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God's in His heaven,
All's right with the world.
—(BROWNING.)

London, Friday, May 12.

Gladstone's Great Speech.

Gladstone's great speech, just before the second reading of the Irish Home Rule Bill, has been so much talked about, the world over, that the ADVERTISER purposes to give its readers the more striking passages. The British Premier followed Mr. Balfour, the Conservative leader, and he spoke for a little over an hour. In the course of his address, Mr. Gladstone said:

OPPOSITION ARGUMENTS SUMMED UP.
I can sum up in four short phrases, sufficiently expressive, what I conceive to be the staple and the aggregate of that copious mass of matter which has been laid before us by the opponents of our bill. The first of their powerful weapons is bold assertion; the second of their powerful weapons is persistent exaggeration; the third of their powerful weapons is constant misrepresentation; and the fourth and last of their powerful weapons is a constant misrepresentation of the facts. Well, sir, the right honorable gentleman says we are now going to subject Ireland to a system of duplicate finance which is unprecedented and intolerable. The father of the duplication of finance in this country is his own Chancellor of the Exchequer—(laughter)—and he has introduced in his arrangements with respect to the death duties provisions that are open to all the objections the right honorable gentleman can possibly make to those of the bill. ("Oh," and cheers.) In the meantime while I do not deny that the Union has, among other difficulties, left to us as it now stands an inconvenient inheritance of complicated financial arrangements which we must endeavor to unravel, yet I do not scruple to say it, and I place my own experience against that of the right honorable gentleman, that there is nothing in these difficulties which ought for a moment to abash or terrify men who have a great object in view, who do not intend to be impeded by secondary obstacles from the attainment of their object. (Hear, hear.)

JUGGLED FIGURES.
I spoke of persistent exaggeration, and the right honorable gentleman has given in the latter part of his speech an extremely simple illustration of that second proposition. If I misheard, as I too often do, he will kindly correct me; but I think I heard him speak of the 1,500,000 Protestants of Ireland (cheers), as the other day we heard of the 500,000 sturdy adults who marched upon the flag at Belfast. We happily have a statistical and authentic record of the Protestants of Ireland, but the right honorable gentleman, who modestly believed that his speech contained nothing but demonstrable and unanswerable argument and fact, has not taken the trouble to refer to these statistics which would have told him that the Protestants of Ireland were not 1,500,000, but were eleven hundred and odd thousand. This is a simple example of what I will call constant misrepresentation. In this case I am sure it was involuntarily given; but if it had not been so I should still have said that it was most daring misrepresentation. (Cries of "Oh" and cheers.)

IMPERIAL SUPREMACY.
The right honorable gentleman said that we have indeed provided a paper supremacy, but one that is quite worthless. We say that our supremacy is to be, for the first time in the history of the last 90 years, a supremacy founded upon right as well as backed up by power. (Loud cheers.) The right honorable gentleman says it is a supremacy perfect in the abstract as it is written down; but that, according to the declarations of the Irish representatives themselves, it is utterly valueless, because it is understood that it is never to be brought into exercise. In confirmation of the remarkable speech, delivered by the honorable member for Waterford, I am not sure whether the honorable member heard this portion of the right honorable gentleman's speech (Mr. J. Redmond shook his head), for if he had he could not possibly have passed it by without interruption, for, whereas the right honorable gentleman referred to him as having declared that he made the supremacy entirely dependent upon the doctrine that it was never to be exercised, I myself heard the honorable member declare, not only that it was a supremacy in its own character inalienable, but that it was likewise a supremacy that ought not to be brought into action except in the case—and I consent with him—which he believed to be improbable, of the commission of some gross injustice. (Hear, hear.) That in the whole doctrine of the illustration given by the right honorable gentleman, and I think I have supplied a fair instance of what I have called misrepresentation. (Cheers and Opposition laughter.) With regard to the arbitrary, willful, capricious, baseless prophecy by honorable members opposite I will not detain the House with a particular illustration. My illustration is in the whole stock-in-trade of the party opposite. (Loud cheers.)

