

THE YEAR IN FRANCE

[Alvan S. Sanborn, in The Atlantic Monthly.]

(Continued from Page 1.)

It had beheld without waxing exceeding wroth a measure already sufficiently radical, intolerant, and oppressive, fade into insignificance before a measure still more radical, intolerant, and oppressive; the law of associations gradually transformed from the instrument of control it was designed to be by its sponsor, Waldeck-Rousseau, into a weapon of suppression; the withdrawal of the right to teach from the unauthorized congregations, from the authorized congregations, and from all the congregations successively; and the resort of the ministry in power to the paradoxical extreme of violating the law for the sake of enforcing a law.

It had listened almost listlessly to unabashed proclamations from the ministry that the political disqualification of Catholics and a monopoly of charity, as well as of education, were a part of its ideal, and to bumptious threats from some of the extremist members of the parliamentary majority that they would blot out churches altogether and set up an irreligion of the state.

It had submitted tamely to the closing of more than fourteen hundred congregational establishments, including those (for which it had well-founded gratitude or affection) of the Carthusians who were engaged in industries that contributed to its wealth, of the sisterhoods consecrated to charity, of the Benedictines devoted to the care of orphans, and of the Christian Brothers, whose technical schools had won the highest awards at the Exposition of 1900, and had been openly approved again and again by the Chamber and the Senate; submitted likewise to the diminution of French diplomatic prestige in the Orient; to the closing of mission chapels; to the proscription of preaching and teaching the catechism in the Breton tongue; to the breaking of pledged faith; and to the flagrant violation of all the fundamental liberties (except that of the press), and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which stipulates distinctly that no person shall be disturbed for his religious opinions.

All these things it had seen and heard and endured without being greatly disturbed, otherwise than locally, thereby; but it could not stomach delation.

The parties whose names were revealed as district agents of the Grand Orient's information bureau, and who were members of all the trades and professions, were so ostracized and boycotted, and even mobbed, that they were constrained to change their places of residence and business. Many were forced into duels, and a few committed suicide.

Capitaine Mollin, the go-between for General Andre, the Minister of War, and the Secretary of the Grand Orient, was forced to resign by General Andre, who hoped to make of him a scapegoat.

This hope being deceived, General Andre was forced to resign by the Premier, M. Combes, who hoped to make him a scapegoat; and this hope being deceived in its turn, M. Combes finding his position absolutely untenable, resigned, to forestall defeat, while he still had a slender majority.

M. Combes and General Andre paid the tribute vice frequently pays to virtue, by endeavoring to cover up their wrong-doings. They put forth formal, hesitating, half-hearted disclaimers, mildly denying delation. But inasmuch as they visited no adequate punishment on the offenders, and inasmuch as they accompanied their disclaimers, the former with an address to the prefects inculcating espionage under a slightly different form and organizing it into a highly complicated system, and the latter with a statement that many of the army officers were hostile to the Republic, that the army must be purified and republicanized at all hazards, and that no source of information should be neglected which could be utilized for its purification and republicanization, these disclaimers could not be taken very seriously. To repudiate the notes of delation in one breath, and to assert that they employed them only for the good of the state in another, was a proceeding little calculated to impress the unbiased with their innocence. General Andre portrayed to the Chamber with harrowing details the pathetic plight of the Protestant, Jewish and Freethinking officers under the previous ministries by reason of the social ostracism to which their Catholic fellow officers had subjected them, and announced his determination of giving the Catholic officers their turn at being made uncomfortable, as if a resort to social ostracism were a punishable offense, and as if

retaliation were a motive for a minister supposed to be a statesman to avow.

Unlike Combes and Andre, the officers of the Grand Orient of France did not beat about the bush. They did not deny the charges brought against them, nor even attempt to palliate them in any way. On the contrary, they proclaimed, with a frankness that would be effrontery if it were not fanaticism, tale-bearing in the interests of the Republic to be a very rare and special brand of virtue, thereby bringing themselves into a discredit with the nation at large from which they will not soon emerge.

M. Lafferre, the Grand Master of the Grand Orient, defended the notes of delation in the Chamber, and in a document sent to all the lodges of France by the Supreme Council on the third of November, the following passages occur:

"There is not one of our lodges, there is not one of our brothers, who is not familiar with the fierce campaign carried on during the past few days against our order by the entire monarchic, nationalist, and clerical reaction. They have been trying, by resorting to insult and clamor, to distort the acts of which we are justly proud, and thanks to which we have helped in some small measure to rescue the Republic from the underground manoeuvres of its eternal enemies."

