THE PARNELL SCANDAL.

HUGH O PENTECOST ON THE IRISH LEADER'S ESCAPADE

The Folly of Compromising & Great Cause by Entangling Political Alliances and Personal Weaknesses. Hypocrisy of British Public Opinion. Men Die But Principles Never.

(From the Twentieth Century.)

THE political struggle for home rule in Ireland until but yesterday was going forward by the combined forces of the Irish Nationalist party in Ireland, of which Mr Parnell for ten years has been the acknowledged leader, and the Liberal party in England, of which Mr Gladstone for no not know how many years, has been the acknowledged leader.

Up to a comparatively few days ago Mr Parnell and Mr Gladstone, and the parties they respectively represent, were working together in apparent if not complete harmony to gain all or more of less concession to the desires of both leaders and both parties. But now there is a breach, apparently incapable of being healed, between the two famous leaders. The breach naturally extends to the two parties, in their relation to each other as parties, and it has already shed within the respective party lines and, more especially within the Irish party, produced opposing factions.

The immediate occasion of this state of affairs, so unfortunate from the standpoint of those who sympathize with Ireland in her struggle for larger political liberty, was the outbreak of a scandal in which Mr Parnell was involved. It became known that the Irish leader was sustaining adulterous relations with a certain Mrs O'Shea, the wife of one of his friends.

I say that the promulgation of this sexual scandal was the *immediate occasion* of the present political complexions and aspect disaster to the Irish cause, because from my reading of the accounts, I judge that other elements of disunion between the English Liberals and Irish parnellites existed, and that the domestic scandal referred to was more the occasion than

THE CAUSE OF THE TROUBLE

neither do not I am right in supposing that sooner or later a rupture between the Irish and their Liberal leaders would have developed entirely apart from the O'Shea scandal, it has come in connection with that, and the present situation furnishes a fitting opportunity to the moralist to point out several wholesome lessons which may be learned from the circumstances before us

In the first place, it should be apparent that it is very dangerous, and apt to be disastrous, to any cause based upon some great principle of justice to entangle it itself by political alliances which necessarily involve a partial sacrifice of principle.

Over there was a case in which justice is all on one side and injustice all on the other, it is the case of Ireland against England and England against Ireland in everything. To Ireland England owes nothing that Ireland could not secure for herself The *theory* of government is that the subject owes obedience and subjection in exchange for the protection which the government is supposed to secure—protection against foreign foes and individual attacks on life or property The *practice* of government is to force the subject into abject obedience and subjection and give very little protection. But whether the theory of government is true or false the practice of government works great injustice to the subject, and when the government is composed of one race and the subjects are of another, this is particularly true

The experience of the race, by which alone we learn what is right and what is wrong, has shown that it always works unhappiness for one nation to rule another, and in the case of Ireland her miseries under English rule, since she was conquered by Henry the First, have been such as to elicit the sympathy of the world. For hundreds of years she has been

BLEEDING AT EVERY PORE

Fields have sung, playwrights have depicted, orators have described, and heroes have died to alleviate her woes, and at most without avail She has been preyed upon by English tax gatherers and rent takers until a large part of her industrious population are paupers While her own people have been starving, millions of dollars worth of food raised by their own labor from land which should be theirs, while living in houses which they had built, by the use of tools which they had made, has been forcibly taken from them by the English who have no rights in Ireland except the so established by physical force, while loads of food and money have been sent from this country to alleviate the sufferings of the hungry Irish peasants, only to be forcibly appropriated by the official tax gatherers and rent collectors of England. No-doubt what has the misappropriation of American bounty because that the Irish envoys now in this country publicly declared that they would not ask nor take a penny in charity for the people of Ireland, knowing that the lion's share of it would go, as has occurred before, to the well fed in England These envoys have asked for money, not to feed the Irish, but to free them from the dominion of England

The Irish party of to-day are struggling for political independence from England Their aim is just So long as govern ment exists, each race should provide for their own government by their own people in their own way

I believe that if the Irish people were governed by their own countrymen, in their own country, and in their own way, with the present land and money system in vogue, they would be not much if any, happier than they are now. It will make little difference to the Irish tenant farmer or laborer how he is governed or who governs him so long as landlords and interest takers can legally appropriate nearly all he earns It will make no difference to him whether the landlord and the landlord are

