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M. Jules Ferry was meanwhile fighting valiantly against the unpopularity that had sapped all his career. The complications in Africa aroused the accusation of his having hastened on the elections in order to distract the attention of the country. And the elections being arranged for August 21st, and the powers of the Chamber only lapsing in October, the ministerial decision brought about the irregular situation of neither one nor the other of the two existing Chambers being able to be convoked.

But M. Jules Ferry knew when to risk a little in order to save much. He remained firm and unshaken by criticism and abuse - the Chamber was in no position to act, one of those hours had come when some one man must assume responsibility.

There had been mistakes made in Tunis. The French had too soon considered themselves masters of the situation, they had been misled by the apparent submission of the Bey and his minister. The troops from Algeria under the command of General Forgemol had, it is true, occupied all the northern part of the Regency, and Kroumiria in particular; also, by means of flying columns, pacified the country as far as the town of Tunis, and taken up positions at Kef, Beja, Mateur, etc. The operation had seemed completed by June 1st, but its very ease had compromised results.

The Paris press decided that far too large a number of troops was being employed in the Regency, and clamoured for some to be recalled. Fever and disease had tried the strength of the young soldiers who had been exposed to all the dangers of a rainy spring and a torrid summer. Orders were therefore given that ten thousand men should be sent back to France, while eight thousand of the Algerian troops should return to their garrisons. On July 3rd General Forgemol's staff was disbanded; only fifteen thousand men remained in Tunis.

The result of this decision was a renewal of all the former difficulties. By yielding to the Bey's request in not occupying the capital the French were suspected of hesitation, and profiting by this, the Bey telegraphed to the Sultan a protest against the treaty of the Bardo. Discord was rife between the diplomatists and generals of France, deeds of

violence were enacted outside the very gates of Tunis, added to this came the excitement of Ramadan, the anti-Christian agitation of the Marabouts, the intrigues of foreign agents, and the French forces, far too small in numbers, found themselves suddenly hemmed in. Telegraph wires were cut, the springs were poisoned, the railways forming the only means of communication with Algeria were threatened; these facts - with much exaggeration from the Opposition--speedily gave rise to the impression that the campaign and the Treaty had been but mystification.

In point of fact, the work had been only just begun, the interruption had come far too soon. Not a single French soldier had been seen in the southern part of Tunis, which was in a state of insurrection or, rather, of anarchy. Kairouan, the holy city, formed the centre of resistance, with Sfax and Gabes on the sea-coast as its outposts.

The situation was all the more disquieting in that similar complications were taking place in Algeria.

Ever since General Chanzy had been succeeded by M. Albert Grévy, Algerian affairs had been in an unsatisfactory condition. The first civil Governor-General had been unable to grasp the reins with a strong hand, being a man of weak nature and medium ability, while his nomination coincided with a phase of agitation general throughout the Mohammedan world.

Colonel Flatters, who had been sent into the Sahara at the head of a strong expedition in order to study the future track of the railway line towards the Soudan, had been murdered by the Touaregs at Bir-el-Gharama on February 16th; the survivors of the expedition, with no Frenchman left among them, had not regained the frontier until April.

Just as the war began in Tunis, the powerful confederation of the Ouled-Sidi-Cheik had risen in revolt, while at the instigation of Bou Amama the Southern Oranais was aflame. Leaving the region, still uncolonised, of Tiaret and Géryville, Bou Amama had advanced on the Tell, defeated Colonel Innocenti in an engagement in which 34 Frenchmen were killed, 20 wounded, and 26 made prisoners, and then, meeting with no serious resistance, he had advanced to Saïda, massacred the Spanish workmen there employed, and escaped from the forces of Colonel Mallaret, who was unable to cope with the rebel.

