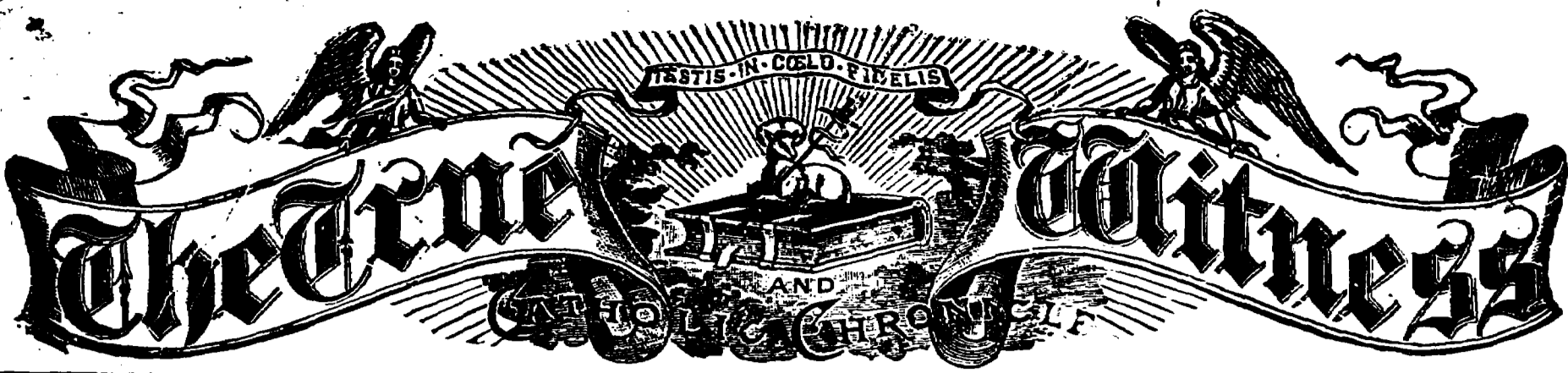


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MR. GLADSTONE DEAD

Brief Sketch of His Great Career.

Ireland's Friend to the Last.

It would be a vain task to seek in the annals of the civilized nations of which history has furnished us with an account the career of a statesman even approximately parallel to that of Mr. Gladstone the late illustrious leader of the Liberal party. His record is unique. It is one of unexampled purity in public life, of lofty aims and steadfastness of purpose of unwavering fidelity to the principles of right and justice, of continuous intellectual progress and expansion, marked by corrections of conscientious convictions, due to the gradual acquisition of a larger knowledge of men and things; of oratorical triumphs unsurpassed, and of the matchless legislative achievements for the benefit of the masses of his countrymen, initiated and pressed forward with unflagging energy to successful issues. It is in fact almost impossible for those who have read his speeches and writings, who have intelligently studied his conduct and his character, or who have had the privilege of working in howsoever humble a capacity, under his leadership, to avoid, when referring to him, the use of language superlative in its terms.

It would obviously be impossible within the limits of a newspaper article to do more than indicate briefly the leading outlines of Mr. Gladstone's career. Even an abbreviated biography of him would fill more than one volume—for it would have to be also a political history of England during the greater part of the present century, with its wondrous chronicle of the disappearance of prejudices, oppressions and tyrannies, and of the advancement of popular liberty and true democracy.

His Family and Early Life.

Although born in Liverpool, England, in Rodney street, the Gladstones were a Scottish family. As the name is said to have been derived from "glad," a Scottish word for hawk, and stone, some genealogical writers have associated the family with "trade on rocks," smuggling or salvage, but later on, in the sixteenth century, they seem to have been engaged in reputable lines of business, and to have become possessors of land. At the beginning of the eighteenth century one of them was a maltster. Thomas Gladstone, the grandfather of the great statesman, was a corn dealer; and John Gladstone, the father of the future premier of the United Kingdom, was another. Desirous of extending his business he left the parental home in Leith, and settled in Liverpool. He became the second member of the firm of Corrie, Gladstone & Brasshaw. He visited the United States as an agent for the house. The firm was afterwards dissolved; and John Gladstone took his brother Robert into partnership. They entered into commercial relations in Russia and the West Indies; and when the East India monopoly had been broken John Gladstone & Co. sent the first private vessel out to Calcutta to engage in the East Indian and Chinese trade. John Gladstone acquired some property in the West Indies and became the proprietor of a large number of slaves there. In politics he was at first a Whig, as the Liberals were then called; but afterwards joined the Tory or Conservative ranks, and entered parliament for a "pocket borough" owned by the Marlborough family. He remained in the House of Commons nine years; and had the proud satisfaction of hearing in the earlier oratorical efforts of his already distinguished son, William Ewart. In 1847 Sir Robert Peel made him a baronet. He died in 1851.

