

its splendors reflected upon our peaceful gathering, peaceful in spite of those disturbances which the strong hand of our citizen-soldiery has already strangled?

Welcome then, thrice welcome, scholarly soldiers who have fought for your and our rights and honor! Welcome, soldierly scholars who are ready to fight whenever your country calls for your services! Welcome, ye who preach courage as well as meekness, remembering that the Prince of Peace came also bringing a sword! Welcome, ye who make and who interpret the statutes which are meant to guard our liberties in peace, but not to aid our foes in war! Welcome, ye whose healing ministry soothes the anguish of the suffering and the dying with every aid of art and the tender accents of compassion! Welcome, ye who are training the generous youths to whom our country looks as its future guardians! Welcome, ye quiet scholars who in your lonely studies are unconsciously shaping the thought which law shall forge into its shield and war shall wield as its thunder-bolt!

And to you, Mr. President, called from one place of trust and honor to rule over the concerns of this our ancient and venerated institution, to you we offer our most cordial welcome with all our hopes and prayers for your long and happy administration.

I give you, brothers, "The association of the Alumni"; the children of our common mother recognize the man of her choice as their new father, and would like to hear him address a few words to his numerous family.

## JULES FAVRE



JULES CLAUDE GABRIEL FAVRE, French statesman and orator, was born at Lyons, France, March 21, 1809, and died at Versailles, Jan. 19, 1880. While a law student in Paris he took part in the revolution of 1830, and subsequently became conspicuous at the Lyons Bar as a defender of political prisoners. In the revolution of 1848 he was especially prominent, and strenuously opposed the acts of Louis Napoleon as president. After the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, he confined his energies for several years entirely to his profession. In 1858, however, his defence of Orsini, the would-be assassin of the Emperor Louis Napoleon, brought him again to the fore and secured his election to the Corps Législatif as member for Paris. In that body he opposed the emperor's policy on leading public measures, his speeches on the Mexican expedition being particularly effective. In the closing months of the empire he vehemently opposed the measures which ultimately led to the Franco-Prussian War, and though opposed to the war when it had begun he patriotically aided his country's cause. After the fall of Sedan, Favre became vice-president of the provisional government and its minister of foreign affairs, subsequently conducting with Bismarck the preliminaries of peace. In 1871, he published his political apology, "Le Gouvernement du 4 Septembre," and soon after for a time withdrew from politics and devoted himself to law and literature. In 1876, he was returned to the Senate for the Department of the Rhône. As an eloquent Liberal and opposition leader, Favre appeared to advantage, but as a diplomatist he was a failure. His published works include "Rome et la République Française" (1871); "Conférences et Discours Littéraires" (1873); "De la Réforme Judiciaire" (1877); "Conférences et Mélanges" (1880); "Discours Parlementaires" (1881); and "Plaidoyers Politiques et Judiciaires" (1882). His writings and oratorical gifts won him a seat in the French Academy.

### SPEECH BEFORE THE CORPS LÉGISLATIF

DELIVERED APRIL 12, 1860, AFTER THE PEACE OF VILLAFRANCA

GENTLEMEN,—The speakers to whom you listened during yesterday's session have apparently forborne to state definitely the questions raised by the debate now before the Chamber. It appears nevertheless that we are not able to evade them, so forcibly do they bear upon the



situation to which France is brought by an undertaking in which her honor, and perhaps also her fate, is involved. We should be lacking in our duty if we did not endeavor to indicate, according to our light, the solutions that the dignity and the interest of the country alike require.

I know that such language may seem over-bold in the face of a constitution which gives us so insignificant a part, reserving meanwhile one so vast for one all-powerful will; of a constitution that does not permit our words to go forth from this place without undergoing the humiliation of revision, and oftentimes the insult of mutilation. Nevertheless, since the opportunity to express an opinion is given, permit me to do it with the utmost frankness.

We have to discover what have been the fruits—what must be the consequences—of the glorious campaign so suddenly ended on the banks of the Mincio by a peace so unexpected.

You have not forgotten it: when a year ago at this time we had to point out the political purpose of this war we did not hesitate to affirm that it was the enfranchisement of Italy.