The deputies from Algeria, M. Jacques and M. Gastu, had questioned the Government on these events, and blamed the Governor-General for incapacity and negligence. Neither the reply of General Farre nor that of Jules Ferry had seemed satisfactory. M. Henri Brisson had closed the debate by a vehement philippic against the Algerian administration and its leaders. The Government was only saved by a vote of confidence mitigée proposed by M. Méline. This incident had the fortunate result of causing General Saussier to be reappointed to the command of the 19th Army Corps, while an administrative commission was formed to study the Algerian difficulties; but the work of this commission brought about the deplorable system of rattachements.

General Saussier's arrival in Algeria, with the mission of averting the twofold danger from the Oranais and Tunis, gave a more satisfactory aspect to the military situation, and there was adequate harmony of views and influence in the staff. The celebrated march of Colonel de Négrier on the Khouba of the Ouled-Sidi-Cheik, and the complete destruction of this religious centre, struck a severe blow at fanaticism; the construction of the railway from Saïda to Mecheria undid the hopes of Bou Amama, who was soon forced to seek refuge in the territory of Morocco.

In Tunis much was achieved before the separation of the Chambers by vigorous operations in the south and by the occupation of Sfax, which was speedily followed by that of Gabes.

Serious incidents had occurred at Sfax. The insurgents, raising the standard of the Prophet, had driven out the authorities of Morocco, attacked the French Consular-Agent, pillaged the Frank quarter and put the European colony to flight. Ali-ben-Kalifa had been proclaimed leader of the insurgents on July 2nd.

The white walls of Sfax offer a more apparent than real defence against the sea. The smallest French war-ship, the Chacal, with the gunboat Pique, speedily arrived as heralds of a squadron under Admiral Garnault and composed of the Colbert, the Trident, the Galissonnière, the Marengo, the Surveillante, the Revanche, the Friedland, and the Desaix, with several gunboats and transports. Troops belonging to the 92nd and the 136th of the Line were under the command of Colonel Jamais. Even the smallest vessels could only approach the shore to a distance of about two hundred metres. The town seemed

ready to defend itself. After careful preparations which, much to the annoyance of the Paris newspapers, delayed operations for some days, three bodies of troops managed to achieve a landing. The insurgents had placed several batteries along the shore, but these were soon reduced to silence; soldiers and sailors dashed towards the closed portals of the town. A sailor from the Alma managed to blow up the gate, the town was quickly occupied despite strong resistance, and a hand-to-hand fight raged along the streets until, before the approach of evening, the French colours floated out above the Casbah (July 15th).

Bold and rapid operations at Gabes directed by Commander Marcq de Saint-Hilaire, who had already distinguished himself at Sfax, assured the possession of the town and of the neighbouring strongholds.

The squadron, regaining the north, appeared at Mahedin, Monastir and Sousse, where the Tunisian governors acknowledged French authority. Admiral Conrad, further to the south, invested the island of Djerba and also Zarzis on the frontier of Tripoli. The sea-coast was assured. There remained but the vast field of the interior and the mysterious region extending from the heights of Zaghouan to the Algerian frontier, where amidst wild solitudes stands the holy city of Khairouan. But the heat of the summer and the insufficiency of men enforced delay.

Matters had reached this point when M. Jules Ferry cut short the session and convoked the electors for August 21st. It is hardly a matter for astonishment that the questions of Algeria and Tunis should have been a strong bone of contention for party politics.

M. Jules Ferry was not the only one to suffer from the strange bewilderment of opinions. Gambetta was treated as if directly responsible for mistakes, and obliged to offer good countenance to a favour ready to forsake him. Rarely has there been greater danger under more brilliant auspices.

The political parties stood ready for the fray. The Monarchical and Imperialistic Right retained its position. The Centres, exhausted by the slow decease of the Dufaure and Waddington administrations, were merging into the Moderate Republican groups, and

through hostility towards Gambetta placing their hopes on Jules Ferry, despite his anti-clerical vehemence.