ENGLISH OR IRISH

Nevertheless, the demand that Ireland shall be governed by the Irish is as just as was the demand that the American colonies should be governed by Americans

The Irish leaders, therefore in my opinion, should adhere to that principle and fight it out on that line making no alliance with any English party, unless the English party would come to the Irish terms, without the compromise of a jot or tittle of the Irish demands, and without the necessity for any of those confidential conversations which Mr Gladstone, in his fly way, says are essential to all political alliances

When men are fighting for a principle, they can afford to wait, because if their principle is really true, no matter how radical it is the world will sooner or later adopt it If the principle is not really true, no worldly wise alliances will further its acceptance, for stupid and public opinion seems, because it is so slow in forming a notion finally accepts a principle that is not true

It is popularly believed that reforms are best carried into effect by a series of compromises, but such is not my opinion Reforms in my opinions are corrupted and delayed by compromises Reforms are never effected until they are accomplished on the most radical terms Not than that is done on the basis of a compromise of principle must be done over again and again until it rests on the bed rock of the eternal truth involved in it And it may not be out of place to observe just here that only those leaders of reform movements who are seeking more for themselves some office or emolument never enter into political alliances

TO GAIN THEIR ENDS

If, instead of parliamentary politicians, with ambition for office and power, Ireland were blessed with wise and great statesmen who would go up and down the country, preaching the pure gospel of national independence from England, in the burning language and with the cogent reasoning of Patrick Henry and Thomas Paine in this country before the achievement of our political independence, in my opinion, she would gain her desired end far more speedily than she ever will by depending upon as wily a politician as Mr Gladstone for success

In this country we have seen more than one promising reform movement utterly ruined by political alliances. Where is the old Greenback party, the Union Labor party, the United Labor party with Henry George at its head? All dead and gone because of too much political alliance Hunt about in the Government buildings, and you will find some of their leaders neatly stowed away in small offices, for the reasons of postage they sold their principles

FOR A SONG

Now, if we consider the part which the scandal plays in the unhappy affair, we should be able to learn an important lesson

I have no sympathy with the outcry against Mr Parnell on account of the discovery of his relations with Mrs O'Shea, not that I do not consider him fairly open to adverse criticism and grave censure, but because I believe that for the English people, or any large part of them, to single out the Irish leader for their abhorrence on account of his offense is peculiarly inconsistent and hypocritical

What do they mean by all this pious protest against such a delinquency in an Irish leader? Do they mean that they will not be tolerated in the English public men and the aristocracy shall be left undisturbed in the monopoly of that particular form of pleasure? All the world knows that Lord Nelson, and the Duke of Wellington and Lord Palmerston, were notorious adulterers, and that that fact was never used against them as public men All the world knows that

THE ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY

as a class are as much given to salacious practices as any class of men in any civilized nations It has sometimes been suspected that the present heir to the Prince of Wales has occasionally wandered into bye and forbidden paths It is probable that if Mr Parnell should arise in Parliament, frankly confess his guilt, and ask any among the British to cast the first stone at him he would go away unhurt, as did the woman in the Gospel story

I think I am as strong a believer in personal purity as any people, and I think that I am as ready to pay the weakness of men and women as any one, but I have no respect for the piety or morality that flames forth in holy indignation against Mr Parnell for an act that is condoned in all public circles, who do not happen to be Irish leaders. Mr Gladstone pulls his Pharisaical shirts away from Mr Parnell, with an air that implies "I am holier than thou," but the world now thinks that Mr Gladstone's political associations with the Duke of Wellington, or Lord Palmerston or Lord Hartington, each of whom he knew to be as irregular in his amours as is Mr Parnell

I am not excusing Mr Parnell for his folly I am merely pointing out to you the Pharisaism of the present English outcry against him The very people who profess to abhor Mr Parnell's faith keep a mistress before Albert Edward beside whom Mr Parnell is pretty tame!