"And now, we desire in the name of the whole Masonic body, to declare boldly that in furnishing to the Minister of War detailed information regarding the faithful servants of the Republic and regarding those who by their incessantly hostile attitude to the Republic have occasioned the most natural anxiety, the Grand Orient of France claims not only to have exercised a legitimate right, but to have accomplished the most important of duties."

"The Republic is our common property. We have purchased it dearly, and Masons, above all others, may claim the honor of having caused its triumph. Without Freemasonry the Republic would have disappeared long ago, free-thought would have been definitely stifled by the triumphant congregation, and Pius X. would reign as master over an enslaved France."

"Is it not ridiculous to see our enemies treat to-day as contemptible espionage the acts by which we put the administration of the commonwealth on its guard against the treasons of faithless functionaries, and signaled to them those who were the best fitted to serve them usefully?"

"Our activity is a necessary counterpoise to that of the Catholic clubs. . . . Is the sleeping partner of a great industrial concern a contemptible informer if he signals to the manager of the business in which he has invested his fortune the maladministration of some employees, and the intelligence, honesty, and worthiness of others? Verily, words have changed their meanings in the mouths of the Nationalists, and for them moral laws have lost their force."

"And who are these Nationalists and these clericals who are trying to make it appear a crime for the Grand Orient to have performed loyally its duty?"

"They are the very ones who from the foundation of the Republic have by incessant slander and deceit kept away all Republicans from all the administrations, and more especially from the army, and have replaced them by adversaries of the established order who are ready for all the coups d'etat and all the reactions."

"And it is these men, who ought to hang their heads for their impudent misdeeds, who assume a self-righteous tone to-day and charge with disloyalty one of the most loyal, most legitimate, and most republican acts which the Grand Orient of France has performed."

"And it was before the cries of outraged modesty of such people as these that so many Republicans in the Chamber (several Masons included) were for an instant disturbed and disconcerted; so much disturbed and disconcerted that no one of them was able to find at the opportune moment the fitting word, and no one of them was capable of seizing the occasion to glorify Masonry, which was being assailed by its eternal adversaries, and to proclaim in the presence of all that it had deserved well of the Republic."

"We call the attention of our lodges, and of all Masons of the present and of the future, to the votes of weakness, of fear, of cowardice cast by a certain number of Republicans who, at the very moment when it was necessary to present a united front to the unchained reaction, added their voices to those of our most irreconcilable enemies. They recall, alas, the weakness, the fear, and the cowardice of the most sombre days of Boulangerism and of Nationalism."

"In spite of them, the Republic has

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once more come off victor. Many, we hope, will speedily recover their self-possession. In the meantime, our lodges will keep an eye upon them."

L'Action and several other extremist journals, which take their cue from the Grand Orient, adopted a similar audacious attitude and indulged in similar utterances.

When the writer stated, a year ago, that M. Combes probably had a separation project "up his sleeve," he did not suspect that M. Combes, crafty as he was known to be, would be crafty enough to bring about a series of totally unnecessary controversies with Rome, which would culminate in the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and would make separation present itself as the only possible course; nor that he would be crafty enough to father a project of separation of church and state that would not separate the church from the state, but would bring the former, on the contrary, more completely under the latter's power. Nevertheless, this is what occurred. M. Combes did all these things.

He contrived to make it appear that Rome had deliberately violated the Concordat, although he knew perfectly well that what Rome had violated (if she had violated anything) was not the Concordat, but the Organic Articles, the force of which she had not only never recognized, but had always protested against as a gross breach of good faith on the part of Napoleon I., and he even succeeded in getting an overwhelming vote from the Chamber to the effect that this violation of the Concordat by the Vatican left France absolutely no choice.

Then, when he had wrought the legislators up to the proper pitch of vindictiveness, he broached a scheme which he called a separation scheme, but which was in reality a shrewd device for paying off old grudges, for facilitating the suppression of religious education, for making the practices of worship as difficult as possible, and for defying the Pope; a device, in a word, for establishing a concordatory regime without a Concordat. The measure by which he proclaimed his willingness to stand or fall was a bill of persecution and confiscation, not a measure of liberation, and was well characterized by M. Brunetiere as a measure "not of separation but of proscription." The liberty it claimed to confer was not liberty, but oppression, like all the liberty with which M. Combes ever had anything to do.