The Ministry stood its ground by sheer force of will and perseverance, but Jules Ferry was not liked even by those who made most use of him. His relations with Gambetta were still difficult to read. At Nancy, August 10th, he had declared his intention of serving as "lieutenant" to Gambetta on the subject of the Revision. The National, commenting on this discourse, observed that "the only man who could have barred the road to Gambetta has now paid him submission." Yet this rapprochement was neither absolute nor cordial; reserve and suspicion still divided the two men.

Gambetta was torn between the desire for power and many reasons, public and private, which made it seem unachievable. Looked upon already as the leader of the future Cabinet, he had not yet succeeded in determining his tactics between the power and the opposition. As well as for the revision of the Constitution he was fighting for the income tax, the abolition of the Volontariat, the reduction of military service, the liquidation of the property of religious communities; and these demands, which separated his policy from that of the Cabinet, excited the suspicion of the middle classes, while the Extreme Left, on the other hand, did not welcome his advances. The people of Paris began even to mistrust him, after a long newspaper campaign. Gambetta was a deputy for Paris. The XX Arrondissement (of Belleville and Charonne) had now, through increase of population, grown into two electoral divisions, and Gambetta decided to stand for both of these at one and the same time, renouncing the numerous candidacies that were offered him by the provinces. A Republican Committee, formed in Paris under his direction, worked towards the union of all opinions in the party, from those of M. Tirard to those of M. Clémenceau. At a meeting at L'Élysée-Menilmontant, August 12th, at which two thousand constituents were present, Gambetta made a speech which repeated his continual appeal for unity, formulated, perhaps more definitely than before, his political method, and insisted on the importance he attached to the scrutin de liste. His political programme was, in general, what he had proposed at Tours, while the foreign policy of his speech at Cherbourg was equally maintained. The speech was much applauded.

Four days later, at a public meeting in the hall of Saint-Blaise, of the Charonne division, Gambetta undertook to speak of social reform. The place was ill-chosen, the

crowd unmanageable - Gambetta was unable to obtain a hearing. This incident made a deeply unfavourable impression: his enemies took courage.

Meanwhile a new party was arising, formed by men of talent, some of them old friends of Gambetta, who sought a middle road between Opportunism and the Extreme Left. Among them were Allain-Targé, Charles Floquet, E. Lockroy, and Henri Brisson, and the group was to become the Radical party of the future.

M. Clémenceau headed the intransigents of the Left, and with him were the brilliant editors of *La Justice* - M. Camille Pelletan, M. Laguerre, M. Pichon, M. Millerand. The Radical was founded in 1881 by M. Henry Maret. The programme of M. Clémenceau included many things: The revision of the Constitution, suppression of the Senate and of the Presidency of the Republic, separation of Church and State, suppression of the Public Worship budget, the right of the child to general education, military service made compulsory for all, progressive substitution of a national militia for a permanent army, free and equal justice for all, elective and temporary magistracy, scrutin de liste, decentralisation, communal autonomy, a sliding scale of dues on change of property, divorce, homes for the aged and infirm, workmen's syndicates, etc.

Except for incidents in Paris, the elections went off very quietly and quickly, between August 21st and September 4th. What seemed difficult to understand upon the stage itself appeared very simple to the audience.

The Monarchists and "Conservatives" of all shades were much opposed. The Right lost about sixty representatives; the Left Centre maintained some forty; the Republican majority under the combined banners of Gambetta and Jules Ferry rose to a representation of 400, while of this the Left Republican (under Ferry) had 168, and the Union Republican (under Gambetta) had 204, including the Radical group properly so called, the Extreme Left obtained 46 seats. All things considered, the only chance of permanency for any Cabinet lay in the close union of the Lefts. The adversary's art consisted, therefore, in dividing the two captains and their crews.

Gambetta was elected for Belleville by a small majority, but withdrew from the second division of Charonne with an announcement that proclaimed his break with the Extreme Left.

By September 4th the new Chamber was elected, though the powers of the old one had not yet expired. The singularity of the situation gave some latitude to the Ministry, which used it accordingly. The result of the African campaign still being uncertain, the Government announced its intention of taking its time and of delaying the meeting of the Chambers until the end of October.