THE LAND.
We have proposed to secure to Parliament ample time for taking whatever measures it may have imposed upon it by duty, honor, by equity with respect to Irish land; and if we have not attempted to couple together a Home Rule Bill and a Land Bill—why, what is the amount of that charge? It is merely that we have refused to do that which we know would

have been a suicidal act, because it would have involved the undertaking on our part of what was not only difficult, but with respect to simultaneous action totally and absolutely impossible. (Cheers.) Though challenged by the speech of the right honorable and learned member for Bury, I will not now touch on the Land League. (Laughter.) But when I do proceed to touch upon the Land League and to censure it I must in honesty and honor make the admission that without the Land League the act of 1881 would not at this moment have stood upon the pages of the statute-book. (Cheers.) And without the act, I should be glad to know what, upon the estimate of the most sanguine gentleman sitting opposite, would have been at this moment the condition of Ireland? (Cheers.)

THE MAIN ISSUE.
How is Ireland to be governed? Has that question been answered in this debate? (Cheers.) Has it been answered by the right honorable gentleman, and how does it stand? I presume we are all agreed in thinking that Ireland ought not to be governed, to use a homely phrase, from hand to mouth. Well, there is another proposition entirely omitted from the speech of the right honorable gentleman, which recognizes the deliberate will and conviction of the governed as an essential element in the legitimate basis of the law. (Cheers.) Can you hope in these days, judging from the little progress you have made, to govern Ireland against the fixed convictions of the great mass of the nation? (Cheers.)

COERCION.
In 1886 our contention was—that it was one of those arguments which the right honorable gentleman regards as so trumpery and worthless—our contention was that government under the Union had failed in Ireland. It had come to depend upon what I call a judicious mixture of coercion and concession, and it had failed to win the affections of the Irish people. At that time the Tory party, represented by Lord Salisbury, virtually agreed with that view. Lord Salisbury admitted that the Government had failed, and he gave his reason and stated his remedy. The reason why it had failed was this—because our coercion and our concessions were indiscriminately mixed and not administered upon fixed and permanent principles; and what he said was, "Give me twenty years of firm government"—(Opposition cheers)—we know perfectly well that firm government was a euphemism for coercion—"Give me twenty years of firm government, and you will see the government of Ireland will become a matter perfectly practicable and easy." (Opposition cheers.) We were agreed, then, in a manner, upon those two propositions, because it was evident that Lord Salisbury, although he was going to suppress—call it what you will—the people of Ireland for twenty years, did not contemplate the permanent, the unlimited, government of Ireland against the conviction of the great mass of the people. It reminded me of what happened at the Reformation. I do not know what the views of other honorable gentlemen may be, but my conviction is that Queen Elizabeth was a great deal too far seeing and wise a woman to entertain such an idea as that of maintaining an Irish Church in the island of Ireland like that which the Irish Church turned out to be—that is to say, the Church of an eighth or tenth part of the people. What Queen Elizabeth believed when setting up her Church was that the administrative system of that church was so excellent that it could not fail to convert the people, and in the same way Lord Salisbury had confidence in his twenty years of firm government, which I call coercion, and fully believed that that policy would bring the Irish people to a peaceful state and to Irish harmony. What I wish to put to honorable members opposite is this—what has become of their nostrum of twenty years' firm government? (Cheers.) Could they have had a better opportunity of starting their system? They started it with a significant majority of 120 persons in this house, and had the satisfaction of having made a great rift, a great fissure in the Liberal party. They cannot have a better opportunity again. (Loud cheers.) Ireland is against you, Scotland is against you, Wales is against you, and that England, which seven years ago was so enormously in your favor, has parted with two-thirds of the majority (cheers), and has raised some presumption not very favorable as to what may become of the third. (Hear, hear.)

LOST, STOLEN OR STRAYED.
Seven years ago it was recognized that we had come to the parting of the ways. It was recognized that we could not go on as we had done. A new charter of policy was laid down. Twenty years were demanded for its application. The application of it was begun with a strong unsparing hand, and with a vast majority behind the Government, and in six years the whole fabric was overturned. (Loud cheers.) As it was then admitted to be necessary that there should be a policy for Ireland, and as six years have since elapsed, I say we are still more justified now in putting to the Opposition the question, What is your policy for Ireland? (Cheers.) Do you want to start with a new twenty years? Have you the smallest prospect of it; and if you got it what is your security that it would not break down again? (Cheers.) No, sir, this is a subject constantly avoided by the speakers opposite. They do not venture to renew the scheme of Lord Salisbury, and when we ask them what their policy is there is not a break of the silence or even a whisper. (Cheers.)

