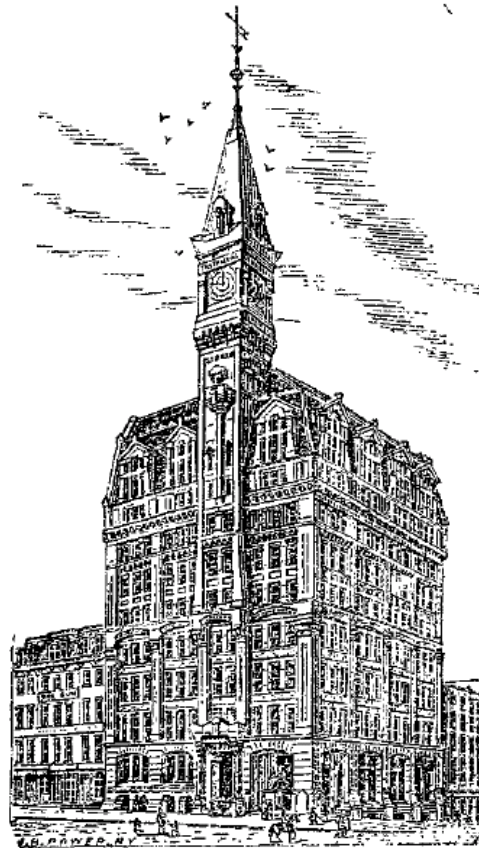


PRICE 50 CENTS.

NEW-YORK  
**DAILY TRIBUNE**



THE TRIBUNE BUILDING.



**INDEX FOR 1881.**

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THE TRIBUNE ASSOCIATION,

NEW-YORK.

*Sol. S.*

one, for it contains bold spirits who do not hesitate to declare that the Hohenzollerns have no liking for the domination of major-domos, and that the Crown Prince in his day will maintain complete independence in his dealings with his Ministers; and, furthermore, he can only meet the Liberal strength by massing the Conservative and Ultramontane parties, and enlisting the services of the Poles and Alsace-Lorrainers. Political necessity has forced him to advance another stage on the route to Canossa. By the appointment of Dr. Korum to the See of Treves, and by the proposed dispatch of a Minister to the Vatican, he has virtually confessed that the May laws are to be abandoned, and the opposition to Rome brought to an end. The Emperor's health is gradually failing, and the Chancellor cannot with certainty count upon the unwavering support of the heir to the throne. Meanwhile, impoverishment of the Fatherland, dislike for military service and restlessness under political restraint are swelling the tide of emigration to America. Within five months, ending December 1, over 100,000 Germans landed in the United States. The Fatherland has a commanding position in Europe; in the Three-Emperors' League the Kaiser is virtually an arbiter between two rivals for domination in the Baikan Peninsula, but within, everything is unstable.

### FRANCE.

French republicanism has not met with any reverses. The municipal elections held early in the year confirmed the general result of the preliminary struggle of the previous August over the partial renewal of the Council-General. The decrees against the religious orders had been enforced with unseemly zeal and unnecessary brutality. Yet on the first opportunity which the people had of expressing their personal convictions they sustained the party in power. The work of legislation dragged during the spring session of the Chambers, and what was done in reference to the press laws, the schools and the municipalities, was not thoroughly done. The Ferry Ministry was recognized as a makeshift which must soon fall to pieces. Gambetta had adopted the Scrutin de Liste, or department system of elections, as his personal measure, and had succeeded in silencing the objections of the President, and in forcing the Cabinet to remain neutral, so that the question could be decided without apprehensions of a ministerial crisis. Reappearing in the tribune on May 19, and supporting the measure in an elaborate speech, he enforced his will, but only by a narrow majority. An ill-timed journey to the Bonapartist department of the Lot conducted with the pomp of an imperial progress, gave a new edge to senatorial jealousy, and Gambetta's measure was rejected by a decisive majority. He met with another rebuff in the lower house when he attempted to precipitate an appeal to the country. The general elections were finally ordered with unnecessary abruptness and Gambetta narrowly escaped defeat at Belleville. This was a sign that his republicanism was no longer accepted as real and progressive by the Mount Aventine of the Republic. The general result of the election was an overwhelming Republican triumph. The strength of the reactionary factions was reduced to 88, the Republican majority including 459 members, divided as follows: Left Centre, 39; Pure Left, 168; Advanced Left, 206; Extreme Left, 46. As 68 members of the Advanced Left subsequently formed a new group called the Radical Left, the number of supporters upon whom the present Ministry can depend is 342 in a Chamber of 547.