It was on December 20, 1809, that Mr. Gladstone was born, in the English city mentioned. He entered Eton after the summer holidays of 1821, under the head mastership of Dr. Keate. Sir Richard Murchison has said that the youthful was then "the prettiest little boy that ever went to Eton." He boarded at a Mr. Shurey's, who kept a house at the south of the broad walk in front of the school and facing the chapel, and rather nearer the famous Christopher Inn than would nowadays be thought desirable. On the wall opposite this house the name of "Gladstone," carved, it is said, by the statesman's own hand, may still be traced. Mr. Gladstone was a hard worker during his school days. As one of his biographers, Mr. George Russell, says, "he was not ashamed to fulfill the purpose for which boys are, at any rate in theory, sent to school." He worked hard at his classical learning; and supplemented the ordinary business of the school by studying mathematics in the holidays. His interest in work was first aroused by Mr. Hawtrey, afterwards head-master, who commended a copy of his Latin verses, and "sent him up for good." This experience, it is said, first led the young student to associate intellectual work with the idea of ambition and success. He was not a fine scholar in the restricted sense of the term, which implies a special aptitude for turning English into Greek and Latin or for original verification in the classical languages. "His composition," we are told, "was still."

Strange to say, Mr. Gladstone was not popular, or even widely known, at Eton, the only times he ever became promi-

ent there being in the debates of the Eton Society and when he was editor of The Eton Miscellany. It is probably from the general tone of the debates of the Eton Society of his day, as well as from his fondness for reading Edmund Burke, that he imbibed that element of conservatism which ever remained a part—to many of his admirers an inextinguishable part—of his mental composition. His tone was intensely Tory. Current politics were ostensibly forbidden subjects; but current political opinion disclosed itself through the then disquiet of historical or academic questions. The execution of Stafford and Charles I., the characters of Oliver Cromwell and Milton, the "Contrast Social" of Rousseau, and the events of the French Revolution laid bare the speaker's political tendencies as effectively as if the conduct of Queen Caroline, the foreign policy of Lord Castlereagh, or the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act had been the subject of debate. At the Christmas vacation of 1827 he left Eton, and, having read for six months with private tutors, he entered Christ Church, Oxford. Here, as at Eton, his chief distinction was his eloquence. He made, however, many friends who afterwards became famous in their chosen walks of life, and for whom he ever cherished a candid admiration. Among them were Cardinal Newman and Cardinal Manning.

His Religiousness.

There too he evinced what was undoubtedly throughout his life its paramount factor—a profound religiousness. When, having graduated, his father expressed a wish that the young scholar should enter parliament, he declared he would prefer to take Holy Orders. In this connection a writer who knew him intimately, and who once served under his leadership in parliament, says of him: "The religion in which Mr. Gladstone lives and moves and has his being is an intensely vivid and energetic principle, passionate on its emotional side, definite in its theory, imperious in its demands, practical, visible and tangible in its effects. It runs like a silver strand through the complete and variegated bulb of his long and chequered life. * * * While a politician he was still essentially, and above all a Christian—some would say an ecclesiastic, through all the changes and chances of a political career, as a Tory, as a Home Ruler, in office and in opposition, sitting as a duke's nominee for a pocket borough and enthroned as the idol of an adoring democracy, Mr. Gladstone."

" * * * Whence, in the many games of life, that one * * * Where what he most doth value must be won."

In his own personal habits, known to all men, of systematic devotion; in his vigorous reservation of the Sunday for sacred uses; in his written utterances; in his favorite studies; in his administration of public affairs; in the grounds on which he has based his opposition to policies of which he has disapproved—he has steadily and constantly asserted for the claims of religion a paramount place in public consideration, and has reproved the stale scepticism which thinks, or affects to think, that Christianity is a spring of human action." Amongst his favorite books—besides those of a Homeric character—were the theological treatise of St. Thomas Aquinas, whom he revered as a chief exponent of the great principle of authority; and the novels of Sir Walter Scott, whom he loved as a writer of pure and wholesome poetry and fiction.