The very Irish bishops who have pronounced so anathematically against Mr Parnell would not be so harsh with one of their own priests if he were guilty of the same offence, as, alas! priests sometimes are If I am correctly informed regarding the augre of the Church, the Bishop, in such a case, would not publicly denounce the delinquent priest, but would change his name and transfer him to another parish, thus giving him a chance to reform or repeat his offence

Having said so much, I must say the inconsistency of the popular English outcry against Mr Parnell's moral frailty, any further that if we consider it in connection with Mrs O'Shea, it appears in with the conduct of other public men, it on its own merits, there is a great deal in its criticism

Mr Parnell knew as well as any to that his conduct, if discovered would bring down on his public career which, whether reasonable or unreasonable, would ignore his great services and cripple the cause for which he was working, and, in my opinion, he should have curbed his passions for the sake of his cause

When you consider that, probably, the Irish people may have a duller appreciation of right than the more cultivated English people, and that Mr Parnell's weakness had been known to a lady a chamber, it may be easy to understand that it was the one thing apart from all questions of sexual purity or morality, that he was guilty of a crime and, but his own people would condone it if they should find that he could speak as he has and fully has counted himself all his splendid services, since it may turn out that it has wrecked the very cause which he, himself, has been many years in building

THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN FREEDOM

the effort to inculcate a high principle of society, a purer idea of morals than that which now prevails, a more manly and better, and those men and women who by their superior powers become the teachers and leaders of the people should be extremely careful not to break down the confidence of the people in them, as persons, by exhibitions of weakness, especially that peculiar form of weakness that yields to the incessant rule gratification of appetites and passions which all are subject with the inferior animals

Charles Stewart Parnell is the indefatigable Irish leader, the standard bearer of a brave people, the man whom political triumphs gained by splendid generalship and iron will, is a figure in history for which a nation will honor him But the same man breaking from a lady's bed chamber to avoid a meeting with her husband, is a personage by no means so admirable

Many of you, and I in our obscure place in the world, have broken away, to a greater or less extent, from the conventional ideas and customs that surround us We each have our little circle of conservative friends and neighbors who are watching to see whether our philosophy of life brings forth in us good fruit or bad I beseech of you, though not as one having authority over you, so to live that every principle of true virtue in every element of holiness, every consideration for the rights of others, will be exemplified in you even more than in the advocates of the old faith and the old morality

The last moral I wish to point from the Parnell scandal is this

MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES NEVER

All that is just in the Irish cause will be accomplished though—thousand Parnells perish a thousand Gladstones, for Pharisaical reasons, look coldly on the unhappy country Right works itself out in the end. Individual men can help on the betterment or temporarily retard it but cannot prevent it The process of evolution takes little a care of individuals

This is our hope for the future This is our comfort for the present

Whatever becomes of Parnell, Ireland will yet be free Whatever becomes of Spencer, Huxley, Ingersoll, Adler, Newton, Briggs, George Tucker, Grouland, Powderly, or whomever is opfor a time as a leader in the cause of progress, the great social religious fermentation goes on, and by and by humanity will lift to its lips the golden chalice and drink deep of the wine of liberty and happiness.

THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM

IT is not alone wage workers, nor those who would own theuse lives Socialists, who are feeling the forces of the new enthusiasm, which is rising in this movement at the ground swell of universal reform Men in all callings, men who would disavow any affiliation with Socialism, sympathize more or less strongly with this movement, and are conscious themselves of the glow of a new and higher purpose in life and work wherewith they espouse the cause of social reform The fathers of Socialism have been men who had nothing to gain through it Owen was a rich manufacturer Lassalle was a fashionable young gentleman, whose brilliant opportunities promised him, even when he was "das Wunderkind," a distinguished career Karl Marx was of a family whose social standing was excellent in Germany, and life opened to him fine political prospects Elisee Reclus is a famous savant The leading spirits of Nihilism are men and women of rank and wealth In every land the Socialistic movement is spread through the best social strata from the upper crust of society there is a motion toward it, though often unconscious of its aim Along every line of life, men of high power and character are being sweepingly drawn into the current of this social movement Ruskin has for many years been preaching a thorough going Socialism with the fire of a new faith Carlyle was the prophet of this Titanic upheaval Matthew Arnold uttered in his acute caustic manner, the most unanimistic sentiments concerning our present civilization William Morris, painter and poet and manufacturer, has thrown himself heart and soul into Socialism *—by E. Heber Newton*

A MURDERESS IN DEMAND

A PHILADELPHIA dispatch to the Boston Herald says: Pottsville, Pa., reports that last Thursday a stranger entered his place of business, and laying down thirty five cents, said: "I bought some goods here thirteen years ago. Here is twenty five cents to pay for them, and ten cents interest." The stranger declined to give his name

COMING CHANGES.