The official organs of the government maintained silence before you; but the only voice in this country which was and is permitted to make itself heard with authority as well as power made known to the world that we were not deceived in our apprehension of the causes and import of the great event which disquieted all Europe. To drive Austria back behind the Alps and to leave Italy free, such was the programme proposed to France, aroused and in arms, ready to pour out her treasure and her blood.

It must be admitted that this programme, despite its grandeur, was then little understood and not well received. The partisans of Italy were rare and little credited; general opinion judged them severely; it accepted too readily the ac-

cusations of frivolity and of inconsistency lavished upon this generous and devoted nation, and it appeared to many minds that in giving herself to it France would undertake labor both adventurous and unprofitable. I hasten to add, gentlemen, that the Italians responded nobly to their detractors. They have shown, as we were reminded yesterday, of what self-denial patriotism is the source: they have known how to silence old rivalries that have until now divided them, to control individual ambitions, to calm the passions, to re-establish order in the midst of the fermentation of popular victory; in short, to control factions which have always been represented as ready to rend each other.

This work of pacific assimilation, the real seal of Italian regeneration, is not only a moral conquest which is an honor to France, to whose intervention it is due, it is also for our own greatness, present and to come, a result immense and fruitful and which enables one to say that it has been an effort not alone for the success of a generous idea, but for the defence and consolidation of a great national interest.

Turn to the annals of history and you will see that since the fall of the Roman empire two rival interests have never ceased disputing the supremacy of Europe; this excessive hostility is that of two races personified, the one by Germany, the other by France. Italy has been their battlefield and their stake, as if God had reserved for her this chastisement as expiation for that servitude under whose weight she had during eight centuries crushed the entire world.

Then, in the Middle Ages, France was powerful enough to impose her rule upon the peninsula, to make of it a highway to the north, and it was toward this end that the efforts of the most glorious representatives of our monarchy tended; to-day if the interests are the same the means have changed;



that which is the best guarantee of the greatness and security of France is the independence and the unity of Italy.

If I had not heard yesterday expressions of distrust that astonished me I should not hesitate to characterize as pusillanimous a policy that is affrighted at beholding in that beautiful country a free and powerful nation. As for myself, when I cast my eyes over the map of Europe and see that vast triangle of which the centre is the Mediterranean, of which the sides are Italy and Spain, and of which France is the apex, with their twelve hundred leagues of coast, commanding from the ocean to the Adriatic, it appears that these three countries, united not by bonds of sovereignty but by an intelligent federation, developing by their unity the infinite riches of their wonderful soil, combining the treasures of their genius—artistic, industrial, military, scientific, and naval—are destined not to bring all Europe under their yoke, but to cause the shining upon her of an era of civilization and of prosperity, whose brilliancy one may not even imagine.

France in marching to the deliverance of Italy did not seek the realization of a sentimental Utopia; she carried out a wise policy; she remained faithful to the traditions of her past and to the law of her future. It was this that sober minds perceived clearly in the midst of these great events. As to the nation at large, it comprehended that the end being indicated honor made it a law to attain it. To drive Austria back behind the Alps, to make of Italy a nation free and independent, such was the promise made in the face of the world! You know, gentlemen, how these splendid hopes have been shattered!

Thanks to the impetuous courage of our legions and to the bravery of the Piedmontese troops Austria has not been

able to stand upon a single battlefield. Utterly routed by three great victories and a series of brilliant engagements, she retired precipitately within her fortresses; but with the army of debarkation carried by our fleet in the rear, on the right the Tuscan reinforcements burning with the desire to show themselves worthy of their glorious competitors, on the left the gallant monarch of Piedmont, and in the centre the great mass of our forces, she was not able to resist. Without doubt she might have allowed herself to be besieged behind her walls, but that was a measure fraught with peril in the face of an army inflamed by success, in the midst of a population thoroughly aroused and waiting only a favorable hour to rise in revolt.

With a final effort the war was gloriously finished and the word of France was maintained. I have no hesitation in affirming that no one then doubted of success; men the most opposed to the principle of war understood that the honor of France was engaged until the enterprise undertaken should be accomplished; that it was impossible to withdraw (the word does not belong to our nation), even to delay; and that the soldiers of our army gone down into Italy with the banner of liberators should not sheathe their swords until that banner should float in all parts of her territory occupied by Austria.