His First Speech in Parliament.

Yielding to his father's desire, he entered Parliament when he was but 23 years of age. He was elected for Newark, one of the pocket boroughs of the Duke of Newcastle. The duke was one of the leading lights of the Tory party, and had been told by his son of a brilliant speech delivered against the Liberal Reform Bill during a debate on the subject at the Oxford Union. The new member went up to London pursued by the taunt of political enmity that he was the son of a man who had made a large fortune out of the blood of negro slaves, who was Irish from college, whose mind was "a sheet of foolscap," and whose elector was the Duke of Newcastle. His first speech was on Slavery. It was delivered five months after he had entered parliament, and was a defence of his father against a charge that many of his slaves on his Demerara estate had been overworked to death. In repelling the charge he gave utterance to sentiments which showed that he was not opposed to the maintenance of slavery. When, however, the subject came up again a few weeks afterwards, on the question whether the slaves in the West Indies should not be forthwith emancipated, he spoke in favor of a gradual emancipation, although he opposed the total abolition of slavery, insisting that, in case emancipation should be decreed, the slave

owners should be compensated for being deprived of their "right to their own honestly and legally acquired property." He advocated that the industrious slaves should be set free, but that the idle slaves should be kept in bondage. Full and complete emancipation was, as we all know, decreed; and an appropriation of \$100,000,000 made to compensate the slave owners.

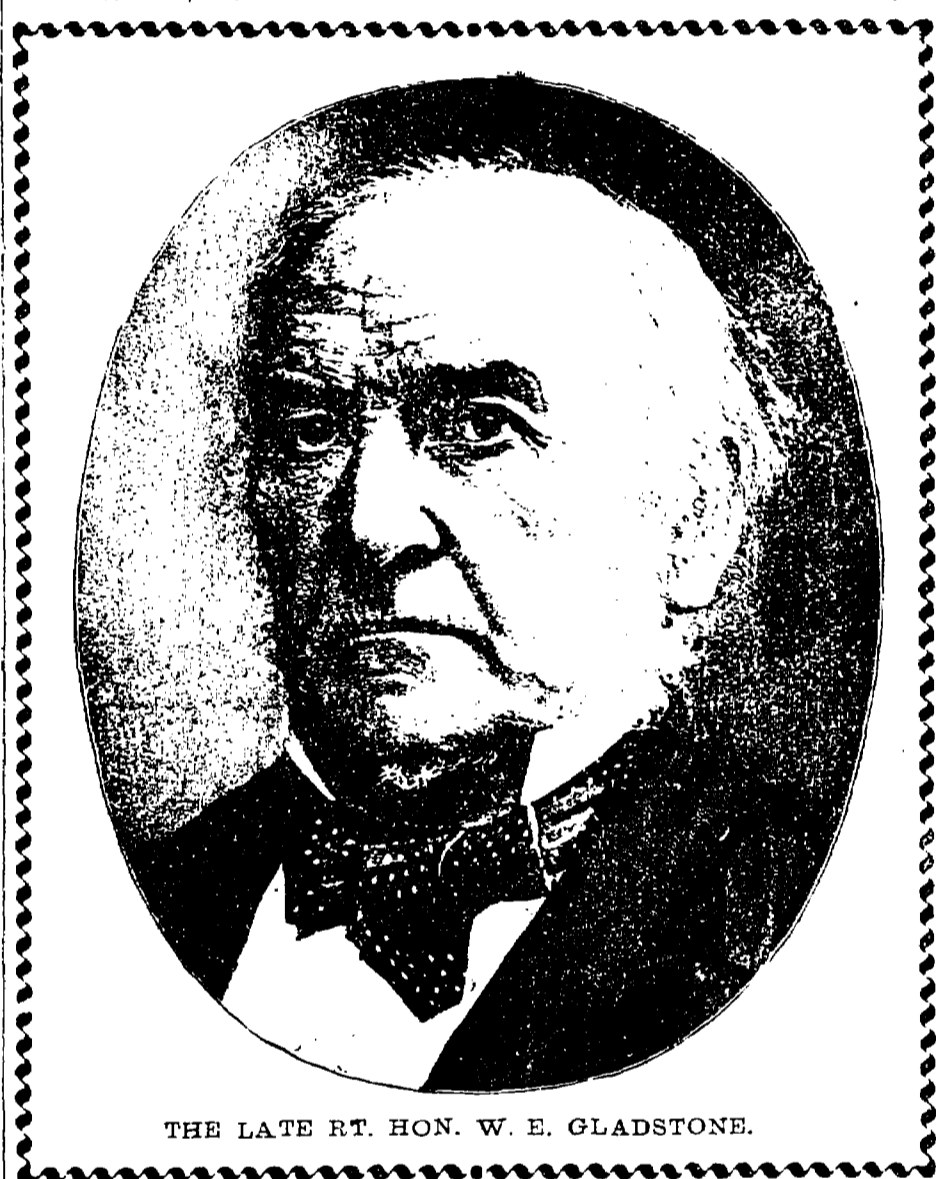
A Narrow-Minded Tory.

