laid by King Louis Philippe himself. In this ceremony the irony of fate is strikingly shown, for it was within a few yards of this spot that the riots of 1848 broke out, which cost the Citizen King his throne, and the remains of the insurgents who fell then were actually buried in the vaults at the foot of this monument.

The column, which is over 150 feet high, is made entirely of bronze (not merely a bronze casing like the

Vendôme Column). On the pedestal is a colossal bronze lion (astronomical symbol for July) in bold relief, by Barye, — perhaps the best animal sculptor of his time. On the column are the names of 615 patriots who fell during the Three Days of 1830. Surmounting the Corinthian capital is a gilt globe, and lightly poised on it is a colossal figure, gilt also, representing the “Genius of Liberty.” In its right hand is a torch, in its left a broken chain; it stands on one foot, with wings expanded, as if in the act of taking flight.

At the Place de la Bastille the long procession of Grands Boulevards ends, and the Faubourg St. Antoine begins. It was here that the insurgents from the workmen’s quarters raised an enormous barricade during the 1848 revolution. It was on this barricade that the devoted Monseigneur Denis Affre, Archbishop of Paris, met his death in attempting to persuade the insurgents to desist from their fratricidal struggle. He had obtained permission from General Cavaignac to parley with the revolutionists, but was almost immediately shot down, not, however, intentionally, by a stray bullet from the troops, his last words being, “*Puisse mon sang être le dernier versé!*”

In the cluster of narrow streets (few marked in the maps) surrounding the old-world Place des Vosges, will be found some of the most interesting bits of old Paris. This quarter and the transpontine region afford the best haunts in Paris for those interested in antiquarian studies. They hardly, however, enter into the scheme of monumental Paris, but will be described elsewhere.

At the Place de la Bastille we will resume our exploration on foot, and for the rest of the excursion devote

ourselves to the architectural objects on or near the Rue St. Antoine and the Rue de Rivoli, which extend from the Bastille to the Place de la Concorde. The Rue de Rivoli, though by no means the most interesting, is one of the best known streets in Paris. It is named after the battle in 1797, by which Napoleon drove the Austrians from North Italy, and perhaps this victory, which, from its momentous results, is almost worthy to be classed among the "fifteen decisive battles" of France, was the one which "le Petit Caporal" most prized out of all his victories.

Napoleon I. built the Rue de Rivoli as far as the Louvre, and it was continued by Napoleon III. to join the Rue St. Antoine, and thus form a broad continuous highway from the Place de la Concorde to the Bastille.

The Rue St. Antoine offers little to attract the sight-seer, with the exception of the interesting mediæval palace known indifferently as the Hôtel de Béthune or Hôtel de Sully at Number 142. It is worth entering (gratuity to concierge) to see the rich Renaissance sculpture which adorns the court.

Just before reaching the Hôtel de Ville we might turn aside to the right to stroll along this picturesque old street, — one of the most interesting of all the old streets of Paris, — as far as the Church of St. Merri. It has preserved in a remarkable manner, in spite of its proximity to a great trunk highway, its physiognomy of two centuries ago. This narrow street was, previous to 1671, even narrower than now. It was enlarged in that year, as it was the route usually chosen by Louis XV. in his journeys between the Louvre and his castle

The Hôtel de Ville, now the administrative centre of Paris, was once the heart of La Ville, the Paris of the merchants, just as the Ile de la Cité was in mediæval times the royal, ecclesiastical, and legal centre.

“In the matter of police administration and of civic government generally,” writes Mr. Sutherland Edwards, “the Hôtel de Ville is to the whole of Paris what the Mansion House and the Guildhall are to that part of London known specially as the City. The Hôtel de Ville has charge, moreover, of all the Paris hospitals and benevolent institutions.”

The new Hôtel de Ville (which was nine years in building) was completed in 1882, at a cost of not much less than £2,000,000. The architect followed in the main the plan of the old Hôtel de Ville, which was destroyed by the Commune in 1871. This building, which had been enlarged in 1841 to four times the dimension of the original sixteenth century Hôtel de Ville, had retained the original Renaissance style, and the present building also retains these leading architectural features. The new structure is certainly, next to the Opéra, the finest modern public building in Paris. Its style is best described as Decorated French Renaissance. The magnificent façade is flanked by domed pavilions like those of the Louvre, and a lofty tower crowns the structure.