TO END THE FEUD OF AGES.
Mr. Gladstone pointed out, amid cheers, that the Irish members generally accepted this bill as meeting the needs and desires of the people, and continued: What said the honorable member for Kerry last night? He said: "This is a bill that will end the feud of ages." (Cheers.) That is exactly what we want to do. (Cheers.) That is what I call acceptance by the Irish members of this bill. (Cheers.) It is not given to us to see so far into futurity as to pronounce dogmatically what law will stand or what will not stand, without further change or development, the pressure of time and of vicissitude. What we mean by this bill is to close and bury a controversy of 700 years. (Cheers.) You and I polluted as the stream of Irish history has been, the whole of this is now washed away in the waters of oblivion. (Hear, hear.) We start anew upon another course. Old grudges are effaced, painful recollections are effaced, hopes are taken their place, and hope based on reasonable confidence. (Cheers.)

UNWARRANTED DISTRUST.
I grieve to say that a bill desired by Ireland is rejected because the representatives of Ireland are met with distrust and disbelief. (Cheers.) There is no use concealing that from ourselves. I know that I should be met by the assertion, which I remember very well, of my right honorable friend the member for West Birmingham. He says: "I have no complaint to make against the people of Ireland. My objection is to the representatives—the Nationalist representatives—of Ireland." My right honorable friend seems to think—which astonishes me in so acute a man—that he has here got hold of a tangible and a broad distinction. Is it any distinction at all? Is there any distinction at all? Are these gentlemen not the representatives then of the vast majority of the Irish people? How came they here? (Loud cheers.) Are they here by the momentary accident of a single election? Are they here owing to the fact that an election has been taken upon some other issues, and that this is a latent issue which has come up in this House? No, Sir. During the last eight years—since 1885, when the franchise was enlarged under a protection which in Ireland was even more essential than an enlargement of the franchise—you had the election of 1885, you had the election of 1886. You had the discussions from that time to 1892, and you had the election of 1892. On three several occasions the Irish members have been holding the same language in the hearing of their constituents, and three several times they have been sent back to this House that they might continue to hold it. (Cheers.)

EFFECT OF THE DOOR OF HOPE OPENING.
I am aware it may be truly said there was a time when the grievous recollections and traditions of Ireland, the dreadful sufferings and the apparently hopelessness of obtaining from Parliament any consideration for the capital desires of Ireland drove away some men off the precise line of absolute wisdom (laughter), and led some of them to use from time to time expressions which I for one have never thought it necessary to treat as involving moral delinquency, for which I have found ample explanation in the conditions and the circumstances under which they spoke, and which stand in most favorable comparison with the means which had been habitually employed by the ascendancy party in Ireland. (Cheers.) I have never heard a single objection made that was fairly applied to the slightest aversion or disinclination towards this country since the time when the door of hope—(loud Irish cheers)—was opened wide and we adopted their cause. (Renewed cheering.)

WHAT BRITAIN HAS DONE ABROAD.
In giving free institutions to the colonies you had to deal with the case of one colony the majority of the inhabitants in which were convicts or the children of convicts. You gave them free institutions, and those free institutions have been continued with nothing but the happiest results. (Cheers.) But you have not limited your benefactions to your own race. You went to Canada and found there a mass of Frenchmen. Responsible government was conceded to that country, although the number of Frenchmen in it exceeded the number of Englishmen. (Hear, hear.) You captured the Dutchmen, the most persistent and intractable of human beings. (Cheers.) You treated them in the same way. But the Irishman! You are to possess this vast empire, spread multi-form over the world, and every portion of it inhabited by men who acknowledge your justice and feel and enjoy your light and easy way. But one exception is to be permanently maintained, and at your own shore you are to have an island to which you are to deny the same free institutions. Does not this justify the statement I have made? Your opposition to the concession of a Parliament to Ireland is always founded on the supposition that the Irish people if they have power put into their hand will always use it wrongly; and you deny to them not the name of men but the proper consequences of the acknowledgment of that name.

TOO HUMAN!
But then say some gentlemen, including the right honorable gentleman the member for Birmingham, "Oh, no, we do not deny them to be human. They are only too human." Only too human! What is the meaning of that? In what are they too human? They are too human to have any common-sense; they are too human to have any sense of justice; they are too human to have any perception of their interest, though it glared upon them like the sun at noonday. These imputations, these cruel imputations, these charges from the opposition are refusing to Ireland what you have given in every case throughout the empire. (Loud cheers.) Too human! What is it you mean? You are tampering with ideas under the veil, flimsy, transparent form of the common-sense of the country, and your proposition by which the relation between your arguments and your proceedings can be rationally and justly described. (Cheers.)