His speeches and votes at this period and for several years later showed him

and the reviewer, the latter said: "Your book itself, and everything I heard about it, though almost all my information came from people very strongly opposed to you in politics, led me to regard you with respect and good will; and I am truly glad that I have succeeded in making this apparent."

Married to Miss Glynn.

It is a curious coincidence that failing eyesight, the cause of his retirement from the Premiership, was a link in the chain of circumstances which led up to



THE LATE RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

to be a narrow minded Tory. A month after his second speech on slavery he strenuously resisted a proposal to abolish the State Established Church in Ireland—which he himself abolished thirty-six years later. The next year he spoke and voted against a bill for the removal of religious tests of those seeking to enter universities. These tests he afterwards endeavored to remove himself. It was in this same year, 1834, that he first held public office, Sir Robert Peel having appointed him Junior Lord of the Treasury. His first was brought in in 1835, when he had become Under Secretary for the Colonies. In the first Parliament of the reign of Queen Victoria, he again represented Newark; and his first prominent performance there was to protest against the right of Canada to be heard by its own agent at the Bar of the House. The question of mitigating or abolishing negro apprenticeship, which had become a new form of slavery in the West Indies, was brought forward; and he opposed the remedial measure. In 1839 he vehemently attacked a bill making provision for giving educational opportunities to Dissenters and Unitarians. On this occasion O'Connell vigorously denounced him for his illiberality. In 1841 he opposed a bill having for its aim the conferring of civil rights upon the Jews. Yet he lived to see not only all these reforms accomplished, but to take an active part in their accomplishment.

His First Book.

Mr. Gladstone's first book, entitled, "The State in its Relation with the Church," was published in 1835. Lord Houghton says that when Sir Robert Peel received a copy of it he exclaimed: "With such a career before him, why should he write books?" It was in reviewing a copy of the third edition of this work that Mr. Carly wrote his oft-quoted passage: "The author of this volume is a young man of unpublished character and of distinguished parliamentary talents, the rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories who follow reluctantly and mutinously a leader whose experience and eloquence are indispensable to them, but whose cautious temper and moderate opinions they abhor. It would not be at all strange if Mr. Gladstone were one of the most unpopular men in England." It may be of interest to add that in some correspondence which followed between the author

Mr. Gladstone's marriage to Miss Catherine Glynn, who throughout his active political life proved to be a helpmate and devoted wife to him. His eyesight having been affected by the hard reading incident to the composition of his book he was advised to spend the winter in Rome. Among the sojourners in the Eternal City that winter were the widow and daughters of Sir Stephen Richard Glynn, of Hawarden Castle, Flintshire. He was already acquainted with these ladies, having been a friend of Lady Glynn's eldest son at Oxford, and having visited him at Hawarden in 1835. At Rome he was thrown very much in their society, and in a short time he became affianced to the elder Miss Glynn. On July 25, 1839, he was married to her at Hawarden. By this union Mr. Gladstone became allied with the house of Greenville, a family which had already furnished England with four prime ministers. During the earlier part of their married life Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone lived with Sir Thomas Gladstone in London. In 1850 Mr. Gladstone, who had come into his patrimony five years before, he bought a house in the great metropolis, which remained his London home for twenty years. During the Parliamentary recess Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone divided their time between Fasque, Sir John Gladstone's seat in Kincardineshire, and Hawarden Castle, which they shared with Mrs. Gladstone's brother, Sir Stephen Glynn, until, on his death, it passed into their sole possession. The issue of the marriage was eight children.

