

battle against the tendencies of anarchy. Their help in discovering and warring against the relationship between the vicious council and deeds of blood, and their steady influence upon the elements of unrest, cannot fail to be of inestimable value.

By the memory of our murdered President, let us resolve to cultivate and preserve the qualities that made him great and useful, and let us determine to meet any call of patriotic duty in any time of our country's danger and need.

William McKinley has left us a priceless gift in the example of a useful and pure life, of his fidelity to public trusts and his demonstration of the valor of the kindly virtues that not only ennoble mankind, but lead to success.

LÉON GAMBETTA



LÉON MICHEL GAMBETTA, French statesman and lawyer, was born at Cahors, in the south of France, Oct. 30, 1838, and died near Sèvres, Dec. 31, 1882. He was of Jewish descent, but, as the termination of his name implies, his forefathers had sojourned for a considerable period in Italy. After obtaining a college degree, he qualified for the Bar and practiced his profession at Paris for some ten years preceding 1869, when he entered the Corps Legislatif as an advanced Republican, and became a member of the Extreme Left during Emile Ollivier's brief and stormy administration. When the Second Empire was overthrown, Sept. 4, 1870, and France was proclaimed a republic, Gambetta was appointed a member of the Committee of National Defence. In that capacity, after the German armies had begun the siege of Paris, he escaped in a balloon and, from Tours as a centre, undertook to organize the means of national defence in the country south of the Loire. By dint of much energy, he succeeded in placing two armies in the field, but, after some temporary successes, they were finally worsted. After the capitulation of Paris, he withdrew from his executive office, but was returned to the National Assembly which convened at Bordeaux and subsequently removed to Versailles. When the Government, established by the Constitution of 1875, went into operation in 1876, he became a member of the Chamber of Deputies and the leader of the party opposed to the Reactionists. It was mainly he who, at the time of the *coup d'état* brought about by the Duc de Broglie and M. Dufaure, aroused not only Paris, but the provinces to vehement resistance, and, at the succeeding general election, managed to obtain a decisive majority. He it was, also, who compelled MacMahon to resign and brought about the elevation of M. Grévy to the Presidency of the Republic. In 1879, Gambetta was chosen president of the Chamber of Deputies, and in November, 1881, became head of the Ministry, known as the "Grand Ministère." He held office only about three months, however, and died by an accident, in his forty-fourth year.

SPEECH UPON THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS

DELIVERED APRIL 23, 1875

WE HAVE had, since our last meeting, an audacious, impudent attempt at the restoration of the monarchy that calls itself legitimate. No one in France wanted the return of monarchy, neither the peasant, to whom it is a terror, nor the workingman, who has never hidden the aversion it inspires in him, nor the army, whose flag it cuts down, that symbol of

its glory and of its honor. No one wanted it. Therefore, gentlemen, it is surprising that the very man who stands at the head of the State, that the First Magistrate of the Country pronounced the significant utterance which will act as the death sentence of monarchy? He has said that in face of an attempt at restoration the guns would go off of themselves; and monarchy has gone back into the gloom of night. . . .

After the decisive check upon the legitimate, another monarchy was held in reserve. Matters were not pushed as far as an open demonstration, but, on the contrary, the projected attempt was carefully masked, and, though events pass rapidly, you have not yet forgotten the name of the combination, as odd as it was inexplicable and frail, destined to serve as a screen for the projects that were in mind, which is known as the Septennat.

The Septennat has gone to join, in chaos whence it should never have been brought forth, the dreams of the partisans of traditional royalty.

This government, at once hybrid and nameless, yet endured long enough to paralyze confidence and to arrest national activity. It lasted long enough to bring back into the light of public life, into offices, into active politics, into the administration of the country, into the press, to group together and reunite in factious societies that no longer hid themselves for the contrivance of their tricks, and who, believing themselves assured of impunity, exposed themselves to the light of day,—it has endured long enough, I say, to bring back the men and the party that constitute the most shameful as well as the most sinister peril that can menace France.

Yes, gentlemen, certain statesmen, facile, improvident in their malice, wholly lost, and seeing but one way of escaping

the trend of the country, each day more powerful, which dragged them toward the Republic, did not fear to draw from its shame and ignominy the tattered faction of December, to lead it out before the eyes of France, that looked on amazed at such audacity and folly.

Gentlemen, there was not in that,—although perchance, certain clever characters may have had mental reservations touching it,—there was not in that solely a combination to bring dread upon France and to entice it toward their constitutional monarchy, made ready and sugar-coated under their byzantine Septennat; it was above all a means of checking the republican party, that was daily waxing greater throughout the land. But, gentlemen, these clever people were not of the right cut to take the field with their new collaborators, any more than they were to stand up against such accomplices and to keep dominion over them; and speedily it was seen that in this association of parties, wherein each detested the other, there was one that was becoming day by day more threatening because it had the fewest scruples and the greatest cynicism.

