

THE CAMPAIGN OPENED IN EDINBURGH.

Mr. Gladstone's Speech.

Edinburgh, June 18.—Mr. Gladstone spoke in the Music Hall here to night. Tickets of admission had been issued, and the hall, which is capable of holding 3,000 persons, was filled to its utmost capacity. The audience cheered for Mr. Gladstone and Lord Rosebery, and cheered for Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Hartington and other Unionists. But Mr. John Gwyn, chairman of Mr. Gladstone's election committee, who presided over the meeting, called for silence when he began his speech.

Mr. Gladstone's voice seemed less powerful than formerly. He said that Ireland was a soldier's battle. It was not won by the general's tactics or ability, but by the soldier's valor. Equally were the present dissolution of Parliament and the general elections the people's battle. I am strongly convinced, said he, that the people have resolved to carry the day, notwithstanding the defection of prominent leaders of the Liberal party. This contest was fought against us by the officers of our own army. The Conservatives were content to leave the work in the soldiers' hands. They call themselves Unionists and us disintegrators. They wish to preserve the paper union unaltered. We feel that it should be specially conserved so far as it is valuable. We seek the union of heart and mind, which we are struggling to restore. It is desirable to speedily close this great controversy for every interest in this country. The position of all parties will be deplorable, public business will be interrupted and public confidence shaken, social order in Ireland will not be restored unless the people speak clearly, manfully and decisively, such as the question merits. (Cheers.) Do not let it be said that the nation is unequal to the task of dealing with the question. Some flinch difficulty, some turn their backs in the hour of trouble. Let the nation's voice be given in defence of our cause.

It is important that the electors should realize the true issue, which is much disputed. Is it a choice between opposite policies regarding Ireland, between opposite principles of action, or a choice upon the details of a large and complicated bill? Important journals urge you not to consider the policy to be pursued, but to entangle yourselves in the details of this or that particular method of establishing that policy. The question you are asked to decide is the proposition to establish a legislative body in Ireland to manage exclusively Irish affairs. It is a principle upon which you are called to vote and not details and particulars or even a bill. I propose to reduce the issue to a point from which there can be no escape. The case is this:—We had before us a principle to establish—an Irish statutory legislative body, or parliament, to manage exclusively Irish affairs. We laid down several conditions essential to a safe application of that principle. It must be compatible with and conducive to the union of the Empire, must be founded upon political equality, embrace an equitable distribution of imperial burdens and reasonably safeguard the minority, to afford any rational prospect of being accepted as a settlement of the question. It is now idle to say that the country will be asked to vote on the details of the bill. The bill is dead with parliament. (Cheers.) The principle of the bill survives. (Loud cheers.) Ministerial candidates must not be tested by the bill we introduced in parliament, because it was the best we could frame. Doubtless they are better men than we, and if so, they will frame a better bill or put us in a way of doing it, and if they do this they will not be more happy than we, perhaps not quite so happy. What the nation has to decide is not a clause, detail or the method of the bill, but the policy and principle embodied in it. He who accepts them is our brother in arms. He who repels them, shirks them and uses fictitious means to falsify them is an adversary in the fight, whom we must without injury to his life, limb or reputation, endeavor to defeat.