A striking feature of the exterior is that of the portrait statues, nearly two hundred in number, of famous Frenchmen, which are studded over the façade in niches. In this Valhalla in stone are commemorated the greatest French names in literature, music, the stage, and the fine arts generally. Among these celebrities are Bé-

ranger, Boileau, Halévy, Alfred de Musset, Molière, Charles Perrault, George Sand, Scribe, David, Delacroix, Corot, Firmin Didot (the famous printer), Jean Goujon, Pierre Lescot, Germain Pilon, Henri Regnault, Horace Vernet, Michelet, Saint-Simon, and Talma. One of the most noticeable features of the façade is the clock and its ornamentation. The design has been closely copied from that of the original. The two winged figures supporting the upper part of the dial are by M. Charles Garnier, architect of the Opéra House. The seated figure immediately below, representing the Hôtel de Ville, is by M. Gautherin, and the two recumbent figures on either side of the clock are by M. Aimé Millet.

The interior is well worth visiting, if only on account of the excellent works of modern French sculptors with which the grand staircase and Salles de Reception are decorated. The building is of enormous extent, and in this respect it may be compared to the Vatican, there being as many rooms as there are days in the year, but only the Salles des Fêtes, as the reception-rooms are officially termed, are shown to visitors, the greater portion of the building consisting of municipal offices. Do not forget to examine the famous group of Mercié, "Gloria Victis," in the courtyard. The best sculpture is to be seen in the Salle à Manger, where are six statues representing subjects more or less appropriate to a banqueting-hall. The best are Hunting, by Barrias, and The Toast, by Idrac. On the Escalier d'Honneur are some fine groups of statuary by E. Barrias, Mercié, and Frémiet.

The Hôtel de Ville is historically one of the most interesting buildings in Paris, and played a very impor-



tant part in the story of the city. Its history can be traced back to mediæval times, for the Hôtel de Ville begun by Francis I. and completed by Henry IV. occupied the site of a "Hôtel de Ville" built in the fourteenth century by Etienne Marcel, who may be considered the founder of the Paris municipality. A magnificent bronze statue of this public-spirited citizen, the first Mayor of Paris, has been erected near the southern façade of the Hôtel de Ville. There is a certain significance in the position of this palace of the burgesses and merchants of Paris, as it faces the palace of the kings (now the Palais de Justice), with whom the representatives of the city were so frequently in conflict.

Among the important historic episodes connected with the old Hôtel de Ville are the marriages of Louis XIV. to Maria Theresa in 1660, of the daughter of Louis XV. to the Duke of Parma in 1759, and the Dauphin to Marie Antoinette in 1765.

At the outset of the Revolution the Hôtel de Ville became the great centre of political activity. In fact, it has been termed the Palace of Revolution, and certainly during the last hundred years it has well deserved its name. After the capture of the Bastille the victorious mob took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, and paved the way for the establishment of the Commune of Paris, which played so terrible a part in the Revolution, especially during the Reign of Terror. It was here that the fallen Robespierre and his small band of adherents took refuge on the 9th Thermidor, and here at the entrance to the Cabinet Vert, when the hastily summoned national guards entered the buildings, he was found bleeding and with his jaw dislocated after a half-

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hearted attempt at blowing out his brains, whence he was taken with a score of his partisans to the guillotine ; and thus the Reign of Terror ended in blood as it had begun.

Under the Consulate and the First Empire the municipal privileges and powers were practically abolished, and the Hôtel de Ville was known only as the scene of great civic pageants or entertainments. On the occasion of the Emperor Napoleon's marriage to Maria Louisa of Austria a magnificent reception was given here by the city of Paris.

No attempt was made under the Restoration to restore the municipal privileges of the Parisians, who were as much repressed as under the First Empire.