The danger was very great, and alarm was well founded. Conspiracy was felt to be everywhere. A complete revolution was about to meet the eyes of France and of the Assembly. When the day came, gentlemen, it must be said, a flash of patriotism lightened in honorable minds. A movement of political decency and of national honor took possession of the Assembly of Versailles; and, as ever, appeal was made to the only power that should be, in this country, in condition to drive back the cut-throats of despotism.

The Republic was appealed to. It became possible to make up a majority of honest men, of devoted citizens, of whom some have made real sacrifices of opinion, others con-

cessions of positions, whilst others still consented to postpone the immediate realization of their political tendencies. Gentlemen, the truth must be told, it was through horror of caesarism, that hideous leprosy that threatens again to invade France; it was in order to be done with a provisional state, deadly and irritant, which was poisoning the very sources of national life, that finally led men to listen to the voice of universal suffrage. At the approach of peril, illusions fell away, eyes were opened, men of good purpose and of high faith entrusted themselves with resolution to democracy and to its spirit, and the Republic was born.

Ah I know well all that can be said. I know well that when one has right on his side, that when one is in possession of political truth, that when one has before him the justice of principles, it would be good and fine, great and advantageous, never to allow that in political action it could be lessened or restrained. I know above all that it would be a task, at once the sweetest and the noblest, to salute truth and justice in all their splendor and all their majesty.

Yes, my fellow citizens, we should be fortunate never to be reduced to treating with difficulties any more than with principles. But society does not begin with an ideal state of things. Human aggregations do not reach, at a single bound, either absolute perfection, or yet a better state. Progress is the work of time and of patience. The route is long; it is sown with perils and sacrifices; it is strewn with martyrs—and who, then, among those who know the nature of man, the conditions of society, the annals of history, has ever flattered himself that he could, before his life was ended, greet the full and absolute realization of truth among men?

No, no, let us pursue our task; let us carry on our labors of devotion; let us enlarge, by some small particle, the

patrimony bequeathed to us by our forefathers; let us, too, bring our tribute to this treasure that has been handed down to us, not only since the French Revolution, but ever since there has been a people breathing, working, suffering, struggling for right and liberty on the soil of our great, unhappy country, from the ocean to the Rhine, from the Alps to the Pyrenees. Have liberty, democracy, justice, and progress ever been, for this glorious and ill-starred people of France, otherwise than for an instant seen, greeted in fugitive moments, like a flash of lightning in the midst of storm? Could we wish any other issue in the midst of difficulties through which we struggle, than to put on our side law, legality, and, as far as possible, the respect of magistrates for the principles we represent, and to assure to this French Revolution, the conquests of which are shamefully denied, a régime at once lawful, definite, final, sheltered from the blows of violence and from the turns of fortune? Gentlemen, what have we acquired at the end of the reckoning? We have brought it about for our ideas, for our principles, for our government, that all Frenchmen, without exception, as well those at the head of the State as for the lowest subalterns, owe to them, under penalty of forfeiture and treason, both respect and obedience.

We were in a position of vexation, wearied, heavy with perils from abroad, that had to be suffered, for, gentlemen, let us never forget that, maimed as she is, France still remains an object of envy and of greed in the world. We had to make our way out of a formidable strait. The danger was extreme. What side should we take? Ah, gentlemen, reflect. As for your children, I know that they will never forget it,—there was a day when, under the inspiration of patriotism, lighted up by the perils to which France was ex-

posed, certain men under the mandate of their fellow citizens met and made a solemn treaty with the Republic that peace abroad and at home may be assured.

They made a constitution without much discussion. They organized powers, but not very minutely and, if I may say so, they did not examine and co-ordinate them very analytically. They were expeditious, and yet do you know what happened? It is this, that the work is better, perhaps, than the circumstances that engendered it; it is, that if we wish to appropriate to ourselves this work and make it ours, to examine it, to make use of it, to know it well throughout, that we may successfully apply it, it might well happen that this constitution, which our adversaries dread more than they mock, which our own friends know not well enough as yet, will offer to republican democracy the very best instrument for emancipation and liberation that has yet been put into our hands. . . .

Will you tell me in what country of old Europe, in guise of a democracy, they have made a better and more useful instrument? And if you sleep not, if you are not cool-hearted, lazy, or selfish, will you tell me if you have not in your hands the means of your enfranchisement? For note this: If your representatives be well chosen and from all districts at once, the result is certain. The French temper may be versatile, but it is very like unto itself, and there is not between those who dwell on the hills of Chaumont and those who live in the valley of the Rhône, the Vosges Mountains, or along the banks of the Loire, any very great distinction; the one that does exist is that you, citizens of Paris and of the towns, can, for all these obstacles, communicate with one another, and that our fellow citizens of the country cannot do so among themselves. The division wall that for-

bade communication has just been taken down. Henceforth we must act in concert, unite together, and deliberate how we shall act and vote in common. In the method of election of the Senate there is still another advantage, which is that of disciplining, solidifying, and arranging the gradations of democracy. In fact you will note that there have not been introduced into the organization of the electoral body persons from other places, with any different source than the choice of universal suffrage.