Nevertheless it was of no avail! In the same way that the decree for war had depended upon the will of one man, it depended also upon the same will to enchain victory and to leave unaccomplished the work with which the dignity and interest of the country were associated.

I do not say this, gentlemen, to criticise what is beyond my right, but I consider it a duty to allow no occasion to escape without pointing out the fate which has befallen my



country and to make her understand that she has placed herself in the hands of a master.

I say it boldly, the peace of Villa Franca gives the lie to the proclamation of the 3d of May! Therefore Italy has not consented to the re-establishment of Austria's power that it has been determined to impose upon her. Despite the injunctions of our diplomacy, despite the menaces of our official communications, she has marched with a firm and resolute step toward that great work of unity to which our government no longer accords its aid; she has placed her independence under the protection of the military loyalty of Victor Emmanuel, and also to-day under the safeguard of French honor, and to-day one can consider this important transformation as an accomplished fact.

Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic—there you have the promise! It was not enough to make it at the beginning of the war at the head of the troops full of warlike enthusiasm, but later after victory. On the 8th of June, 1859, a proclamation was made to the Italians at Milan which remains famous. It said, "Providence sometimes vouchsafes to nations, as to individuals, the opportunity for sudden development, but only on condition that they know how to profit by it. Take advantage then of the chance which presents itself to you; your hopes for independence so long expressed, so often shattered, will be realized if you show yourselves worthy. League yourselves together with but one end in view—the enfranchisement of your country. Organize yourselves as a military force! Be to-day but soldiers; to-morrow you shall be the citizens of a great and free country."

The Italians, gentlemen, believed in these words. The noble city of Venice, so grand by reason of her traditions and her misfortunes, demonstrated by her heroic defence in

1848, saw on the horizon the ensigns of our ships, and even then saluted with enthusiasm the arrival of the cohorts of liberators. Suddenly the French flags disappeared and the glorious captive has fallen back yet more heavily under the weight of her chains! Listen to her groans, open your hearts to the recital of her woes, count the number of fugitives heartbroken for their country in its death-agony, and you will have no need to ask yourself if France can deny her responsibility or intrench herself in indifference.

Just here, gentlemen, is a dilemma from which we cannot escape: if the war of 1859 were legitimate it was only because Austrian domination was not; if the rule of Austria in Italy were legitimate then the war entered into by France was impious and contrary to the law of nations; if Austria wrought deeds of violence in Italy we should drive her out:—she is still there.

With the question put in this way, what do you make of it? A condition unsettled and consequently intolerable, an incertitude that paralyzes everything. This uncertainty must cease unless the honor of France is to be compromised,—since France cannot rest under the imputation of non-performance of her promises.

There are moreover, gentlemen, two logical sequences from which it is impossible to escape. That which is accomplished in northern Italy as a necessary consequence is repeated in its centre. These are the reasons which have dictated the policy of France toward the Holy See.

I feel the more authorized, gentlemen, to explain with frankness my position upon this Roman question brought forward yesterday, because the facts appear to me to have especial significance. It suffices only to inquire into them to comprehend our real situation! There has been much com-



ment upon the fluctuations in policy of the French government toward the Holy See; I believe myself that these variations are only seeming.

I do not deny that since the peace of Villa Franca, the cabinet of the Tuileries may not have made or appeared to make efforts to re-establish the Romans under the paternal yoke of the papacy, as an honorable speaker has yesterday said; but all the world will agree with me that it has been most easily resigned to the non-success of its negotiations, and that it has been but slightly surprised thereat. And just here I go straight to the truth! I pass over all the ambiguities, all the subterfuges, all the ruses of diplomacy and I arrive at this conclusion: The cabinet of the Tuileries has pronounced the condemnation of the temporal power of the papacy! In order to prove it it is not necessary to go back in memory to 1831 and to talk of the blood of a Bonaparte shed by pontifical hands! I prefer to confine myself to general facts whose tendency can escape no one.