A BRILLIANT PERORATION.
My right honorable friend, the Secretary for Ireland, made a promise to the Irish people; he said that they were aided, and were to be aided, by one of the great parties of this country. I do not think that in the view of the Irish people that my right honorable friend will require any counter-signature. (Cheers.) What is this Liberal party of which my right honorable friend has promised the aid to the Irish nation? It is a party which has sprung from the people. (Cheers.) Anything like full representation of the people sprang from the first Reform Act, because before the first Reform Act the position of the Liberal party was an insecure one. Since our great Liberal representative to the people the Liberal party has become a great power in the state. And this I can say without fear of contradiction—that since 1828, when the first of its triumphs was registered in the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, there has never been a great question to which the Liberal party has steadily and seriously laid its hand and which it has failed to conduct to a successful issue. (Loud cheers.) I will not go through the long list. It would savor too much of boasting, and I believe that the truth of what I have said is admitted. And in that case surely it is a matter deserving of some consideration. Has the Liberal party laid its hand to this question steadily and in earnest? There never was a subject for which it suffered so severely, for which it has wrought so enthusiastically (cheers), or in which it descended so low (prolonged Opposition cheers); and in respect of which its ascent from that low point, which it did reach in 1886, has been so remarkable and so triumphant. (Loud cheers.) Do you think that with these recollections in our minds, do you think that with the present facts before us, we are likely to falter or recede? Or do you think that the rule which has steadily prevailed for the last 60 years, since the Liberal party became a recognized power in the constitution, is now going to be broken? If you do, at least you can hardly be surprised if I say that we believe that, as we have taken to the solution of this great Imperial question between England and Ireland; and as on the one hand it is not certainly the least arduous of the efforts the Liberal party has made; so, on the other hand, it will have a place in history, as not the least desirable, nor the least fruitful, nor the least blessed among its accomplished acts. (Loud and continued cheers.)

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- 4th—Art muslins, bargain day only 5c yard.
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- 6th—1,000 remnants of Fine French Dress Goods, from 2 to 5 yards, double fold. Will clear to-day at half price. Black and colored.
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- 9th—A plum, 10 pieces All-Wool Bengaline Dress Goods, regular 75c goods, to-day 50c yard. Will sell only one dress of each. First come, first choice.
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- 11th—125 yards Fawn and Gray Dress Goods, worth 30c, to-day 15c.
- 12th—3 pieces Black Lace Flouncing, 45 inches wide, to-day only 15c.
- 13th—300 yards Dress Linings, slightly damaged, worth 15c, to-day 8c.
- 14th—Ladies' Straw Hats at 15c and 25c, worth double. First floor.
- 15th—Ladies' Trimmed Straw Toques, worth \$6 and \$1, to-day 25c.
- 16th—White Leghorn Hats, regular price 75c, to-day 50c.
- 17th—Infants' Leghorn Hats, worth 75c and \$1, bargain day only 35c.
- 18th—Ladies' White Leghorn Hats, very fine, worth \$1 50, \$1 75 and \$2, your choice to-day only 98c.
- 19th—Black and White Leghorn Hats at 25c, 35c and 45c. A bargain.
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- 21st—1 piece Bleached Table Linen, worth 60c, to-day 44c.
- 22nd—Unbleached Table Linen, worth 40c, to-day 29c.
- 23rd—All-Wool Navy Serge, for men's and boys' wear, worth 40c, to-day 29c.
- 24th—3 pieces Fine Tweed, worth 90c, to-day 67c.
- 25th—400 yards Oxford Shirting, regular price 12 1-2c, to-day 9 1-2c.
- 26th—200 yards Dress Sateens, colored and black, to-day only 15c yard.
- 27th—6 pieces Shaker Flannel, regular price 12 1-2c, bargain day 9c.
- 28th—12 only Embroidered Wool Table Covers, worth \$2 75, to-day \$1 98.
- 29th—300 yards Striped Tweed Dress Goods, only 5c.
- 30th—Ladies' Fine Belts, silver and gold, worth \$1, to-day 57c.
- 31st—Very Fine Two-Toned Double-Faced Satin Ribbon, worth 40c to-day 16c.
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