The First Transitional Period.

In 1840 the crisis began which ended in a complete alteration of the economic system of England. Under accumulated disasters the Liberals went out of office, and the Tories went in. Mr. Gladstone was elected again for Newark, as a Tory. He was offered and accepted the post of President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint. His chief political deliverance during the campaign had been a reassertion in the doctrine of protection. It was a defence of this doctrine that furnished matter for his first speech in that session. Public opinion was already clamoring for a repeal of the Corn laws; and while Mr. Gladstone defended those laws in the House of Commons, mobs of rioters were burning Sir Robert Peel, the Premier, in effigy. It is needless to

trace the history of the succeeding five years. The Corn laws had been passed in 1815. Their effect was to bring a tariff in order to enrich a class. The first motion to repeal them was made in 1812 by the Liberal Three years later Peel announced their proposed repeal in the Queen's speech. By this time Gladstone's mind and undergone a complete change on the subject. The logic of many crowds of starving people had converted him. He had at last discovered the principle that statesman-ship is not a thing to be evolved out of classic and the decay of a modern nation is not to be modelled on patterns which history has proved to be impracticable. He began to see his position more frequently than his memory. It was to be expected that his new faculty would be found all at once in action; now that his course of study subjects would be free from any further intellectual. But there was a marked change in the subject which he directed his attention to. It was from the topics treated in his parliamentary speeches. Instead of discussing on the corporate governance of the state, the encroachments of the church, the importance of Christian education and the utility of the laws to the Parliament he began to discuss the expediency of foreign tariffs and the expediency of new duties; "waxing eloquent over the regulation of railroads, or over a half-dox on grain, subtle in the monetary merits of half-farthings, and great on the mysterious here of quasia and eosentis tribuna." He amazed the House by his mastery of detail. It was evident that a great commercial minister had been found. He became accustomed to apply gradually to his conduct a new set of ideas a different group of principles.

Favorite Literary Pastimes.

When Sir Robert Peel announced his determination to repeal the Corn Laws several members of his cabinet resigned and the government was broken up. After a brief intermission, during which Lord John Russell vainly tried to form a government the Tory ministry was reconstructed, Mr. Gladstone occupying in it the position of Secretary of State for the Colonies. His acceptance of office in a free trade cabinet lost him the favor of the duke of Newcastle and consequently his safe seat for Newark. He did not offer himself for reelection, but retired during his absence from parliament, but began that change of mental complexion which from that time till his last illness constituted his life's rest—namely, what may be called his literary pastimes. He began to write on a great variety of subjects, religious, aesthetic and literary, passing with light effort from the investigation of Neoplatonist priors to researches touching the probable existence of Homer, delving in archeology and absorbing poetry.

The Second Transitional Period.

The beginning of the second stage in the growth and development of his Liberal views may be dated from the time he re-entered parliament, in 1847. In the general election which followed the overthrow of the Peel administration he offered himself as a candidate for one of the seats of Oxford University, and was elected. His Liberal hearings, though they were not very marked, soon began to be noticeable. But there was a certain hesitancy about him. On one side the Conservative free trader was clinging to the "Toryism of his youth; on another he was reaching out to new realms of Liberal thought and action. Even in the theological domain the tendency towards Liberalism was displaying itself. Amid the indignant protests of his fellow-Tories, and in opposition to his own speech and vote, he vindicated the justice of the policy of admitting the Jews into parliament. He also defended the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Papal Court of Rome, and supported the modification of the terms of the parliamentary oath. On the commercial side his Liberalism was strong and he ardently supported the doctrine of free trade. When in 1852 Lord Derby formed his Tory Cabinet, with Mr. Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, overtures were made to Mr. Gladstone to accept a portfolio; but he refused. He made a vehement attack upon Mr. Disraeli's budget, thus beginning a duel which lasted until one of the combatants was removed by death. It was owing to this damaging speech that the Derby ministry was beaten and had to resign. So much ill feeling against Mr. Gladstone was excited by his conduct on this occasion that a few days afterwards a party of Tories dining at the Carlton Club, and finding Mr. Gladstone alone in the drawing room, actually proposed to throw him out of the window. The cabinet of Lord Aberdeen, who succeeded Lord Derby, was the outcome of a coalition of Liberals and "Peelites." In

it Mr. Gladstone took the part of Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1855 when the Liberal leader, Lord Palmerston, succeeded Lord Aberdeen as premier, Mr. Gladstone accepted his former portfolio of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This was the first time he had accepted office in a Liberal Cabinet. Three weeks afterwards he resigned rather than assume any share of responsibility for the conduct of the Crimean War, although he defended the policy which had led up to it.