I read in London that Scotland was doubtful or adverse to Home Rule. I answered that I did not believe it. (Cheers.) I hoped for an opportunity to test it, and I saw enough in my progress yesterday to show me that the heart of Scotland is more deeply and profoundly touched than Scotland's will, and that Scotland was never more earnestly bent on a work of policy and justice than it is to accomplish the present enterprise. (Loud cheers.) Regarding the Parnell-Carnarvon incident, I blame neither. It is extremely important to know what happened. Lord Carnarvon told his colleagues that he favored a plan that would fully meet the wants of Ireland in respect to local self-government, and would to some extent satisfy her national aspirations. Lord Carnarvon may dislike it, but in substance he is our man, not theirs, if he is ready to meet the wants of Ireland for local self-government. (Loud cheers.) These are Lord Carnarvon's opinions, and this is what he said, but I call his attention, and shall call it repeatedly if necessary, to what he did not say. He has not stated what he did say to Mr. Parnell. I shall believe until he contradicts it that he told Mr. Parnell he favored satisfying the wants of Ireland fully with regard to local self-government, and that he desired to satisfy Ireland's national aspirations. Why did not the Cabinet expel the disunionist for his misdeeds, but for the fact that they were sorry to lose him? I believe Earl Carnarvon's statement that he never told the cabinet, but I feel sure he told Lord Salisbury because it was his absolute duty and because he was not entitled to make such a statement to Mr. Parnell and withhold it from the Premier if he did so. We know that Earl Salisbury until August knew that his colleague was in communication with the great "disintegrator," and "disunionist." I do not find fault with Earl Salisbury if he entertained a wish in the same direction as Earl Carnarvon. I think it very wise of Earl Salisbury. The summit of my ambition would have been to support him and give effect to his wise inclinations.

After giving the pretences of Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain a scorching, Mr. Gladstone continued: "At another time I will discuss the plan of government for England, Ireland and Scotland as a mode of dealing with the great and crying subject of social disorder in Ireland. The one broad, blazing, glaring difference between these countries is, that whereas these are well governed, well constituted and contented communities, Ireland has not attained the primary purposes of civilized life. There are only two policies before the country, and it remains with you to decide between them. Reflect each one of you in the name of Almighty God, each one in the sanctuary of his chamber, in the sanctuary of his heart, his soul, what it is; in this year of 1886, after nearly a century of continued coercion, becoming weaker and weaker, more and more odious, and less and less effective as we go along, repudiated by a large majority of the Irish members—what it is to propose coercion as an alternative to local government in Ireland. (Cheers.) Do not allow yourselves to be carried away by craven fears, but believe that by acting justly you will act strongly. (Cheers.) Justice is always strong. Join us in our effort to close this painful, terrible, awful chapter of the relations between England and Ireland, which for centuries and centuries have been the problem of our country in the eyes and judgment of the world. Join us in this happy, yea holy, effort, and rely upon it, if we attain our end, it shall be done more,

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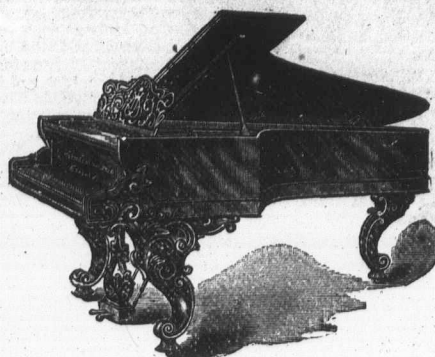
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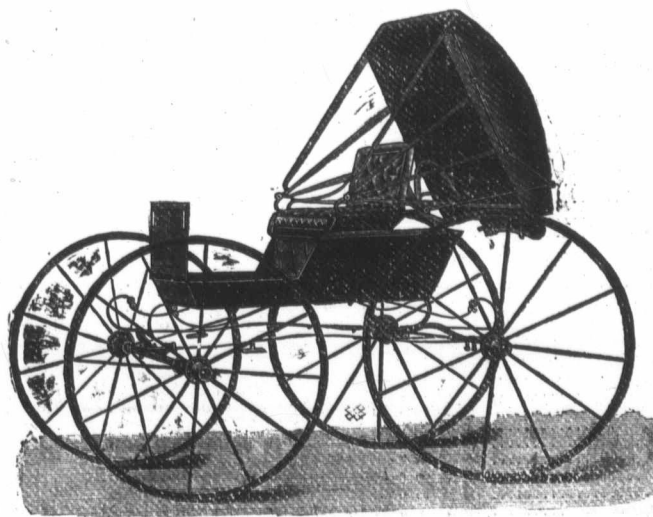
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