To the great surprise of the entire world there appeared at the end of the year 1859 a pamphlet,—whose author I do not seek,—which was widely circulated, and for which the government allowed itself to be considered responsible. It is there then that its opinion is to be sought. Now that opinion is not doubtful, and I admired yesterday the chivalrous confidence of those who still assert that the government desires to maintain the temporal power of the papacy. Why should we delude ourselves? By a combination of divers circumstances, by a series of causes dating far back, the temporal power of the Pope is seriously menaced under the conditions in which it is exercised to-day. The Papal throne is to-day established upon a volcano, and the pontiff who is charged by God with the maintenance of order upon the earth

is himself constantly threatened by a revolution. He, the representative of the highest moral authority upon earth, maintains it only under the protection of foreign armies. These military occupations protect only to compromise him; they excite against him all the susceptibilities of the national sentiment, they demonstrate that he cannot confide himself to the love and respect of his people.

The policy of the government is herein so clearly explained that I have nothing to add to it. Considering its origin it would be easy for me to show by history that the temporal power is a fact analogous to numberless others of the same nature, that the establishment of feudalism explains. Entirely separate from dogma it in no way merits the reverence lavished upon it by those who believe it necessary to the exercise of spiritual authority.

Established during the twelfth century it has filled history by turns with the brilliancy of its services, the story of its intrigues, and the scandal of its crimes. Always too feeble to defend itself, constantly reduced to depend upon aid from without, it has also become a permanent cause of the divisions, the agitations, and the wars of Italy. Here you have the proof written upon every page of history; a fact of great value to recall in this discussion is that the temporal power of the Pope claimed as a guarantee of his spiritual independence has been on the contrary a cause of long servitude. Besides, what does it avail to talk of the past? Does not the spectacle that we have under our eyes suffice? Is it not shown that the temporal authority of the Holy See subsists only on condition that it is supported, sometimes by Austria, sometimes by France, and those who exert it are so thoroughly conscious of their unpopularity that abandoned to themselves they do not even wait for an uprising, but has-



ten to screen themselves by flight as soon as foreign occupation ceases to protect their tyranny.

Why this ceaseless talk of temporal independence which is but a fiction? And if it were permitted me to further explain my idea I could prove without difficulty that the Church herself, severed from the cares and perils of her temporary power, would be the greater in the eyes of the people, and her authority increased as it was purified.

But these great questions are not within our province. The domain within which I must restrict myself is that of policy, and there inevitable consequences obtrude themselves.

Well, then, if it be true that Italian unity is for France a question alike of interest and honor; if at the same time the temporal power is a permanent obstacle to this union, this power must be abolished. I do not say that it is necessary to employ the force of our arms, but that at least they shall not assist in its maintenance. It is time to put an end to this double game that is being played upon the banks of the Po and upon the Tiber.

Emancipators in the north, we cannot become subservient in the south; if it is objected that our soldiers protect the Holy Father at Rome, I respond that protection without obedience is either ridiculous, or it is oppression in disguise; if we are the defenders of the temporal power let us march upon Bologna already in insurrection, let us invade Romagna, establish the power of the Pope upon its ruins, and stifle liberty in Italian blood, that is the complement of the expedition to Rome. But if we recognize the rights of the people of Bologna by the same token we proclaim that of the Romans, and the presence of our troops that keep them in subjection is an insult to our policy.

Gentlemen, it is with genuine regret that I have heard ex-

tolled in this place the action of a French general who has placed his sword at the service of the pontifical power. I have no fear in saying that this decision will find little response from without, and that most of the old friends of this officer will experience as much sorrow as surprise at his extraordinary intention, but that which crowned the general astonishment and which caused me the utmost surprise was the affirmative sign by which the President of the Council of State made known yesterday that an authorization apparently asked for had been favorably received by the French government, and that it was permitted this officer to serve in the Pontifical army without losing his authority; therefore the statement is official; but there are moral effects greater than all administrative acts. Either the commission of this officer is absurd or it obliges him to take command of that army of mercenaries, Swiss, Germans, and Croats, who sell their blood for the Papacy, to march at their head for the conquest of Romagna and to gather from the smoking walls of Bologna the bloody laurels of Colonel Schmidt. But on that day he will have facing him the allies of France, and perhaps behind the Piedmontese lines he will find the valiant legions whom he has so often led to victory, and there he will be reduced to the alternative of resigning his command or of drawing his sword against his country.

As for myself, I demand of the government that it cease those many equivocations unworthy of a nation like France, and that it put an end to the misunderstandings which are the direct consequence of a policy of liars and turncoats unacceptable to the country.

[Special translation by Mary Emerson Adams.]