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A DAY OF DAYS.

Mr. Gladstone Unfolds his Home Rule Scheme.

IMPRESSIVE SCENES IN THE HOUSE.

Tremendous Excitement Among The Parnellites:

THE G. O. M. CHEERED TO THE ECHO.

Ireland to Have Her Own Parliament.

NO REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER.

A House of Lords and a House of Commons.

THE FAILURE OF COERCION

The Customs, Excise and General Taxation to go to Ireland—A Viceroy Maintained—The Constabulary, Military, Foreign, Colonial Affairs and Coinage to Remain With the Empire—Failure of English Efforts at Pacification—Why Mr. Trevelyan Resigned—Mr. Parnell's Views.

LONDON, April 8.—To-day has been the most eventful and the greatest in the English parliament within the recollection of living man. As early as 6 o'clock in the morning, when the doors of the chamber were opened by the sweepers, members were present ready to secure seats, some of them bearing evidence of not having closed their eyes the whole night. The Parnellites were among the first on hand and secured their seats in a compact mass in front of Mr. Gladstone. Few outsiders had any chance of being spectators of the most memorable scene in the history of the British empire. At 8 o'clock every seat except ministers', which, of course, are always reserved, had a hat on it. Nearly seven thousand applications for seats in the galleries were made to the speaker and all but a little more than a bare hundred had to be disappointed, the seating capacity of the speaker's gallery being only fifty-two and of the strangers' sixty-five. One hundred pounds was offered for a seat without a transfer being effected. Members in many instances sat in their chairs and slept through the time until the house was regularly opened, having food and drink brought to them.

When the sun rose and the day became warmer the river terrace was sought by the majority, and here many expedients were resorted to to while away the time. The Parnellites were in a particularly happy frame of mind, acting as, to use the expression of one of them, "they had a sure thing on a day for Ireland." A number of them borrowed a bicycle and had raced up and down the terrace with it until finally it collapsed, throwing H. J. O'Brien, Parnellite member for Tipperary, upon his head on the flagging. He was picked up, bleeding profusely and very badly stunned. His forehead was deeply cut over the eye, and his face and hands were much torn and bruised. He was in fact so seriously injured that he had to be removed to the hospital, but he insisted on leaving his hat in his seat and going bareheaded after his wounds were dressed to occupy his seat.

The weather in the fore part of the afternoon was warm, clear and beautiful. After exhausting expedients to kill time outside, the members began to assemble in the house about one o'clock. In an hour the floor was well covered with groups animatedly discussing the event of the day and debating the possible outcome.

All day long crowds of people gathered around the gates, and besides indulging in all kinds of horse-play cheered or hooted members as their fancy pleased them. In the afternoon the jam was simply tremendous, the multitude covering all the space down to Westminster bridge, and extending pretty well up Parliament street towards Whitehall. In addition an immense throng of people filled Downing street, where Mr. Gladstone's official residence is situated. This crowd was patiently waiting for the premier to make his departure for the house of commons.

An incident that was taken as an occurrence of ill-omen was the fact that the enormous clock to which Big Ben, England's giant bell, rings time in the Victoria-tower on the southwest corner of the parliament buildings, stopped at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, precisely at the hour the speaker took the chair.

Outside the House.

Soon after 3 o'clock all the thoroughfares about St. Stephen's were so crowded with people that attempts to carry on traffic in that neighborhood had to be suspended, mounted police were placed on duty patrolling because it was impossible for the officers afoot to get about. In the house of commons members now began to divide themselves into parties with a view to their probable support of, or opposition to, the coming speech. They also indulged in considerable bantering of one another. Peter Rylands, liberal member for Burnley, who had failed to secure a seat on the floor, but had one in one of the galleries, attempted to make a speech from his lofty position. He was greeted with a volley of yells, which rendered his voice inaudible and compelled him to relinquish his purpose. It was ascertained that no less than 450 of the 670 members had entered and secured their seats by "hatting" or personal occupation before 12 o'clock.

Between 3 and 4 the Parnellites entered in a body and took position of their seats. Thomas Power O'Connor explained the haste exhibited by his party to secure seats by saying that the tories had organized to take possession of the seats in such a way as to make it impossible for the Parnellites to sit together, in order to rob Mr. Gladstone of the chorus of cheers which the full-throated Irish members would be sure to give him if they were in a body and the orator were to their liking. Mr. O'Connor said when his colleagues discovered the conspiracy they at once took steps to circumvent it by reaching the scene in time to get the choice of places. Mr. O'Connor said he was satisfied with the result and added that the Irish chorus would be not only full-throated, but unanimous.

Shortly before 4 o'clock the weather changed. Clouds gathered, and the rumbling of thunder was heard, being taken by the superstitious of coming evil to the empire, a feeling of dread that was subsequently increased by the stoppage of Big Ben as previously referred to. Nevertheless the mass of people outside increased and became denser. Catholic priests were conspicuously numerous in the crowd, and no less than 35 branches of the London organization of the Irish National league were represented by full deputations, whose identity was easily established even at a distance by their regalias. Political clubs beyond number were also present to take part in the popular demonstration. At 4 o'clock deputations from 32 liberal clubs had been counted in the throng.

The G. O. M.'s Greeting by the Crowds.