It was planned at one time to introduce certain functionaries, members of existing institutions, learned classes. In the end only men honored already with the confidence of their fellow citizens were let in, those only whom we elected by universal suffrage. In this manner we have naturally a homogeneous electoral body; a well-formed organization, with all that constitutes a compact and well-ordered hierarchy. Gentlemen, you will adhere to this organization, be sure, when you have put it into practice, and, if you are desirous of applying it, the same result will come from this law that came from that of the General Council: voted with enthusiasm by our adversaries to-day, they look upon it with distrust, and actually positions are changed. They would like well to undo it, and we are the ones to act as its defenders. . . .

Gentlemen, to struggle against the coalition of ideas that will be defended with eloquence, with art, with experience and talent, against a coalition that will always be agreed upon resistance to all measures of progress, to struggle against this immortal phalanx of belated conservatives, there must be battalions, youthful, determined, ever ready for strife, and in condition to serve and honor the republican party. The Senate ought, then, to be made up with much care and in-

telligence. I do not say that, at the first attempt, we shall succeed in creating a model Chamber, and that we shall have nothing more to desire; no, and I do not even wish that we might succeed so well at the first attempt, for that to which man clings is that which has been gained by slow degrees, painfully, with labor; it is that which he has obtained by the sweat of his brow and made his own by dint of perseverance and toil. It is the same in public as in private affairs: those fortunate from birth are often prodigal and ungrateful; those, on the other hand, who have fought against poverty, who have had a struggle to get the mere necessities of existence, and have succeeded in gathering the puny hoard that must serve to bless their old age and to assure an education to their children, those are the ones who know that the thing to which they cling the most is the thing that was the most difficult to win.

You see, my friends, that in my reflections upon the new Senate there are two very different elements: there is, on one side, that which pleases and reassures; and there is, on the other side, that which must disturb us and keep us awake. The pleasing part is that men nourished upon all the doctrinaire and royalist theories, men brought up for fifty years in the school of teachers who taught them a horror for democracy, an aversion for multitudes, should have reached the point where, under the pressure of events and of the public temper, they do not recognize as the origin of power, as the province of power, any other power than democracy.

Thus, if you look over the books of those who may be called the theorists of monarchy, Bonald, De Maistre, Guizot, the elder Broglie, you will see that they never have but one word in their mouths, never but one urgent call to address to public men, which they repeat and vary under all forms.

"Be very careful", they say, "not to let democracy creep into the constitution of government, not to let it get in, either at the time of preparation or of execution of legal voting."

Now, here, as I have just demonstrated, democracy in the very foundation, in that which constitutes the essence of this country, the Commune, is not only invited to take part in the execution of the law, it does even more: it names the supreme head of the State. Never forget that this Senate elected by your mandatories and your delegates will reform the law; that it will have the right to consult the country, to appeal to it by means of dissolution; that it co-operates in nominating the chief officer of the State; that it can even dismiss him in certain anticipated and stated cases. It is, then, just to say that by means of this institution of the Senate not only does democracy have a place in the law, because it is the principle of it, its source and origin, but it holds within its discretion the public powers, the executive and the legislative; it reigns and governs. By this institution of the Senate, if well understood and well applied, democracy is sovereign mistress of France.

But here is a difficulty; for our democracy, henceforth all powerful, there must be labor, study, patience; above all must there be political foresight. Under the penalty of seeing all designs it forms for the future miscarry, our democracy should learn to govern itself; to control its own eagerness; not wish to gain aught except after a period of time and through the progress of public reason.

I am not ignorant that the application and working of this constitution of the 25th of February is to begin in the midst of a democracy, that is very well disposed, but education and enlightenment have been too sparingly measured out to it

for it to be really in condition, without controversy, without error, without repulse, without faltering, to govern immediately; nor am I ignorant also that our country districts have been poisoned with false ideas, lying circulars, stories, each more ridiculous than the rest. I know that the peasant whose shrewdness is my supreme hope, whose probity is the veritable reserve force of French morality, is about to find himself exposed to many snares; that he will be solicited by selfish interests that stop at nothing to intimidate and trouble him. I know how many enemies he has to guard against, as often he does without having the appearance of it; I know to just what point fanaticism, ignorance, threats try to put upon him, to make him yield and to turn him from his true path, from his natural inclination, which is the democratic republic.