In July, 1830, the arbitrary decrees of Charles X., restricting the franchise and gagging the press, brought about the "Glorious Three Days' Revolution," and during the conflict between the parties of the opposition and the court the possession of the Hôtel de Ville was the great object of both. Finally, after a very sanguinary and determined engagement between the royal troops and the insurgents, the Hôtel de Ville remained in the power of the latter, and the tricolour flag, which during the reign of Charles X. was regarded as an emblem of sedition, floated once more above the wall of the municipal palace, now converted into a fortress. The provisional government established there was virtually the power which, under the inspiration of Lafayette, offered the crown of France to Louis Philippe, though ostensibly this was done by the parliamentary commission of the two chambers. Protected by the famous charter, France fondly imagined that it had at last obtained a sovereign surrounded and limited by

republican institutions. "The sovereign remained, but the republican institutions disappeared," to quote Mr. Sutherland Edwards, "and Louis Philippe made no step toward reëstablishing the very institution — the Municipal Council — which had made him king."

In 1848 another revolution broke out. The agitation for electoral reform spread to the Faubourg St. Antoine, — a notoriously disaffected quarter, — which rose against the king, and, taking possession of the Hôtel de Ville, was instrumental in forming a provisional government, which, duly installed in the Palace of Revolution, proclaimed the République.

The exciting events of this momentous day and the genesis of the Second Republic are described in a remarkably graphic word picture by Victor Hugo in his recently published memoirs (see Bibliographical chapter). I cannot forbear quoting the picturesque description which shows at what lightning speed the programme of the new provisional government was drawn up. Victor Hugo describes the scene when the hastily elected government were in session at the Hôtel de Ville, with the excited mob surging around the building and thronging the outer halls and corridors.

"Under the dictation of terrible shouts outside, Lamartine traced this phrase :

" 'The provisional government declares that the provisional government of France is the republican government, and that the nation shall be immediately called upon to ratify the resolution of the provisional government and of the people of Paris.' "

"I had this paper, this sheet smeared and blotted with ink, in my hands. It was still stamped, still palpitating,

so to speak, with the fever of the moment. The words hurriedly scribbled were scarcely formed. *Appelée* was written *appellée*.

“When these half-dozen lines had been written, Lamartine handed the sheet to Ledru-Rollin.

“Ledru-Rollin read aloud the phrase : ‘The provisional government declares that the provisional government of France is the republican government — ’

“‘The word “provisional” occurs twice,’ he commented.

“‘That is so,’ said the others.

“‘One of them at least must be effaced,’ added Ledru-Rollin.

“Lamartine understood the significance of this grammatical observation, which was simply a political revolution.

“‘But we must await the sanction of France,’ he said.

“‘I can do without the sanction of France,’ cried Ledru-Rollin, ‘when I have the sanction of the people.’

“‘Of the people of Paris. But who knows at present what is the will of the people of France?’ observed Lamartine.

“There was an interval of silence. The noise of the multitude without sounded like the murmuring of the ocean. Ledru-Rollin went on :

“‘What the people want is the republic at once, the republic without waiting.’

“‘The republic without any delay?’ said Lamartine, covering an objection in this interpretation of Ledru-Rollin’s words.

“ ‘We are provisional,’ returned Ledru-Rollin, ‘but the republic is not!’

“ M. Cremieux took the pen from Lamartine’s hands, scratched out the word ‘provisional’ at the end of the third line, and wrote beside it ‘actual.’

“ ‘The *actual* government? Very well!’ said Ledru-Rollin, with a slight shrug of the shoulder.”

The following picturesque incident is one which a less minute observer would have failed to record. Some food with difficulty had been brought into the building for Lamartine, but there were no knives or forks procurable.

“ ‘Pshaw,’ said Lamartine, ‘one must take things as they come!’

“ He broke the bread, took a cutlet by the bone, and tore the meat with his teeth. When he had finished, he threw the bone into the fireplace. In this way he disposed of three cutlets, and drank two glasses of wine.

“ ‘You will agree with me that this is a primitive repast,’ he said; ‘but it is an improvement on our supper last night. We had only bread and cheese among us, and we all drank water from the same chipped sugar-bowl — which didn’t, it appears, prevent a newspaper this morning from denouncing the great orgy of the provisional government!’ ”

It was from one of the balconies of the Hôtel de Ville that Lamartine, the ruling spirit of the provisional government, made his historic speeches to the mob. While he was haranguing the turbulent crowds from St. Antoine, who were attempting to make their way into the council-chamber, one of the mob, probably fearing that the new republic would not be of the “red”

hue desired by the extreme revolutionists, called Lamartine a traitor, and demanded his head.