Mr. Gladstone spent the whole morning at his official residence, reading the papers of the day, answering telegrams, and writing or dictating a few letters. Not a soul was allowed to see him beyond his immediate subordinates and John Morley, Chief Secretary for Ireland, for whom he sent and held a close conference of an hour with. After lunch and before going to the house he took a drive through St. James' park, going away from and avoiding the crowd. He desired to be a while in the fresh air before going to parliament. He returned to his residence, and in a few minutes emerged on his way to the commons. The police had cleared a way for him to Parliament street, and down that across Bridge street to the house. They had to work hard to keep it open. Mr. Gladstone went in an open carriage, and his appearance was greeted with deafening cheers. The enthusiasm of the people all the way to the commons, entrance was spontaneous and thrilling. It vented itself at the beginning of the journey in a roar of applause, hearty and great enough to make the great statesman dizzy, and when the whole immense multitude caught the signal one tremendous long sustained cheer was sent up, the like of which was never before heard in London, and which was plainly audible in the house. The cheering continued until long after Mr. Gladstone had entered the parliament buildings.

In the House.

Precisely at 4 o'clock the Right Hon. Arthur Wellesley Peel, speaker of the house, took the chair. The chamber at the time was packed to the very extreme limit of its capacity, and every doorway showed the hallways crammed with people, all craning to see and hear. Half an hour later Mr. Gladstone entered. He was greeted with loud and prolonged cheering, which continued for several minutes. Among the liberals and Parnellites the wildest enthusiasm prevailed, and it is safe to say that no such scene was ever witnessed before in the house of commons. The venerable premier was evidently touched, but he strove to maintain his calmness and succeeded admirably. Quietly and with surpassing dignity and gentleness of manner he greeted his immediate friends and then sat down, apparently the only unmoved man amid all the tumult. His face was inscrutable, but even his bitterest opponents were forced to acknowledge that at no time has he more impressively appeared the "Grand Old Man." It was a picture which will linger to the end in the memory of the beholder.

The Scheme Unfolded.

When the cheering had subsided Mr. Gladstone rose and moved for permission to introduce a bill to amend the previous legislation, and to make provision for the future government of Ireland. His manner was as calm and as unhesitating as if he were making the most ordinary motion of his life. At first his voice was somewhat husky, but speedily became as clear, fresh and strong as at any time in the last ten years. All was hushed as in making his motion Mr. Gladstone said the time had arrived when both honor and duty required parliament to come to a decisive resolution. It should be the endeavor to liberate parliament from the restraints under which, during late years, it had ineffectually struggled, and to restore legislation to its unimpeded course. It is our duty to establish harmonious relations between Great Britain and Ireland on a footing of free institutions in which Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen have a like interest. This sentiment was greeted with prolonged cheers.

As soon as quiet was restored, Mr. Gladstone entered upon a brief review of the general features of the past legislation for Ireland. He dwelt upon the coercion and repressive measures which had been put in force from time to time, and deprecated any further resort to the rude remedies of intimidation. "Since the year 1833," he said, "only two years have passed without coercive legislation for Ireland, and in spite of all this the law continues to be disregarded, because it is invested, in the eyes of the Irish, with a foreign aspect. Were further coercion to be successful it would require two conditions, the autocracy of the government and the secrecy of public transactions. [Parnellite cheers.] The main spring of the law in England is felt to be English; in Scotland to be Scotch, but in Ireland it is not felt to be Irish. The first condition of civilized life in Ireland demands that the people have confidence in the law, and sympathy therewith. The problem, therefore, before parliament at the present time is to reconcile imperial unity with the diversity of legislature."

He believed that the government had found the solution of this problem in the establishment of a parliament at Dublin for the conduct of business both legislative and administrative. [Loud cheers by the Parnellites.] "The political equality of the three countries," said Mr. Gladstone, "must be recognized, therefore, there must be an equitable distribution of the imperial funds. The peculiar circumstances existing in Ireland also make it necessary to establish safeguards for the minority in that country. The government will be obliged to consider the class connected with the land and the relations which they will sustain with the Protestant minority. As Ireland is to have a democratic legislature it will therefore be impracticable for the Irish representatives to come here."

"The intention of the government bill," Mr. Gladstone said "is that the parliament at Dublin shall be a dual body. It is to be composed of two orders, each of which shall have power to veto the acts of the other. The first order will include 103 members, the second order 206. Twenty-eight of the present Irish peers will continue to sit in the house of lords, and they will be granted the option to have life seats in the first Irish order. The office of viceroy of Ireland will not be discontinued. The bill intends that the viceroy shall remain, and that the office shall hereafter be non-political, that is the incumbent of office will not be expected to retire with the downfall of the British ministry. The bill empowers the Queen to delegate to the viceroy such of her prerogatives as she may choose.

"The Irish constabulary will remain under the same authority as at present. The bill provides that the parliament shall have no authority to establish or endow any particular religious sect. It will be empowered, however, to deal with the laws affecting weights and measures and the postal administration.

"The bill will preserve the fiscal unity of the empire, but the entire proceeds arising from customs and excise duties in Ireland will be held for the benefit of that country. These funds are to be used for the discharge of Irish obligations. Any balance which may remain after this to remain in the Irish exchequer.

"The provisions of the bill vest in the Irish legislature the general power of imposing taxes. It is proposed that the maximum duration of the Irish parliament shall be five years. It shall have no power to interfere with the prerogatives of the crown, such as the army, navy, or other armed forces. It shall have nothing to do with foreign or colonial affairs."

THE SPEECH.