I know all these things, but I also know that, little by little, under the influence of the laws, of the institutions, in spite of the wicked humors and opposition of certain men, I know that liberty will come, even to him; that the propaganda of his brothers, of his fellow citizens, will take hold upon him; that his own reflection will emancipate him; that he will feel, of his own self, as he says familiarly, that he is master of his cabin, and that he must be so in his Commune, because he maintains, works for, suffers and dies for France; and when, joining these two ideas in his head, dominion in the Commune and sacrifice for his country, the peasant shall have reached the true conception of sovereignty, on that day the Republic will be founded indestructibly.

For the peasant does not change, not he: he is not variable; he is always engaged in procuring the same necessities; he is always sustained by the same thought; he always has his eye fixed upon the same goal; he has not always been free,

and a troop of ideas do not enter at one time into his head; but when an idea does reach there, in vain can parties or factions assail it.

It is like a wedge in the heart of an oak; nothing can draw it out. There lies his power, and if he has often disavowed us republicans, who have never ceased to labor for him, we have always regarded him as the real representative of the conquests of the French Revolution. We well knew that some day he would turn again toward republican democracy, toward the new France, the France of knowledge and of labor, sorry that for so long he has disowned her and is ready to become her most glorious and noble son.

Gentlemen, to-day an event of great import has taken place before our eyes, calling for our deepest meditation. We are present at the coalition of the toiler of the fields and the workman of the towns; between the small proprietors and the burghers; and this coalition must be made without passion, without prejudices, with a broadness of spirit and sincerity of heart, without reference to the past, without being either distrustful or exclusive. It means that all who understand that France has need of sap and fruitfulness, of morality and of order, of liberty and of justice, meet together in the fraternal and patriotic alliance of the proletarian class and the burgher. That is what is needed not only in Parliament, but in the nation itself, in the press, in books, in schools, above all, where future generations are to meet, those who will come after us and will carry forward still the task we shall leave behind. . . .

Government of the country by the country, such is the desire of France. This is the principle that has rallied under the flag of the Republic a certain number of men separated from us by memories. They are not numerous; not enough

so, gentlemen, and we must hope that their number may increase.

They have come to us to avoid falling back again under the inept and criminal dictatorship which led to the mutilation of our country. They have likewise come, it must be said, to take part in the life and destinies of the new France. What is left of the old régime is dead, and happily dead, and the living ought to, and desire to, live with the living. They have come to us and have helped us in founding this beginning of a nascent Republic. France receives it to-day from their hands and from ours, and I am convinced that if they are faithful to their new convictions, if they wish, with us, to demand public liberty, if they wish progress in the midst of order, as we wish order in progress, France will not cheapen her gratitude and rend the pact that we have joined in making for the protection of our country under the very eye of the foe. As for myself, I ask of them only sincerity, and I say that in all circumstances mastery dwells in sincerity. . . .

I know that some will try to alarm these newcomers. They know not yet what powers of abnegation and sacrifice you have within you. They know not, and they must learn it;—for that reason I say so here,—that you have ever been in patient readiness to reap the smallest fruit, ready for concessions provided they were not falsehoods, ready to support the whole. And was that in your own interest? Oh, no,—in the interest of those ideas of justice and advancement which you make incarnate in the Republic. Let them learn, then, that if we have been stranded for sixty years during the establishing of the conquests of the French Revolution, it is because their predecessors were strangers to democracy and hated without understanding it. Let them come here, then;

let them look upon and become familiar with these citizens who for twenty-five years have ever known how to respect the law, ever make wise choice, ever to wait, ever to have patience with these people who are ever eager to gather in men of high purpose and of sincere convictions, and they will see that all these chimerical apprehensions, these exaggerated and unwise alarms, are only means of reaction, that nothing is more simple and easy, and that nothing could be more salutary than to be done, once for all, with all these fears, all these dreads, these demagogic spectres, and to say in the face of Europe, listening and impressed by the spectacle of such a noble reconciliation—"Republicans and Frenchmen be reunited; the welfare of France and her honor require it; be united, for we must needs be strong."

We desire that the French Republic, organized by the concord and union of good citizens, imposing itself legally upon all, even upon those who wanted it not, shall bring France back to her true traditions by assuring the conquests and the principles of the Revolution of 1789, and, in the first rank of all, the following principle, that public power ought to be free in its own domain, and the state should be secular. . . .

What we have to ask of her is, to take her stand resolutely for herself, for her ideas, for her genius; to no greater extent than she has been willing to incline toward reform should she incline toward ultramontane principles. We will continue the work of our forefathers, the French Revolution, wrought by the men of the eighteenth century in France, by the France of reason, of free discussion. That is enough, not only to limit our horizon, but to define the rôle we have to play.

[Special translation by Archibald R. Tisdale.]