“ My head ! ” replied Lamartine. “ Would to heavens that every one of you had it on his shoulders ! You would then be more reasonable, and the revolution would be accomplished with less difficulty. ” This sally effectively stilled the passions of the mob.

What might be called “ The Battle for the Standard ” broke out, however, the next day, and once more the Mirabeau of the Second Republic kept the revolutionary mob in check by a few eloquent phrases. The question was whether the new republic should resume the historic tricolour, or adopt the red flag of the Reign of Terror. Lamartine in a few pregnant phrases sketched the evolution of both, and the crowd, “ carried away by the warmth of his oratory, decided with acclamation that the flag of the new republic must be the flag of the early days of the great Revolution, the flag under which the great battles of the Consulate and the Empire had been gained.

“ It will be remembered that when, in 1789, a leaf torn from a tree of the Palais Royal by Camille Desmoulins was made a sign of recognition, green was on the point of being adopted for the new national flag. It was rejected, however, when some one pointed out that green was the colour of the Artois family ; and therefore blue and red, the colours of the town of Paris, were assumed, to which, out of compliment to the monarchy, favourable in the first instance to the claims of the people, white, the colour of the French kings, was added. Thus the tricolour flag became the flag of the Revolution, as, during successive changes

of government, it was equally the flag of the Consulate and the Empire. At the Restoration the monarchy committed the great fault of reintroducing the white flag of the ancient régime, which Louis Philippe had the good sense to replace by the republican and imperial tricolour.”<sup>1</sup>

During the short time (four years) that the Second Republic lasted, the municipal institutions showed signs of vitality, but the rise of Louis Napoleon and the *coup d'état* of December 3, 1851, was as fatal to the development of municipal and local as it was to national independence. Throughout the Second Empire, the Paris municipal council was little more than a deliberative assembly, with scarcely any administrative functions, whose duties were practically limited to registering and auditing the accounts of the Prefect of the Seine. But the council was encouraged to exercise its ornamental functions, and to represent the city in the capacity of host to distinguished visitors. In the exercise of these functions the Hôtel de Ville entertained with balls and receptions several European sovereigns, among them being Queen Victoria, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sultan.

The ball which was to be given in honour of this latter potentate had, however, to be suddenly abandoned, owing to the news of the execution of Napoleon's protégé, the Emperor Maximilian, in Mexico. Yet, with a curious lack of humour, the authorities thought it necessary to give the Sultan some idea of the splendours which he had unfortunately missed. Accordingly, the deserted salons and ballrooms were brilliantly lighted up,

<sup>1</sup> H. Sutherland Edwards.

and the Commander of the Faithful was gravely escorted through the deserted halls by a high functionary, explaining as they passed from one salon to another, "Here your Majesty would have seen the high officers of state in their uniforms and decorations; here most of the dancing would have taken place, and you would have been enraptured by the sight of beautiful women most exquisitely dressed; here would have been the orchestra, the best in Paris," and so forth. This strange sight perhaps recalled to the Sultan the story in the "Arabian Nights," where an honoured guest was offered a magnificent banquet without viands.

At the fall of the Empire and the flight of the emperor from Paris, the hastily appointed government of national defence had its headquarters at the Hôtel de Ville, and throughout the siege the various bodies who usurped in turn the government of the city installed themselves here, and, as we have seen, the extreme revolutionists, known as the Commune, made their last desperate stand here against the government troops. When order was restored, the government hesitated to allow any real power to the municipal council, which still remains little more than a consultative commission attached to the Prefect of the Seine. The grievances of the Paris municipality and the anomalous nature of their constitution will, however, be more fully described later in the "Municipal Paris" chapter.