Mr. Gladstone said: "I could wish that it had been possible to expound to the house the whole policy and intentions of the government with reference to Ireland. Although the questions of reform in the tenure of land and Irish government are so closely and inseparably connected it is yet impossible to undertake the task of elucidating both questions together. I do not know of any previous task laid upon me involving so diversified an exposition. In contemplating the magnitude of this task I am filled with painful mistrust, but that mistrust is absorbed in a feeling of the responsibility that will be upon me if I should fail to bring home to the public mind the magnitude and the various aspects of the question. We should no longer fence or skirmish with this question. [Loud cheers.] We should come to close quarters with it. [Cheers.] We should get at the root of it. We should take means not merely intended for the wants of to-day or to-morrow, but should look into the distant future. We have arrived at a stage in our political transactions with Ireland when the two roads part one from the other, not soon probably to meet again. The time is come when it is incumbent on the duty and the honor of parliament to come to some decisive resolution on this matter. Our intention is, therefore, to propose to the commons that which, if happily accepted, will, we think, liberate parliament from the restraints under which of late years it has ineffectually struggled to perform the business of the country, and will restore British legislation to its natural, ancient, unimpeded course, and, above all, establish harmonious relations between Great Britain and Ireland—[hear, hear]—on a footing of those free institutions to which Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen alike are unalterably attached." [Lord cheers, prolonged by the home rule members.]

Coercion a Failure.

After reviewing the condition and crime existing in Ireland since 1833, Mr. Gladstone described the coercive legislation enforced during the same period as not exceptional but habitual. He compared Ireland during all this period to a man trying to find sustenance in medicine only meant for a cure. Coercion, however, had, he said, proved no cure. Serious dissatisfaction continued to prevail in Ireland, and if England and Scotland had suffered similar hardships, he believed the people of those countries would resort to means similar to those the Irish had used to ventilate their grievances. [Parnellite, cheers.] Coercion was admitted to have been a failure for the past fifty-three years, only two of which had been wholly free from repressive legislation. Coercion, unless stern and unbending and under an autocratic government, must always fail. Such coercion England should never resort to until every other means had failed.

The Alternative to Coercion.

The basis of the whole mischief was the fact that the law was discredited in Ireland. It came to the Irish people with a foreign aspect, and their alternative to coercion was to strip the law of its foreign character and invest it with a domestic character. [Loud Irish cheers]. Ireland, though represented in parliament numerically equal with England or Scotland, was really not in the same position politically. England made her own laws. Scotland had been encouraged to make her own laws as effectually as if she had six times her present representation. The consequence was that the mainspring of the law in England and Scotland was felt to be the English or Scotch. The mainspring of the law in Ireland was not felt by the people of Ireland, was not felt to be the Irish. He, therefore, deemed it little less than mockery to hold that the state of the law, which he had described, conduced to the real unity of this great, noble, world-wide empire. "Something must be done," continued Mr. Gladstone, "something is imperatively demanded from us to restore in Ireland the first conditions of civil life—the free course of the law, the liberty of every individual in the exercise of every legal right, their confidence in the law and their sympathy with the law, apart from which no country can be called a civilized country." What then was the problem before him? It was this—how to reconcile imperial unity with diversity of legislatures. Mr. Grattan held that these purposes were reconcilable. More than that, he demanded a severance of the parliaments with a view to the continuity and everlasting unity of the empire. Was that an audacious paradox? Other countries had solved the problem, and under much more difficult circumstances. "We ourselves might," he said, "have solved it with respect to Ireland during the time that Ireland had a separate parliament. Did it destroy the unity of the British empire?" [Cheers.]

Examples that Govern.

Mr. Gladstone then pointed to the case of Norway and Sweden, which countries were, he said, united on a footing of strict legislative independence and co-equality. Then, there was, he added, the case of Austria and Hungary. And with regard to those countries, he asked, whether the condition of Austria at the present moment was not more perfectly solid, secure and harmonious than it was prior to the existing condition between that country and Hungary. It could not be questioned that its condition was one of solidity and safety compared with that of the time when Hungary was making war upon her. The claim of Ireland to make laws for herself was never denied, continued Mr. Gladstone, until the reign of George II. The parliament of Grattan was as independent in point of authority as it could be.

What the Union Means.

They (the government) were not about to propose the repeal of the union. It was impossible to propose the repeal of the union until they had settled what was the sense of the union. He defined the essence of the union to be the fact, that, whereas before the union, there were two separate and independent parliaments, after the union there was but one. To speak of the dismemberment of the empire was in this century a misnomer and an absurdity. The fault of the administrative system of Ireland was that its spring and source of action was English. [Cheers.] The government, therefore, felt that the settlement of the question was to be found by establishing a parliament in Dublin—[Irish cheers]—for the conduct of business, of both a legislative and an administrative nature. The political economy of the three countries must be reconciled. There should be an equitable distribution of imperial burdens. Next there must be reasonable safeguards for the minority and why could not this minority in Ireland take care of itself? He had no doubt about its ability to do that, when we have passed through the present critical period and been disarmed of the jealousies with which any change was approached. But for the present there were three classes of people whom they were bound to consider: First, the class connected with the land; secondly, the civil servants and officers of the government in Ireland; thirdly, the Protestant minority.

The Claims of Ulster.

The speaker could not admit the claim of the Protestant minority in Ulster, or elsewhere, to rule on questions which were for the whole of Ireland. Several schemes for the separate government of Ulster had been submitted to him. One was that Ulster province should be excluded from the operations of the present bill. Another was that a separate autonomy should be provided for Ulster, and a third suggested that certain rights should be reserved and placed under provincial councils. No one of these proposals had appeared to the government to be so completely justified by its merits, or by the weight of public opinion in its favor, as to warrant the government in including it in their bill. However, they deserved fair consideration, and the free discussion that would follow the introduction of the present bill might lead to the discovery of one plan which had a predominating amount of support, and the government would do their utmost to adopt the plan that seemed the most likely to give general satisfaction.

The Settlement of 1782.