Among other things, it made the very existence of individual churches dependent on ministerial caprice, and stipulated that their accounts should be subjected to the Prefect, or his representative, whenever he might call for them. It forbade the holding of religious services in any place not built for the purpose and not authorized by the government, and abolished the right of churches to federate, except within the limits of a single department, a proceeding more distasteful and more dangerous to Protestants than to Catholics.

"The rich departments," said M. Desmoulins, apropos of the Combes measure, "will not be authorized to come to the aid of the poor departments, and the churches the most liberally endowed will not be able to turn over their surplus receipts to a central treasury in order to constitute a sinking fund. . . . M. Combes suppresses the solidarity of Christians. The Freemasons may organize and federate as they will, but the Catholics are denied this privilege."

M. Clement, commenting on the same measure, said: "M. Combes thinks, doubtless, that the liberty so parsimoniously accorded to the monastic associations which were recognized by the law of 1901 would be too great for the churches. He imposes on these last, therefore, extra regulations, and, most curious of all, denies them the right to federate except within the limits of a single department. The consequence of this restriction of the right of association will be to deprive the poor departments of every kind of assistance from adjacent departments in the maintenance of Catholic worship. Another consequence will be the suppression of the archbishops. As to the Protestant and Israelitish churches, this restriction means death, nothing more nor less. Having no more a common organization, being no longer able to unite their resources and put them under the control of a central committee, consistory, or general synod, the Protestant cult and the Israelitish

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Paul Morton has written as Secretary of the Charles J. Bonaparte, of Md., will succeed him on June 1st. Bonaparte is a grandson of Bonaparte, King of Westphalia, brother of Napoleon Bonaparte, is fifty years old, and a law President Roosevelt him the announcement of the se Mr. Bonaparte for Secretary Navy. The President said Bonaparte had not only be ed, but the arrangement th to succeed Mr. Morton w when it became certain th ter was to leave the Cabine UNEARTHED THE GREAT FRAUDS.

Mr. Bonaparte two years selected by the President a counsel for the Governmen Holmes Conrad, of New York investigation of the posta The President chose Mr. B because of his implacable ha "crafters." He has had no experience with naval affairs, President considers this no dr He is not a wealthy man, b moderate fortune.

Several years ago Mr. B was talked of as a candida the Senate. Mr. Wellington presented Maryland in th branch of Congress. Had Mr parte been chosen instead of Combes there would have been Senate the namesakes of the commanders on the field of W Mr. Bonaparte was gradu Harvard in the class of 1871 the Harvard Law School in Since then he has practiced l tinuously in Baltimore. In was married to Ellen Chennir of Newport, R.I.

MR. BONAPARTE ACCEPTS APPOINTMENT. Baltimore, Md.—Charles J. parte was presiding over a r of the Executive Committee of Reform League, of which he is man, when the Associated Pres patch announcing his appointi succeed Paul Morton as Secre the Navy was shown him. He "The President tendered me position about ten days ago. due reflection I decided it was duty to accept. I had no rea think previously that he be name under consideration for office. It is needless for me t that I appreciated very highl great and unexpected compli implied in his offer. Neverthe did not accept without much tion, for I have always been v reluctant to enter public life. Th nothing more to be said excep I will try to do my duty and to make a creditable record."

GRANDSON OF A KING. Charles Joseph Bonaparte grandson of Jerome Bonaparte, of Westphalia, who was a brot Napoleon I. It does not take a look at his face to see featu recall the familiar pictures of h ancestors.

Persons who have made a stu heredity point to his rise to p ence as an example of its influ and that his greatness is the e ming of a spirit that has been ment in his family for a time. Bonaparte has never been con about his ancestry, but has c considered himself as an indepe individuality, and he has a po aversion to being compared t ancestors.

He frowns when asked if he is descendant of the French Imp family, and likes still less to persons just introduced to him per to one another that he much like the great French wa and statesman. He is not a condant of Napoleon Bonaparte. is a great-grandson of Charles J de Bonaparte, who was the fath Napoleon and Jerome Bonaparte AN AMERICAN THROUGH THROUGH. Mr. Bonaparte is an Amer through and through. He carea for foreign travel, and the p made famous by the deeds of his