

# The Standard

MARKDALE APRIL 15, 1886

## HOME RULE.

Full Report of Mr. Gladstone's Great Speech.

Outline of the Home Rule Bill.

Legislative and Administrative Autonomy Conceded.

Imperial Unity With Legislative Diversity.

Irishmen to leave Westminster.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT RETURNS CONTROL OF CUSTOMS, EXCISE, ARMED FORCES, CONSTABULARY, COINAGE, FOREIGN AND COLONIAL RELATIONS, AND ROYAL PREROGATIVES—ALMOST EVERYTHING ELSE CONCEDED.

LONDON, April 8.—In the House of Commons to-day at five o'clock Mr. Gladstone rose amid enthusiastic cheering and moved for permission to introduce a Bill to amend the previous legislation, and to make provision for the future government of Ireland. On making this motion, 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 question of reform in the tenure of land the 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." (Loud cheers, proclaimed by the Home Rule members.) After reviewing the condition and crime existing in Ireland since 1833, Mr. Gladstone describes 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 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 53 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. What was 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 has 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 to be Irish; he therefore deemed it little

**LESS THAN MOCKERY**  
to hold that the state of the law which he had described conducted 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 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 be said to 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.) Mr. Gladstone then pointed to the case of Norway and Sweden, which countries were, he said, united upon 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. 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 essence of the Union. He defined the essence of the Union to be the fact that, whereas

**BEFORE THE UNION,**  
there was 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 unjust. (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 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 pressed 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:—Firstly, the class connected with the land; secondly, the civil servants and officers of the Government in Ireland; thirdly, the Protestant minority. 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. None 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 seemed likely to give general satisfaction. 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

**ITS 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 had free scope, would have done noble work, and probably would have solved all the Irish problems and have saved this Government infinite trouble." 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 his 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's and Scotland's affairs. (Cheers.) Then with regard to the question

**WHEREAS 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! 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!) 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: firstly, that the general power of taxation over and above these particular duties should pass unequivocally into the hands of a domestic Legislature in Ireland; secondly, 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 before the free disposal of the Irish legislative body. The Government Bill provided for this, and the Bill then provided that the representatives of Ireland should no longer sit in the House of Commons or the 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 Irish members from attendance at Westminster. Mr. Gladstone said he had several reasons why this should be the case, even if it was possible for them to attend, as they had a Parliament of their own, and 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 other was to except from the sphere of its action those subjects which the Government thought ought to be excepted, and to leave to it every other power. The latter plan had been adopted. The administrative power would pass with the legislative power. 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 which 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. 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 representative 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 28

**PEERS NOW IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS,**  
there should sit 75 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 £4,000. 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 one hundred and three members, the second order would consist of two hundred and six. It was proposed to

**RETAIN THE VICEROY,**  
but he would not be the representative of a party or office with the outgoing Government.

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