Referring to the great settlement of 1782, Mr. Gladstone said: "It was not a real settlement, and why? Was it Ireland that prevented a real settlement being made? [Irish cheers.] No! it was a mistaken policy of England, listening to the pernicious voice and claims of ascendancy. [Hear.] The Irish parliament labored under great disadvantages; yet it had in it a spark of the spirit of freedom, and it emancipated the Roman Catholics in Ireland when the Roman Catholics in England were still unemancipated. It received Lord Fitzwilliam with open arms, and when after a brief career he was recalled to England the Irish parliament registered their confidence in him by passing a resolution desiring that he should still administer the government. Lord Fitzwilliam had promoted the admission of Roman Catholics into the Irish parliament, and there was a spirit in that parliament which, if it had free scope, would have done a noble work, and probably would have solved all the Irish problems and have saved this government infinite trouble."

No Representation at Westminster.

The speaker said he would now pass to the plan how to give Ireland a legislature to deal with Irish as distinguished from imperial affairs. [Hear.] He was confronted at the outset with what he felt to be a formidable dilemma. Ireland was to have a domestic legislature for Irish affairs. That was the postulate from which he set out. Were the Irish members and the Irish representative peers in either house to continue to form part of the representative assemblies? The speaker thought it would be perfectly clear that if Ireland was to have a domestic legislature the Irish peers and the Irish representatives could not come to parliament to control England and Scotland's affairs. [Cheers.] Then with regard to the question whether Irish representatives should come to the house of commons for the settlement of imperial affairs, he thought that could not be done. He had, therefore, arrived at the conclusion that Irish members and Irish peers ought not to sit in the palace of Westminster. [Oh! oh! and cheers.] If Irish members were not to sit in the house of commons, Irish peers ought not to sit in the other house of parliament. [Hear, hear and oh!]

The Question of Taxation.

How were the Irish people to be taxed if they had legislators in both countries? He believed that Great Britain would never impose upon Ireland taxation without representation, and added: "If we were to have taxation without representation, then there would come another question which would raise a practical difficulty, and that is, are we to give up the fiscal unity of the empire?" He did not think that by giving up the fiscal unity of the empire they were giving up the unity of the empire. He, however, stood upon the substantial ground that to give up the fiscal unity of the empire would be a public inconvenience and misfortune. It would be a great misfortune for Great Britain and a greater misfortune for Ireland. He conceived that one escape from that dilemma would be such an arrangement as would give the imperial government authority to levy customs duties and such excise duties as were immediately connected with the customs. The conditions of such an arrangement were: First, that the general power of taxation over and above these particular duties should pass unequivocably into the hands of a domestic legislature in Ireland; second, that the proceeds of the customs and excise should be held for the benefit of Ireland, and for the discharge of the obligations of Ireland, and the payment of the balance after these obligations were discharged, should be entered into the Irish exchequer and be for the free disposal of the Irish legislative body. The government bill provided for this, and the bill then provided that representatives of Ireland should no longer sit in the house of commons or Irish peers in the house of commons or Irish peers in the house of lords, but at the same time they would have the right of addressing the crown, and so possess all the constitutional rights they had now. [Oh! and cheers.] It would therefore relieve the Irish members from attendance at Westminster. Mr. Gladstone said he had several reasons why this should be the case. Even if it were possible for them to attend, as they had a parliament of their own, it would be very difficult to have two classes of members in the British house, one class who could vote on all questions connected with the business of the country and another which could only vote on special and particular questions which were brought before parliament. Again, it would be very difficult for gentlemen in Ireland to decide who should go to Westminster or who should remain in Ireland, and at the same time to maintain the fiscal unity of the nation. There is another point with regard to the powers of the legislature. Two courses might have been taken—one was to endow this legislative body with particular legislative powers, the others was to except from the sphere of its action those subjects which the government thought ought to be accepted and to leave to it every other power. The latter plan had been adopted. The administrative power would pass with the legislative power.

Functions of the Irish Parliament.

The duration of the proposed legislative body should not exceed five years. The functions which it was proposed to withdraw from the cognizance of the legislative body were three grand and principal functions, viz.: Everything which related to the crown; all that belonged to the defence, the army, the navy, the entire organization of the armed forces, and our foreign and colonial relations. It would not be competent to pass laws for the establishment or endowment of any particular religion. [Cheers.] As to trade and navigation it would be a misfortune to Ireland to be separated from England. The Irish parliament would have nothing to do with coinage or the creation of legal tender. The subject of the postoffice would be left to the judgment of parliament, though the government inclined to the view, that it would be more convenient to leave postoffice matters in the hands of the postmaster-general. Quarantine and one or two other subjects were left in the same category.

Composition of the Parliament.

The next subject he had to approach was that of the composition of the proposed legislative body. The bill proposed to introduce two orders who would sit and deliberate together with the right of voting separately on any occasion and on the demand of either body, which could be able to interpose a veto upon any measure for a limited time, either until the dissolution or for three years. The orders would be constituted as follows: First, there were the 28 representatives peers who could not continue to sit in the house of lords after the representatives of the Irish people left the house of commons. They would have the option of sitting as a portion of the first order in the Irish parliament, with the power of sitting for life. Some people thought that the option was not likely to be largely used, but the speaker was not of that number. [Hear, hear.] He proposed that with the 28 peers now in the house of lords there should sit seventy-five representatives elected by the Irish people. With regard to the powers of election, the constituency would be composed of occupiers of the value of £25 and upwards, and they would be elected for ten years. The property qualification of these representatives would be £200 annual value, or a capital value of £4000.

Mr. Gladstone then said he proposed that the 101 Irish members in the house of commons should be members of the Irish parliament, and whilst the first order of the legislative body would consist of 103 members, the second order would consist of 206.

The Viceroy.

It was proposed to retain the viceroy, but he would not be the representative of a party or quit office with the outgoing government. The Queen would be empowered to delegate to him any prerogatives she now enjoyed or would enjoy.