MR CHARLES WATES SPEAKS ON HIS VIEWS ON THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

A Few Incontrovertible Facts Forcibly Presented. Strong Arguments for Government Interference.

A LETTER reporter of Sunday Herald recently called on Mr Charles Wates. It is a very clearly stated and well arranged summary of his views on the Labor question, and the direction in which he thinks the coming social changes should tend. There is none of the dogmatism from which the extremely ignorant often suffer.

That Labor is the source of wealth and capital of itself has no real value and is of no actual use in the business of life It is employed simply as a medium of exchange which should be dispensed with under other conditions than those now existing In the bakers community there is no hoarding and selling among themselves and in the scheme of Redemption there was a provision of jubilee similar to the one described by Bellamy on his book "Looking Backward" What can be done on a small scale in this matter can surely be accomplished on a large one if the necessary conditions are present The mechanism of money will be apparent to any reflective mind. The carriers would be of a similar man to whom all trades should refuse to sell that which he needed He might have cartloads of gold, but he could neither eat it nor drink it, nor would it starve to death if he were forced to do without it. Gold is not real wealth and can not reproduce it. It is said that the source of wealth is the land and in a sense that is true, but it is the labor applied to the land that gives it value. If without labor the land were left to itself very little would grow. Even a man who should live in the wild fruits and animals would be compelled to gather the one and hunt for the other, which would be labor.

If Money is an absolute necessity of human life. Personally I do not see why in a properly regulated society the world could not get on without either gold or silver. If a medium of exchange be needed a piece of paper could answer the purpose. Indeed most of to-days business is carried on by paper. Not only do the banks issue notes as bills but promissory notes, bills of exchange and I O U's are given to such an extent as to cover more than half the world's commerce. It may be said that these represent actual money but then money itself is but a representative thing, it represents labor Here then we have a representative of a representative, and hardly an absolute necessity. Why cannot the paper represent the labor direct? Then again gold sometimes becomes scarce and wait is the result. Trade is interrupted by the inelasticity of an arbitrary medium of the actual value in trade A has some thing which B requires. B has something which A requires. They can not deal with each other because of the absence of a practically useless metal. Of course they can exchange their goods direct, which is really doing without money but in the case of goods of any extent these two, there some medium of exchange is required, and in the scarcity of the metal coin, trade becomes at a standstill

The medium of exchange should not be allowed to accumulate to such certain fixed limits, nor to acquire the power of controlling that which it represents. The accumulation of great wealth in a few hands is to give that few complete control of labor and commerce. They can form trusts and thus cripple business, and for the cruelly unjust purposes of adding to their own hoard Their very wealth reproduces itself by the iniquitous terms of usury as though it were a living thing The money is put out to interest, which means that those who possess it are to increase their stock by taking from those whose necessities compel them to borrow

The actual amount of labor exchanged to the real needs of life is small Some years ago a writer in England made a calculation which showed that if all the necessary labor were equally divided, each man that lives in the whole world by each person about three or four hours a day Of course all the work done now could not be thus accomplished, but the greater part of this work is quite unnecessary There are many occupations which in a proper state of society would disappear The classes which stand between the consumer and the producer are useless and live on the former In article of manufacture passed through here or in Germany hands and each makes a profit at the expense of the consumer

3 This labor should be equally divided No man who is able to work has a right to live by forcing a portion of his life, and each one should perform that kind of work which he is most capable of doing This plan cannot be fully carried out in the present state of society but a condition is easily conceivable in which it could

4 No one should lack the common necessaries of life The earth produces an abundance for all, and if there are any who do not obtain their share, it is because they are unjustly deprived of it by others who have too much In the present state of society there would be difficulty in arranging this, but that difficulty arises from the corruptions and checking to which the existing systems have given rise There is on the part of almost every man a certain amount of anxiety regarding the future both of himself and family and hence the desire to hoard up for the purpose of providing for old age If, however, the future of each were secured the motive for, and the necessity of such hoarding up would be removed

5 Heredity and the influence of environment are two factors in the formation of character, at the end of which time, we who know as much law, and as bad law, as the other judges know. Should their judge get muddled up in the judgment of the farmers of Kansas may change his failure to the law school at Ann Arbor