The Ferry Ministry was forced to face the new Chambers, although its days had long been numbered. Gambetta was at once singled out for office by a complimentary vote for temporary presiding officer, and when he was

formally intrusted with the formation of a Ministry, Brisson, leader of the Advanced Left, was elected his successor in the lower house. Gambetta's Ministry was gazetted on November 15. It created surprise, because it was made up mainly of untried men. Two members of the former Ministry were retained, Cazot and Cochery, but the rest were taken almost bodily from the staff of the Premier's own newspaper. The most conspicuous member was Paul Bert, Minister of Worship and Public Instruction, a freethinker of spotless integrity and scientific ardor, whose views of the Concordat and religious establishments were radical enough to satisfy even the Extreme Left. The Ministry was recruited almost entirely from the Advanced Left, the Left Centre having only one representative, and while its members still have their reputations to make, they are all devoted followers of the Premier, and will support him as effectively as a general staff aids the commander at headquarters. Gambetta's policy, so far as he has defined it, contains no startling features, but marks a decided advance upon the programmes that have preceded it. One of its elements is a strict enforcement of the Concordat; another the abolition of life senatorships and other changes in the senatorial electoral system, and still another is a reform of the Judiciary. The autumn elections indicate that the approaching senatorial elections will result in the choice of advanced Republicans and some of the leading spirits of the Left Centre have already accepted many of Gambetta's proposals. The Premier secured his first votes in supply very easily, but on one occasion encountered a minority vote of 120 headed by his rival, Dr. Clemenceau. His influence seems unimpaired, notwithstanding his misfortunes at Belleville. This is because he is stronger in France than in Paris, and more popular out of the Chamber than in it.

The French Government has resorted to some of the worst devices of Imperial diplomacy in order to increase its foreign prestige. The campaign in Tunisia was undertaken on a false pretext trumped up by St. Hilaire, for the purpose of making dupes of the other Powers. The Kroumirs, whose raids across the Algerian border were seized upon as a convenient excuse for the expedition, were ready to surrender to the Bey, when the invading columns were set in motion on April 26. In violation of positive pledges to the Bey and to the European Powers the principality was rapidly overrun, the capital approached, a treaty of peace dictated and the country virtually annexed. It was a dashing exploit, albeit decidedly immoral, but Nemesis overtook the troops before they could reembark for Marseilles. A fanaticism had been enkindled among the tribes of Northern Africa. First came a revolt in Constantine; next an insurrection in Oran; then fire and slaughter in the Spanish settlements; and finally war to the knife in Southern Tunisia. Sfax was battered down, the troops were increased to 32,000 in Algeria and 39,000 in Tunisia, and, after laborious preparation, an advance was made upon the holy city, Kairwan, the shrine of Mohammed's chosen friend. Eight months have passed since the expedition was planned as a holiday march, and the columns are still massed in the principality with serious campaigning still before them. These Mediterranean operations have, moreover, wounded the susceptibilities of a serviceable ally—Italy.

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### ITALY.

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The invasion of Tunis by the French troops and the treaty which the Bey signed when a pistol was virtually leveled against his head, caused intense irritation in Italy. The two nations had been competing with each other for political ascendancy and commercial advantages in the Principality. When the Cairoli Ministry was shown to have been overreached by St. Hilaire, it had no standing in the Chamber. The King intrusted Sella, the leader of the Right, with the organization of a new Ministry,