The religious disability now existing, which makes Roman Catholics ineligible to the office would be removed.

The Judiciary.

With regard to the judges who had been concerned in the administration of the criminal law in Ireland, Her Majesty might, if she saw cause, by order-in-council, antedate the pensions of those particular judges. In future, the judges would be appointed by the Irish government, be paid out of the consolidated fund, and be removable only on the joint address of the two orders.

The Constabulary.

The constabulary would remain under the present terms of service and under their present authority. The charge for the constabulary was now £1,500,000 per annum, and the speaker felt confident the charge would be reduced, but for the present he proposed to relieve the Irish legislative body of all expenditure from the constabulary in excess of £1,000,000 per annum. The government had no desire to exempt the peace of Ireland in reference to its final position from the ultimate control of the Irish legislative body. The speaker had no jealousy upon that subject, as the care of providing for the ordinary security of life and property was the first duty of a local government.

The Civil Service.

With respect to the civil service the government did not think their case was the same as that of the constabulary and the transfer of the civil service to the legislative body would effect a great economy. He, therefore, thought it would be wise to authorize the civil servants now serving to claim the pensions that would be due to them upon the abolition of their offices, provided they served two years in order to prevent the inconvenience from a rapid transition of the service, and at the close of that time both parties should be free to negotiate afresh.

Ireland's Tribute to the Empire.

That was all, Mr. Gladstone stated, that he had to say on the subject of the new Irish constitution. The proportion of the imperial burdens which he had to propose that Ireland should bear, was as one to fourteen. He thought the new Irish parliament ought to start with a balance to its credit, but the only fund that it would have, if left alone, would be the solitary £20,000 from the Irish church fund. He knew no way of providing the necessary money except by carving it out of this year's budget, and he proposed that in the future Ireland should pay one-fifteenth towards the imperial expenditure.

The Finances of the Country.

He went on to speak of how much Ireland would gain by exporting spirits to Great Britain, and how much Great Britain would lose to Ireland by the flow of money from one to the other. As a result of careful enquiry, he stated with confidence, not as an actual demonstration, but as a matter of certainty, with regard to the far greater portion, that the Irish receipts would gain from Great Britain a sum that would amount to no less a total than £1,400,000 per annum. He then entered into an elaborate calculation of the total income and expenditure of Ireland, in the course of which he stated that the total charge to Ireland, as an imperial contribution could be put at £3,242,000 per annum. He stated as an instance of the intense demoralization of the Irish administration that, while the postoffice in England showed a large surplus, in Ireland it just paid its expenses. He estimated the total expenditure of Ireland, including a payment as a sinking fund for the Irish portion of the national debt, at £7,946,000 per annum. Against that there was a total income of £8,350,000, or a surplus to the good of £404,000.

Failure of England's Efforts.

"It has naturally been said in England and Scotland," continued Mr. Gladstone, "that for a great many years past we have been struggling to pass good laws for Ireland and that we have sacrificed our time, neglected our interests and paid our money, and we have done all this in the endeavor to give Ireland good laws. That is quite true with regard to the general course of legislation in 1849. Many of those laws have been passed under an influence which I can hardly describe other than as the influence of fear."

With regard to the history of the land question, no man could know that until he had followed it from year to year, beginning with the Devon commission, the appointment of which, in the speaker's opinion, did the highest honor to the memory of Sir Robert Peel. [Cheers.] The whole labor of the commission had been frustrated by the domination of selfish interests. [Parnellite cheers.] He did not deny the good intentions of the British parliament to pass good laws for Ireland, but he said, in order to work out the purposes of government, there is something more in this world occasionally required than the passing of good laws. [Hear, hear.] It is sometimes necessary, not only that good laws should be passed, but also that they should be passed by the proper persons. The passing of many good laws is not enough in cases where the strong instincts of the people, distinct marks of character, situation and history require not only that these laws should be good, but that they should proceed from congenial and native sources, and that, besides being good laws, they should be their own laws. [Irish cheers]. "At times I doubted whether this necessity had been fully developed, and especially with respect to Ireland. If doubts could be entertained before the last general election they cannot now be entertained."

Witness, the Colonies.

The principle I have laid down I am not laying down for Ireland exceptionally. It is the principle upon which, within my recollection, to the immense advantage of the country, parliament has not only adhered, but has revolutionized our method of government. When I had office at the colonial office, fifty years ago, the colonies were governed from Downing street. The result was that the home government was always in conflict with the countries which had legislative assemblies. We had continual shocks with the colonies then. But all that has been changed. The British parliament has tried to pass good laws for the colonies, but the colonies said, "We don't want your good laws; we want our own good laws," and parliament at length admitted the reasonableness of this principle. This principle has now come home to us from across the sea, and the house has now to consider whether it is applicable to the case of Ireland. * * *

"We now stand face to face with what is termed 'Irish nationality,' venting itself in a demand for general self-government in Irish, not in imperial, affairs."

On Patriotism.