Sinister are the associations connected with the large square facing the Hôtel de Ville, now known as the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, which was formerly, under the name of Place de Grève, the recognised execution ground of Paris. After the 1830 revolution, when the



Hôtel de Ville became a place of great political importance, the place was thought unworthy to serve as a slaughter-ground for criminals, and the guillotine was transferred to the Place de la Roquette. It was here that Ravallac, the assassin of Henry IV., was tortured and torn to pieces, and here, in the next century, the same horrible punishment was inflicted upon the would-be regicide Damiens, who had attacked Louis XV. with a penknife and slightly scratched his sacred person. "*La journée sera rude*" tranquilly observed Damiens, when he learned that he was to be torn to pieces by four horses, "and 'rough' indeed have been the days passed by the unhappy wretches brought to punishment on the Place de Grève."

Readers of "Notre Dame" will remember that it was here that Victor Hugo's fascinating heroine, Esmeralda, was put to death, while from the tower of the cathedral, her lover, Claude Frollo, who, maddened by jealousy, had delivered her up to the authorities, was gloating over her sufferings, when Quasimodo seized him in his powerful arms and hurled him down headlong to the flags, at the foot of the cathedral.

Among other famous criminals who have suffered on the Place de Grève are the Marquise de Brinvilliers, the notorious poisoner, who was burned alive here in 1676, and Cartouche, the highwayman, who was broken on the wheel in 1721. Political offenders were also occasionally put to death here. One of the most illustrious was Lally Tollendal, who was executed in 1793 with a gag on his mouth. Many of the victims of the Revolution suffered here, as the guillotine was removed to the Place de la Concorde.

Nothing but the site now remains of the old Place de Grève since the destruction of the quaint old houses, which formed its north and northwest sides. They were pulled down to be replaced by subsidiary offices to those of the Hôtel de Ville, as this building, in spite of its great size, was not large enough for the huge staff of clerks attached to the Prefecture of the Seine and the municipal council.

A comparatively new street, the Avenue Victoria (named in honour of the Queen of England's visit to Paris in 1855), leads to the Place du Châtelet. This place is named after an ancient castle of Gallo-Roman origin, which served to defend the entrance to the city (that is, of course, what is now the Ile de la Cité). Here are situated the two theatres, the Châtelet (famous for its spectacular plays) and the Opéra Comique. The establishment of the old Opéra Comique, which was burnt down in 1887, was transferred here till the new theatre should be completed. The new Opéra Comique, on the site of the destroyed theatre, Place Boieldieu, will probably be opened to the public in 1900.

The Fontaine de la Victoire in the middle of the square is an imposing monument designed by Bosio. It commemorates the early victories of Napoleon I. The four huge statues at the base are intended to symbolise Fidelity, Vigilance, Justice, and Power. A gilded figure of Victory crowns the summit of the monument. "The monument," says Baedeker, "originally stood farther from the Seine, but was removed *entire* on the construction of the Boulevard de Sébastopol in 1855, and reërected here on a pedestal adorned with four sphinxes."

Immediately opposite the Opéra Comique is the lofty Tour St. Jacques.

This tower is one of the most beautiful and best preserved early Renaissance monuments in Paris, and is also one of the purest relics of Gothic architecture extant. It is all that remains of the ancient Church of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, which was destroyed in 1789.

The history of this church is full of interest. "The earliest record we have of any building on this site was in 1119, when the name of the Church of St. Jacques appears in a bull of the then Pope, Calixtus II. Soon after we find that a qualifying affix is added, and for many centuries to come the church is known as St. Jacques de la Boucherie. This was to distinguish it from another St. Jacques, the distinction being appropriated from some neighbouring shambles. In 1418 one Nicolas Flamel died, and was buried in the church. He wrote his own epitaph, which is now preserved in the Musée de Cluny. He was a noble-hearted man, risen from humble life, who amassed a fortune, which he lived to see spent on suffering humanity; for he founded and endowed fourteen hospitals, besides building churches and making cemeteries. This man's name will ever be associated with St. Jacques. At this time there was no tower, but in 1507 a Master of Arts, named Jacques Thoyne, offered two houses or their value if some arrangement could be made for the erection of a tower. Louis XII. — *Le Père du Peuple* — and his counsellors accepted the offer, and the present tower, but in all ways plainer, was built. It contained a peal of bells, described at the time by a contemporary authority as '*harmonieuse*