His political position was not one of neutrality and isolation; and had the "Peelites" rejected the Tories he would, no doubt, have ousted Mr. Disraeli from the leadership of the House of Commons. His sympathies, as he himself said, were with the Tories, notwithstanding the fact that his opinions were with the Liberals. Clearly he was out of harmony with both parties. On account of his strong personality, his mental gifts, his oratorical ability, and his great influence he was again called to take office by Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston respectively, when they were once more Prime Ministers. Although he voted with Lord Derby's Government when it was beaten on June 10, 1859, he accepted Lord Palmerston's offer to be his Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Liberal Ministry which succeeded. In opposing his reelection for Oxford, Professor Mansel stated the truth, that by his second acceptance of office under Lord Palmerston Mr. Gladstone had given his definite adhesion to the Liberal party.

Prime Minister.

On the death of Lord Palmerston in 1865 Mr. Gladstone became the leader of the House of Commons, with a seat in Lord John Russell's cabinet. He was now member for South Lancashire, Oxford University having furnished him for his Liberalism by electing him as one of the parliamentary representatives. He set to work at once upon a Reform Bill, which he introduced the following year and which was voted down by the House of Commons. After the overthrow of Lord Derby's short-lived administration he was made Prime Minister. He had now reached the summit of political ambition in the United Kingdom, the heart and centre of the greatest empire on earth. The industry and self-denial of a laboring public life, the burdens and battles of a parliamentary career of thirty-five years, had revived in his supreme and unadorned ward. Immediately following his accession to the premiership came that brief period which has been called the golden age of British Liberalism—the period which began in November 1868 and ended in February, 1871. These five years were replete with great measures of reform. They saw the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, the tenure of land in Ireland placed on a more equitable footing, cheap and efficient education brought within the reach of the children of the poorest citizen, purchase in the army abolished, religious tests at universities done away with, the Abolition claims settled, and voters placed under the protection of the ballot. The revenue advanced by "leaps and bounds" and after having created several surpluses Mr. Gladstone closed the series with the enormous one of \$30,000,000. When the glowings which has characterized the growth of democracy in the United Kingdom is borne in mind, these legislative achievements, considering the political conservatism of the time, are truly marvellous. And yet they were tame compared with his measure extending the franchise, which was passed in 1881, and which increased the electorate of the United Kingdom from 2,000,000 to 5,000,000; with the "Newcastle program," with its Home Rule Bill, its Parish Councils Bill, its "one man one vote" Bill, its Welsh Disestablishment Bill; and with his declaration that the House of Lords must be so reformed that its power to thwart the people's wishes shall cease. What a beneficent change had come over the opinions and mental habits of this illustrious statesman.

Secret of His Political Conversion.

Not often has he alluded to these mutations. Speaking at the opening of the Palmerston Club, in 1878, he made a remarkable statement in reference to one of the influences which had swayed him. "Perhaps it was my own fault," "but I must admit that I did not learn when at Oxford that which I have learned since—viz., to set a due value on the irreparable and the inestimable principles of human liberty. The temper which, I think, too much prevailed in academic circles was that of liberty, regarded with jealousy and fear, could not be wholly dispensed with. I think that the principle of the Conservative party is jealousy of liberty and of the people; but I think that the policy of the liberal party is trust in the people, only qualified by prudence. I have learned to set the true value upon human liberty, and in whatever I have changed, there, and there only, has been the explanation of the change." Again, after his retirement from the premiership in the spring of 1894, he wrote a long letter to Sir John Cowan, in the course of which, having admitted many errors of judgment, but claimed credit for integrity of purpose, he stated that during his long public life he had always had "a desire to learn."

First Retirement from the Leadership.

The cause of his defeat, in that first administration of his, naturally embittered Mr. Gladstone against the Catholics. He had brought in an Irish University bill removing—so far as he deemed it possible to remove them, in

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