In conclusion Mr. Gladstone said: "I hold that there is such a thing as local patriotism, which in itself is not bad, but good. [Cheers.] The Welshman is full of local patriotism. The Scotchman is full of local patriotism. No: the Scotch nationality is as strong as it ever was, and if the need were to arise I believe it would be as ready to assert itself as it was in the days of Bannockburn, [Cheers.] If I read Irish history aright, misfortune and calamity have wedded her sons to their soil with an embrace yet closer than is known elsewhere, and the Irishman is still more profoundly Irish. But it does not follow that because his local patriotism is strong he should be incapable of an imperial patriotism. There are two modes of presenting the subject which I have argued. One of them is to present what we now recommend as good, and the other is to present it as a choice of evils, and the least among the varied evils with which as a possibility we are confronted. Well, I have argued the matter as if it had been a choice of evils. I do not know whether it may appear too bold, but in my own heart I cherish the hope that this is not merely a choice of the lesser evil, but that it may be proved to be ere long a good in itself. [Loud cheers.] There is, I know, an answer to this, and what is the answer? The answer is only found in the view which rests upon a basis of despair, of absolute condemnation of Ireland and Irishmen as exceptions to those beneficial provisions which have made in general, Europeans in particular, Englishmen and Americans, capable of self government, that an Irishman is a lusus naturæ; that justice, common sense, moderation, natural prosperity have no meaning for him; that all that he can understand and all that he can appreciate is strife, perpetual dissension. Now, sir, I am not going to argue in this house whether this view, this monstrous view [Irish cheers], is a correct one. I say the Irishman is as capable of loyalty as another man. [Renewed Irish cheers.] But if his loyalty has been checked, why it is because the laws by which he is governed do not present themselves to him, as they do to us in England or Scotland, with a native and congenial element. I ask the house to show to Europe and America that we too can face the political problems which America had to face 20 years ago and which many countries in Europe have been called on to face and have not feared to deal with. I ask that we shall practice as we have very often preached, and that in our own case we should be firm and fearless in applying the doctrines we have often inculcated on others; that the concession of local self-government is not the way to sap and impair, but to strengthen and consolidate unity. I ask that we should learn to rely less on mere written stipulations and more on those better stipulations written on the heart and mind of man. I ask that we should apply to Ireland the happy experience we have gained in England and Scotland, where a course of generations has now taught us, not as a dream or a theory, but as a matter of practice and of life that the best and surest foundation we can find to build on is the foundation afforded by the affections and convictions and will of man, and that it is thus by the decree of the Almighty that far more than by any other method we may be enabled to secure at once the social happiness, the power and the permanence of the empire."

Mr. Gladstone finished his address at 8 o'clock, having spoken three hours and twenty-five minutes, and resumed his seat amid bursts of enthusiastic cheers, which were sustained for several minutes.

Mr. Trevelyan on His Feet.

When the applause had subsided Mr. George Otto Trevelyan, who recently resigned the position of Secretary for Scotland, arose. After eulogizing Mr. Gladstone's oration Mr. Trevelyan proceeded to say that he interposed thus early in the debate in order to explain the reason of his resignation. He resigned with extreme compunction and regret, although the step when finally decided upon was taken with neither doubt as to its propriety nor the least hesitation. He had joined the cabinet because, as he considered at the time, to have remained outside would have been tantamount to a confession that the liberal party was a home rule party. This was a confession which he should never be willing to make. He could never consent to such a scheme as Mr. Gladstone had proposed. He had done his best to prevent the liberals from identifying themselves with what he regarded as neither for the welfare nor the benefit of the country. Not longer ago than last June the whole cabinet was of the same opinion as himself. What was it he would like to know that had happened since then to change them? The only security, he urged, that parliament would have, according to Mr. Gladstone's plan, for the money it would be called upon to vote for the purchase of the Irish landlord estates would be the willingness of the Irish farmers to keep up their payments. How much dependence could be placed upon that? The speaker at this point interrupted Mr. Trevelyan, and reminded him that no land bill had yet been submitted to parliament. Mr. Trevelyan acknowledged the correction, and proceeded with his speech by asking: "How long would it be, if the measure that has been submitted should become a law, before the Irish contribution to the imperial exchequer would be denounced by the Irish and reprobated as an English tribute? For my part, I have no hesitation in saying that I think the complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain would be preferable to the plan of the government that has just been preferred. We should then know the worst at once." As an alternative scheme, Mr. Trevelyan said he would propose that the execution of the law and the maintenance of order should be maintained in the hands of the Central government. Then he would propose the creation of certain local bodies, which should be composed of members freely elected. These bodies should be entrusted with and held responsible for many of the subordinate functions of government, such as providing for education, superintending the details of local government, providing for the relief of the poor, and so forth.

Mr. Parnell Arises.

At the conclusion of Mr. Trevelyan's speech, Mr. Parnell arose and was received with cheers by the Irish members. He said he would reserve his full expression of opinion until he had seen the bill. He thought the bill would be found to be of equal benefit to England and Ireland. The bill nevertheless contained blots which the Irish representatives would do their best to remove. One of these was to be found in the financial proposals of the bill which he regarded as very unfavorable to Ireland, especially in regard to the Irish tribute to the imperial exchequer. He also complained of the proposition relative to the two orders intended to constitute the Irish parliament on the ground that the first order, consisting of peers not subject to the influence of the popular vote, would have the power of hanging up all measures demanded by the people and their representatives for two or three years. On the whole, however apart from these defects, he believed the measure would be cheerfully accepted by the Irish people.

Mr. Plunket, conservative member for Dublin university, opposed the scheme as going further than what was known as "the repeal of the union." He thought the bill would never be passed, and would cause consternation and alarm.

Mr. Chamberlain moved the adjournment.

Mr. Gladstone will to-morrow move that the debate have precedence over other matters. After his speech the premier left the house, used up by his effort, and retired to bed.

After the adjournment eighty Parnellites met in caucus and decided upon uniform action on the line indicated by Mr. Parnell.

Opinions of the Press.

LONDON, April 9.—The daily papers all acknowledge that Mr. Gladstone made a great oratorical effort, worthy of his best days, but the general opinion appears to be that the measure in its present form cannot carry. The Morning Chronicle (independent liberal) voices the popular opinion when it says the scheme created a feeling of stupor and bewilderment. Mr. Gladstone rose amid a frenzy of enthusiasm, but resumed his seat amid only Hibernian cheers and an occasional radical shout of approval. The bulk of the house was silent.