*et son carillon fort musical.* On the summit was a carved statue, almost colossal, of 'Jacques le Majeur,' the fisher apostle of Genneareth. And so all remained until one unhappy day in 1793, when the church — which had been in 1790 suppressed and become so-called public property — was entered by rioters, the tower ascended, and the innocent figure of St. James hurled to the pavement beneath. Soon after this, in order to raise money, the municipality sold the property to a speculator, who in his turn resold it to a person named Dubois. In an old guide to Paris, dated 1834, written in amusing English by a French editor, the present writer found these remarks: 'The tower of St. Jacques Boucherie is now converted into a foundery of hunting-lead.' The enterprising Dubois had, it seems, turned these lovely ecclesiastical remains into a shot tower!"<sup>1</sup>

In 1836 the Paris municipality bought the tower for preservation as a national monument for £10,000, but being surrounded by crowded streets of mean houses, it did not show to advantage. When Napoleon III. extended the Rue de Rivoli, the houses were pulled down, the ground levelled, and the present pretty garden planted. It was even proposed to pull down this beautiful monument. Fortunately, wiser counsels prevailed, and the tower was spared. Victor Hugo, on hearing of the project, is said to have exclaimed, "Demolish the tower? No! Demolish the architect? Yes!"

In 1853 it was completely restored at a cost of no less than a million francs. This work was fortunately entrusted to the first architects and sculptors of the day.

<sup>1</sup> Sieverts-Drewett.

“Lovingly they set to work, seeking out old models of capitals, bases, finials, and crosses, crockets, corbels, bosses, and mouldings, all in keeping with the flamboyant manner of the sixteenth century, the decorated style of France.” Perhaps no Renaissance building in Paris has been so skilfully and artistically restored as the Tour St. Jacques, and it deserves the closest study.

The tower, which was formerly surmounted by a spire thirty feet high, is square, with a turret at the north-western angle, graceful pointed windows, elaborate tracery, niches with statues of saints, and a perforated balustrade at the summit, adorned with the statue of St. James and the four animals symbolically associated with the evangelists. To bring the foot of this tower to a level with the Rue de Rivoli, the soil had to be lowered three metres, which brought to light several curious relics, besides bones, the ground having formerly been a churchyard. Under the arch of the ground floor stands the statue of Pascal, who here performed his experiments to ascertain the weight of the atmosphere.

The tower is 187 feet high, and from the top one of the most interesting views of the city is to be obtained. The effect of the tortuous old streets, “twisting about among the houses like cracks in a dried soil,” is very striking. A seventeenth century historian, describing the appearance of the streets from the top of this tower, employs a striking simile: “One sees as one looks over the town the distribution and course of the streets like the veins of the human body.”

Continuing along the Rue de Rivoli, we soon reach the beautiful statue raised in 1889 to the memory of the noble leader of the Huguenots, Admiral de Coligny,

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GENERAL VIEW OF THE SEINE, 1900.



the first and the most illustrious victim of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572. The site chosen for this monument could not be more appropriate. It is immediately in front of the Protestant church known as the Oratoire, and is nearly opposite the historic Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, whence, according to popular tradition, the great bell gave the signal for the massacre. Then the statue is within a short distance of the site of Coligny's house, where he suffered martyrdom. The statue is a powerful and impressive work of art, and is a notable addition to the numerous national monuments commemorating famous Frenchmen, with which Paris is so lavishly supplied. The sculptor (Crauk) has represented the Huguenot leader standing between Religion and his Country.

“Coligny is attired in the picturesque doublet and hose of the period; his attitude — thoughtful and dignified. The emblematical surroundings consist of the martyr's palm-branches, surmounted by the armorial bearings of his noble family. Beneath is an open Bible, on one page the words from Psalm cxii., 6th verse, ‘*La mémoire de l'homme juste subsiste à perpétuité* ;’ and on the other page, from Hebrews xi., 27th verse ‘*Il tint ferme comme s'il eut vu celui qui est invisible* ;’ while on the base of the pedestal is an extract from the admiral's last will and testament, in which his noble character is exemplified in a few touching words of generosity toward his enemies. The statue has been erected by national subscription, and is most happily conceived.