This naturally aroused much criticism, also a fiery manifesto from the deputies of Paris under M. Delattre and M. Louis Blanc, declaring -

That the fatal expedition into Tunis had not only set Africa aflame, but had broken the bonds that united us to Italy . . .

had presented us to Europe as continually tormented by the desire for conquest, and that herein lay the secret of the artificial eagerness encouraged by Prince Bismarck.

All this, however, did not touch a public that was confidently and quietly awaiting the advent of Gambetta.

And Gambetta was preparing the foundations of his government, both at home and abroad. In a visit paid to Normandy at the beginning of September, he pronounced at Neubourg a singularly strong and thoughtful speech, which seemed to indicate a desire to detach the scrutin de liste and the revision from his programme and to reassure the Senate. Further, he paid a flying visit to Germany, where it is said that he went to the residence of Prince Bismarck at Friedrichsruh. On his return, he called on President Grévy; it was for him now to take the initiative, in spite of certain moments of hesitation and depression as recorded by J. J. Weiss - now his friend and champion.

M. Jules Ferry was meanwhile pursuing his labours with imperturbable calm. The Government had realised that in order to settle things in Tunis, a strong and formidable occupation would be necessary, and it was decided to raise the strength of the force to 50,000 men. Before the elections not a man was moved - a course that was justified by the season. Early in September, however, all was in motion. General Saussier had had time to make his plans. The reinforcements arrived in the Regency by the end of September. It was full time. On the 11th the aqueduct of Zaghouan, which supplies Tunis, had been cut by the insurgents. Towards the end of the month the trains of the line between Tunis and Algiers did not arrive. General Saussier had landed in the Regency on the 3rd, and,

amidst the clamour of excited journalists, directed his march on Kairouan. The army was to sweep the country in a fan-shaped movement. The southern column, under General Forgemol, was to start from Tebessa in Algeria; a second, under General Logerot, should leave Tunis; a third, under Etienne, should start from Sousse, the port that was nearest to Kairouan. Meanwhile the French were to enter Tunis, which was done without incident under General Logerot on October 10th - as the first step towards a definite occupation. On the same

day General Saussier was made Commander-in-Chief, and addressed a proclamation to the people of Tunis stating that the one object of the French army was to re-establish peace and order in agreement with the government of the Bey.

The order of the march was most carefully regulated, and large provision made of every sort. As Jules Ferry declared later, it was "one of the most remarkable and wise operations known to military history."

General Forgemol had a long and difficult march to make, across desert regions, with constant pushing of the insurgents towards the south. In eleven days he stood before Kairouan. General Etienne, after several engagements, in one of which Bou Amama was slain, reached the town early on the 26th. The gates were all shut. Kairouan stood like an island raised above an empty plain.

The troops rode round the city; an interpreter, accompanied by several officers on horseback approached the gateway and struck it with the handle of his sword. Thereupon a white flag was hoisted, the gate was opened, and the governor of the town appeared offering unconditional submission. The Casbah was immediately occupied. General Saussier arrived the same evening, and on the following day the third army reached the city. The French troops then made a solemn entry into the sacred town - flags flying and music playing.

The news of such success made a great impression on the Arabs. The southern regions were quieted without much difficulty, and most of the more isolated tribes came to terms. The wisdom of the plan adopted in leaving the native caïds in office responsible for the public peace did much to assure what the military triumphs had accomplished. On November 19th General Forgemol occupied Gafsa on his way back to Algeria. General

Logerot took Gabes and installed there as governor Allegno - a most faithful adherent of the French cause.

The still insurgent tribes were pushed back on to Turkish territory, where they long caused annoyance to the southern frontiers. General Logerot, by a series of operations with the mobile columns, cut off all communication for the marauders with the centre, and by the end of the year the whole of the Regency was quieted.

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