Excitement in Dublin.

DUBLIN, April 8.—The city has been in a state of political excitement all day. There has been feverish anxiety to hear from the house of commons. The sole topic of the exchange, club rooms and all places where telegrams were being received from London has been Mr. Gladstone's speech. The excitement here exceeds that caused during the catholic emancipation proceedings.

The Damage to the Breakwater.

Major H. A. Gray of Stratford, government engineer, yesterday made an inspection of the breakwater for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of damage executed by Tuesday's great storm. The structure is not at all injured to the extent at first supposed. The 1202 feet of the breakwater, which was weighted with heavy stones last fall, remains intact. Forty feet at the extreme west end has been washed away. Major Gray expressed surprise at the lightness of the damage, considering the severity of the storm. He says had it not been for the breakwater, not a house would have been left on the east end of the Island, and the shipping in the harbor would have been considerably damaged. He will make a report to the department of public works at Ottawa.

Local Labor Notes.

Representatives of the executive committee of the Master Bakers' association and delegates from the Bakers' union met again last night, to endeavor to adjust differences. Practically nothing was done. Both parties seem to be as much at variance as ever, and the matter will probably have to be settled by arbitration.

The Plasterer's union elected these officers at their meeting last night in Dufferin hall: President, S. Dunbar; vice-president, Stewart Elliott; financial secretary, H. Murphy; treasurer, C. Chase; check steward, Robert Stephen; trustees, Ed. Coath, John Brooks and Thos. Boston; auditors, Jas. Wallace, W. Sammis and Wm. McDonald.

When regard is had for class and number of readers and price per line The World is the best and cheapest advertising paper in the city.

Funeral of the Late T. H. Cooper.

The funeral of the late T. H. Cooper took place yesterday morning from the Union station to St. James' cemetery. The remains were followed to their last resting place by representative railway men and friends from all over the Dominion. The religious rites were performed by Rev. A. J. Broughall, of St. Stephen's church. The pallbearers were James Bell, J. M. Riddell, W. R. Tiffin, R. Larmour, Thomas McGaw and J. D. Irwin.

The Telephone Service.

Local Manager Neilson said last night that it would be the end of April before any telephone service could be offered the public. It will take nearly three months to replace all the switches, etc., as they were before the fire. Mr. C. E. Scribner of Chicago, a Western Union electrician, will have charge of the re construction work. The exchange will be temporarily located in Thompson's new block at Bay and Adelaide streets.

Boys' tweed suits at $1.00, $1.25, $1.50, $1 75, $2.00, $2.50 and up at Petleys'. 135

JOTTINGS ABOUT TOWN.

The Royal Grenadiers turned out last night to their weekly drill 250 strong. They were put through the manual and battalion drill by Capt. Manley.

The Canadian Packers' association held a business meeting at the Walker house yesterday afternoon, which was largely attended. These officers were elected: President, W Boultbee, Picton; vice-president, A E Carpenter, Hamilton; secretary-treasurer, C R Richardson, Toronto.

The Parliament street Baptist church is in a prosperous condition, having a membership of 230. The business meeting was held Wednesday night. During the year 32 persons were baptized. The receipts were $2000. The church supports a very successful mission on Eastern avenue, in Mission hall, at the head of Water street.

Mr. H M Blight (leader) was last night presented with a handsome gold watch and chain by the members of the Central Methodist church choir, on the occasion of his leaving them to accept the position of musical director of the choir of Elm street church. In connection with the presentation Mr. Blight and his choir gave an entertaining concert.

Toronto branch No. 388 of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers held a social and supper in the pleasant, airy dining-room of the Richardson house last night. The wives and sweethearts of the members were present in goodly numbers. Mr. J. R. Gibson, the founder of the Toronto branch, was in the chair. Toasts, speeches and songs combined to make an enjoyable evening. The motto of the society is, "Be united and industrious."

Everything new at Bonner's. New Scarfs from 25c. up; new Shirts, linen fronts, for 75c.; new Socks merino, 25 cents—5 pairs for $1 00. Bonner's, 157 Yonge st., cor. Richmond. 135

The dimples that bloom in the spring tra-la
Have something to do with the face,
And the nobby spring hats now selling at quinn's
Are going at a two-forty pace.

Mr. Gladstone's Speech.

—All England was excitement yesterday over Mr. Gladstone's speech. The old gentleman was in good health and spoke well. All Canada to-day is excited over Dineen's spring hats. Hats, not politics, is what dame nature cut out Dineen for. Corner King and Yonge streets. x

London and Lancashire Fire Ins. Co., Temporary Office, Public Library Building. 25

IT WAS NO IDLE THREAT.

DR. ORTON TRIES TO PUMMEL A GLOBE EDITORIAL WRITER,

And Receives, if Anything, Rather Better Than He Gave—A Pretty Lively Time in the Corridor of the Commons.

OTTAWA, April 8.—The lobby just outside the press room was this evening the scene of a fisticuff encounter between a member of the commons and a journalist. The member was Dr. Orton (Centre Wellington) and the journalist, E. W. Thomson, Globe editorial writer, well-known in Toronto. The trouble rose out of a paragraph in the grit organ last week, insinuating that Dr. Orton was drunk and misconducted himself while Sir Richard Cartwright was speaking.

The paragraph read; "Mr. Orton was almost as conspicuous on Tuesday as Capt. Scott and in the same way. This is a case in which a pair is better than three of a kind and three of a kind better than a full four."