Is it necessary for a judge to be a lawyer? There are two sides to this question, and each gives a reason for the faith that is in him Where the *forms* of action are the essence of a law suit, the judge might be a lawyer, but where substantial right is the essence, it is better that he know nothing about the forms of pleading, or the hocus-pocus of procedure Were will be be ignorant of the rule that makes a suitor state his cause of action in the form of manifold law, or have his pleadings squashed, and be himself hoodwinked from a right which a clear sense of justice would instantly recognize being absurdly blindfolded she vainly tries to weigh the merits of a cause in scales suitable to her Hence courts of equity arose where justice tried the case without the technicalities of law For centuries the judges of the highest court in England were not lawyers and they served the law by breaking it when justice ordered them Not until Lord Hardwicke was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England did a lawyer hold that office or preside in Chancery Lord Eldon was not a lawyer and yet in trade some reputation as a judge Lord Mansfield was not a lawyer, although he had some separations for the bench, and he held the office by the mode practised in Chicago at this day He instructed the delegates, and proclaimed his opinions in these words

"Gentlemen, that I may engage the fund, that every man which hath any suit or cause might come unto me, and I would do him justice"

Had he obtained the office for which he was a candidate, he might not have gone into the rebel army, and had he kept his promise to do justice he might have made a very acceptable judge *Open Court*

MUST A JUDGE BE A LAWYER

ANYONE venerable no reply is in danger the right of investors to the exclusive possession and enjoyment of judicial honors and emoluments At the late election in Kansas, a farmer instead of a lawyer, was elected judge of the Twenty Fourth District It is claimed for him, that although he has never studied law, attended lectures, been admitted to the bar, or committed any forfeiture of that kind he is well qualified for the bench because he as a judicial mind having served in the capacity of judge at several horse races, church raffles county fairs, and similar tribunals It was also said and the criticism will apply to some other districts that the judges in Kansas had much law and little judgement, and that the law they had was bad It was, therefore, thought best to elect a judge, who if he knew a little at all, would certainly be in receipt of less bad law than some who, by reason of his judicial mind would be more likely to decide sensibly and justly, than another whose mind has been trained out of moral symmetry by the sharp, quick practice of the law Had the farmers of Kansas held bravely to their course, the result would probably have justified their action, but in a moment of doubt and weakness they inconsistently took up a collection and sent their judge to Ann Arbor for a six weeks course of study in jurisprudence, at the end of which time, we who know as much law, and as bad law, as the other judges know, should their judge get muddled up in the judgment of the farmers of Kansas may change his failure to the law school at Ann Arbor

Is it necessary for a judge to be a lawyer? There are two sides to this question, and each gives a reason for the faith that is in him Where the *forms* of action are the essence of a law suit, the judge might be a lawyer, but where substantial right is the essence, it is better that he know nothing about the forms of pleading, or the hocus-pocus of procedure Were will be be ignorant of the rule that makes a suitor state his cause of action in the form of manifold law, or have his pleadings squashed, and be himself hoodwinked from a right which a clear sense of justice would instantly recognize being absurdly blindfolded she vainly tries to weigh the merits of a cause in scales suitable to her Hence courts of equity arose where justice tried the case without the technicalities of law For centuries the judges of the highest court in England were not lawyers and they served the law by breaking it when justice ordered them Not until Lord Hardwicke was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England did a lawyer hold that office or preside in Chancery Lord Eldon was not a lawyer and yet in trade some reputation as a judge Lord Mansfield was not a lawyer, although he had some separations for the bench, and he held the office by the mode practised in Chicago at this day He instructed the delegates, and proclaimed his opinions in these words

"Gentlemen, that I may engage the fund, that every man which hath any suit or cause might come unto me, and I would do him justice"

Had he obtained the office for which he was a candidate, he might not have gone into the rebel army, and had he kept his promise to do justice he might have made a very acceptable judge *Open Court*

The Rev Dr H A Monroe

The Rev Dr H A Monroe a colored clergyman of New York, recently visited some of the slums of London "I did such a hundred times" he said "that I could have taken that walk and the one I took the day after through Seven Dials and Whitechapel in company with a one of our Southern negro haters in order that they might be exhorted in their execrated opinion of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon. The negro slum is his darkest heart and there always, more regard for religion, more desire to rise into some thing better, than you can ever instil into the miserable drunken under-strata of this great city. It may be well enough stand on Hyde Park and watching the splendid whirl of fashion and pride around you, to talk about the proud position of the British nation, but what of the great majority the millions that are grovelling in filth, poverty, and drunkenness unknown?"