“Probably no act of a national character has been of late years so characteristic of French tolerance toward Protestantism as this. To-day — just two hundred years



since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes — an open Bible lies on the tables of any house, where desired, and Protestants meet and hold their meetings with a freedom from molestation as complete as in Great Britain. And yet here is a strange fact. Notwithstanding the greater liberty enjoyed by Protestants, and the part payment by the state of the salaries of the pastors of the Reformed Church, its adherents have never been so few. Out of a population of some thirty-eight millions, the Protestants number less than one million; and, by comparison with the times of Henry IV., Coligny, and Condé, is a reduction of some thirteen per cent.”<sup>1</sup>

To what extent Protestantism may be regarded as a religious, intellectual, and social force in France may be gathered from the fact that at the present day some eight hundred French towns possess Protestant churches, exclusive of English places of worship. Most of these belong to the Reformed Church (Calvinistic), with some nine hundred pastors, while the Lutheran Church counts between ninety and one hundred ministers. These churches are, no doubt, somewhat narrow in their teaching, but apart from this the Reformed Church in France illustrates in practice and doctrine the wise saying of Goethe uttered shortly before his death: “We scarcely know what we owe to Luther and the Reformation. We are freed from the fetters of spiritual narrow-mindedness; we have, in consequence of our increasing culture, become capable of turning back to the fountainhead, and of comprehending Christianity in its purity.”

The murder of the aged admiral was peculiarly brutal in character, and so eager was the Duke of Guise for its

<sup>1</sup> Sieverts-Drewett.

consummation that he did not even wait for the signal which was to set loose the hired bands of assassins upon the Protestants. The duke waited in the courtyard of Coligny's house while the actual murder was being perpetrated by his agents, Petrucci, Siennois, and Besme. Rushing up the staircase, shouting, "*Mort! Mort!*" they broke into the room of the admiral, who was engaged in prayer. Besme advanced toward him. "Are you Coligny?" he asked, with his sword at the old man's throat. "I am," was the reply, "but do you not respect my old age?" For all answer Besme plunged his sword into the admiral's body, who fell mortally wounded. Besme, rushing to the window, called out to the Duke of Guise and his partisans, who were waiting in the courtyard, "*C'est fait!*" "Monsieur d'Angoulême will not believe it till he sees the corpse at his feet," replied the duke. Whereupon, the body was flung out into the courtyard at Guise's feet. "*C'est bien lui,*" observed the duke, grimly, and then, kicking the body with ferocious glee, he leaped into the saddle, exclaiming, "Courage, soldiers! we have begun well; let us now see to the others. By order of the king."

Scarcely had this awful crime been committed when the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois sounded the signal for the massacre, which soon became general. The massacre of the Huguenots was not confined to the capital, but was carried out in nearly all the large towns. In Lyons alone there were some four thousand victims. In fact, the victims of these religious massacres far outnumbered those of the Terror, some three centuries later, it being computed that throughout all France the number was between fifty and sixty thousand.

One is apt to assume that this massacre of French Calvinists lasted but a few days, and that it was a popular impulse, fostered to a great extent for this end by the Duke of Guise and the court, partly for political and private motives. But, as a matter of fact, the massacre continued in Paris, though with diminishing fury, for nearly a month. Some historians have attempted to whitewash the memory of Charles IX. by maintaining that the massacres were planned and carried out against the wishes of the king. It is, however, difficult to reconcile this view with the undeniable fact that, on the third day of the massacre, Charles IX. avowed before his Parliament that the slaughter of the Huguenots had taken place by his orders in order to anticipate and prevent a rising of the Calvinistic party organised by Admiral de Coligny.

The Parliament accepted this announcement with approval; and, despite the absence of all evidence against the admiral, it was declared that his body should be dragged through the streets on a hurdle, then exhibited in the Place de Grève, and ultimately hung by the heels on a gibbet at Montfauçon. His house was at the same time to be destroyed, and the members of his family reduced to the condition of plebeians, or *roturiers*, and declared unable to hold any public office; which, however, did not prevent Coligny's son from becoming, soon afterward, the wife of the Duke of Orange.

Our first day's exploration of Montfauçon in Paris ended with the Louvre. The next excursion was to the Ile de la Cité and the southern side of the river, representing legal, literary, scientific, and educational institutions.

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