In denouncing the article from his seat in the house on Tuesday, Dr. Orton said it was high time this kind of newspaper criticism was stopped and threatened to take the remedy into his own hands. In other words, the Doctor meant blood. Well, at 6.10 this evening, when the chamber and corridors were comparatively deserted, the pugilistic parliamentarian met Mr. Thomson in the lobby near the entrance to the press room.

"Are you the Globe correspondent?" queried Dr. Orton.

"No," replied Mr. Thomson, "I'm an editorial writer."

"Did you write that paragraph about me?" was the doctor's second question.

"It is not for me to disclose the writer, but I am ready to assume the responsibility," said Mr. Thomson, with the characteristic spirit of a newspaper man.

The next instant Dr. Orton drew off and struck Mr. Thomson a stinging blow between the eyes, repeating the dose before the surprised journalist could defend himself. Mr. Thomson was all right in a minute and lost no time in defending himself, pitching into his assailant in lively style. The noise of the affair brought the few members and correspondents who had not gone to dinner hastily to the scene. The combatants were separated, both highly excited, and for a couple of minutes there was a lull in hostilities. Dr. Orton danced round in prize-fighting attitude, anxious to renew the encounter, and Mr. Thomson was also eager to see the thing through, exclaiming quietly, "This is my affair, gentlemen; let me alone."

Some of the spectators were for peace but the majority, the gathering numbered about twenty, wanted to let them have it out, and accordingly all fell back for a second round. The men were pretty well matched, each weighing about 180 lbs. Mr. Thomson was something of a sparrer in his younger days, and his hands have not yet lost their cunning. He got in some telling blows on the doctor, and when they clinched he pummelled him severely on the side of the face and neck. Disengaging themselves there was another round of scientific business, in which Dr. Orton put in a left-hander on his opponent's right cheek, for which, however, he received more than double payment. Another clinch resulted in the journalist's favor, and he jabbed Wellington's representative against Mr. Blake's empty wardrobe locker with a dull thud. "Time" was called by a Quebec M.P., and the combatants fell back with swollen and blood-stained faces.

The general feeling was that Dr. Orton got the worst of it, and The World, which witnessed the encounter, thinks so, too. The news of the affair spread quickly, and it is the talk of the town and parliament to-night. Dr. Orton appeared in the house after recess and Mr. Thomson cheerfully resumed his journalistic duties. Several conservative members were heard to express approval of their colleague's action. "It served him (Mr. Thomson) right," said one, and another was overheard to remark, "It strikes me that's the way it has got to be done."

Two of the best cutters in Canada now employed at Petleys'. 135

From the Police Stations.

Wm. Loughead, an east ender, for blasphemy in St. David street last night, was locked up in the Wilton avenue station.

John Brown and Maurice Leonard were held last night at the Agnes street police station on a charge of stealing carpenters' tools from a building at Church and Adelaide streets.

Detective Reburn yesterday locked up George Bowie and George Wilson as the parties who robbed Louis Wallott, a street car conductor, at the Don bridge on Monday night. Wallott identified the men.

Burglars carried off a large amount of stuff from Mrs. Dillon's millinery store at 80 Queen street east early yesterday morning. While walking in Victoria street they were surprised by the police, dropped their booty and made good their escape.

George Rooney, James Sullivan and Richard Reedy yesterday afternoon attempted to rescue "Jim" Larkin from Policeman Dodds. Larkin had been caught in an attempt to rob the till of an east end hotel. Detectives Cuddy and Davis came to Dodds' assistance and the whole party was locked up at headquarters.

Killed at Ninety.

NAPANEE, Ont., April 8.—A man 90 years old, named Wm. Hearns, was struck by a G. T. R. freight train about two miles west of here this morning, and died in about two hours.

PERSONAL.

Grand Master Dan Spry of Barrie is at the Rossin house.

Dr. Robertson, a prominent New York physician, is at the Rossin.

Mr. James Conmee, M.P.P., Port Arthur, is registered at the Rossin.

A Contrast.

The World took a stroll out Parkdale way yesterday and heard a chorus of robins from a leafless grove wherein the snow was drifted three feet deep. This was indeed a poem of the beautiful snow, such as had not been published during any previous April within the memory of the oldest reporter.

Three Cents.

Editor World: What is the rate of postage on a letter from Toronto to West Toronto Junction? ONE WHO GOT LEFT.

Nov. 30.

Editor World: What time in the fall does the insurance run out on the boats on the lakes?
Toronto, April 6. SUBSCRIBER.

Her Maiden Name was Guelph, and did Not Change on her Marriage.

Editor World: What was the Queen's maiden name, and did it change on her union to the Prince Consort. J. H. H.

(1) Yes.—(2) No.

Editor World: 1. Is there an issue of Canadian silver dated 1885? Has it the small letter "H" under the knot of wreath as on issue of 1883 and other dates? SILVER.
Thorold, April 6.

(1) Mr. Edward Fisher.—(2) Boston.

Editor World: Would you answer the following questions: 1. Who is conductor of the Whitby Ladies college who are to give the concert in the Gardens on the 9th inst? 2. Give the birth-place of Edward Fisher, conductor Toronto Choral society? ENQUIRER.
Toronto, April 6.

For stylish, first-class, good fitting clothing, go direct to Petleys'. 135

More Springlike Weather.

METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE, TORONTO, April 9, 1 a.m.—The area of highest pressure extends from the lake region to the south Atlantic states and there is an area of low pressure developing west of the Mississippi. Snow is falling in Nova Scotia. In the other parts of Canada the weather is very fine.

Probabilities—Lakes, moderate to fresh south and southeast winds; fine weather becoming cloudy to-night; higher temperatures.

—The General Hospital, the home for incurables, the Mercer Reformatory and the Queen street asylum all do their work with the Wanzer C sewing machine. x