

they must insist on Parnell's immediate retirement." The *Baptist* declares that "Baptists of every shade of politics feel acutely that the interests of righteousness are menaced by the probability of the association of Parnell with the leaders of any party having any concern for the national honour."

(*Pall Mall Gazette*.)

Mr. Parnell should resign. It is the only patriotic course he can pursue. He has no right to ask every Liberal candidate in England, Scotland, and Wales to fight with the weight of his disgrace upon them, which it will be necessary for them to assume, owing to the close alliance existing between the Irish Home Rulers and the English Radicals.

(*New York Sun*.)

The hysterical outcry of the London Tory Press for the dismissal of Mr. Parnell from the leadership of the Irish party on the score of his connection with the O'Shea divorce case excites at once amusement and disgust among those who know something about the private lives of English public men in recent and present times. Gladstone too largely into the structure of their own houses for British politicians to indulge in throwing stones.

If any professed Gladstonians join in the Tory bus and cry, they will reveal to Mr. Gladstone the worthlessness of their support. They will make it clear that they are waiting for a pretext to betray him, as he was betrayed by Messrs. Hartington, Chamberlain, and company in 1886. No man who sincerely approves of Mr. Gladstone's purpose to give self-government to Ireland will make the retirement of the Irish leader a condition of his fidelity to the Home Rule cause. The rightfulness of Ireland's demand for local legislation and the cogency of Mr. Parnell's arguments on behalf of his countrymen are not impaired at all because the private character of the Nationalist chief seems on *prima facie* evidence to be open to grave censure. The duty of Gladstonians, if they mean what they profess, is to render Ireland justice; it is not their business to dictate to Irishmen whom they shall choose for the direction of their political movement.

(*New York Tribune*.)

The Irish conspiracy trials have resulted in the conviction of three Members of Parliament and four obscure associates. The penalty for agrarian agitation is imprisonment for terms of four or twelve months without labour. William O'Brien and John Dillon being now in the United States will enjoy a brief respite, but when they return they will be arrested at once and taken to goal. Whether they are under sentence in America or are prisoners in Ireland these Members of Parliament are not degraded by conviction. At home they are looked upon as patriots and martyrs; their conviction is not a token of reproach, but of honour; they will be greeted with cheers when they enter the goal, and they will be feasted and glorified when they come out. Abroad they will be regarded, not as criminals and convicts but as political offenders and victims of unwise and oppressive coercion laws. This is the fatal weakness of Mr. Balfour's system of governing by force. Coercion does not carry with it the moral force of public opinion either in Ireland or in Christendom. Instead of degrading it ennobles the so-called criminal. It dignifies the convict's cell and thereby paralyzes the agencies of criminal law. Mr. Parnell is in a very different plight. He stands self-convicted before Ireland and the world of baseness and immorality. Political associates may rally about him and refuse to desert him, but the moral forces of public opinion at home and abroad are massed against him. Conviction may ennoble Dillon and the O'Briens; but it degrades him, sullies the prestige of his honourable service for his country, and brings the patriotic cause with which he is identified into undeserved reproach. If he seeks to defy public opinion in Ireland and England, the Home Rule movement will be seriously endangered when its prospects are bright and encouraging. Mr. Gladstone and the English Liberals, who have made great sacrifices for Ireland and its interests, ought not to be compelled to condone the most shocking private immorality by continuing to labour and associate with Mr. Parnell. He stands convicted and disgraced before the world. He should step down and out.

Patrick Donohoe of Boston, the founder of the *Pilot* newspaper, says:—"A great shame has come to a great man. I do not care to say more on the subject. But I regarded Parnell as the greatest man since O'Connell, and he has brought shame upon the purest nation of the world. Any other country would condone his fault. If he be as guilty as they say (and I hope and pray the contrary) I doubt if Ireland ever will pardon him."

(Special cable letter to the *New York Sun*.)

London, November 26.—Mr. Gladstone's letter has caused a startling change in the political situation. Immediately after the verdict in the O'Shea divorce case there was a prospect that by their retirement, temporary or otherwise, of Mr. Parnell serious injury to the Home Rule cause might be averted. Now it is merely a question whether the cause shall be damaged or ruined. Immense harm has already been done, which no tardy repentance can remedy. But Mr. Gladstone's retirement from political life, which can only be avoided by Parnell's resignation, means no momentary disaster, but temporary ruin to the cause of Home Rule.

(Special cable letter to the *New York Times*.)

London, November 29.—Such excitement as has to-day prevailed throughout the length and breadth of this country has never been experienced since the days when England was convulsed by the rumours of the advents of Napoleon's fleets. Any ordinary disaster, such as the outbreak of one of England's many wars, the news of the annihilation of an English expedition, or the story of some sanguinary encounter with one or other of the nation's habitual petty foes, would have left the country comparatively calm. There would have been a despatch of troops, there would have been a calm statement of the existing position of affairs made in the House, and the nation would have gone comfortably to sleep, secure in the knowledge that the matter was adjustable, and that the best energies of the nation were devoted to its settlement. On top of these anxious reckonings the manifesto came with a detonating force of a dynamite

explosion. From an early hour this morning London has been in a state of turmoil. The private houses of the Ministers and the chiefs of the parties have been beset by newspaper reporters seeking either the truth or, at least, the refutation of some one of the many lies contained in the extraordinary publication that Parnell has thought advisable to give to the world. The houses of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley, above all others, have been surrounded by crowds throughout the day, as though either of these gentlemen was likely to stand out in the snow to give public refutation of the falsehoods that had been so widely circulated. Probably no political document published within the memory of the present generation has created so profound and astonishing an impression as has the manifesto given to the world this morning. On the face of it, the manifesto is as unscrupulous a document as ever was penned by a politician. It purports to reveal party secrets with shameless contempt for the decencies and confidences of political life, and the fact that these revealed confidences are immediately denounced as falsehoods, having no foundation, in fact, detracts in no way from the disgrace of making them public. Mr. Gladstone has lost no time in giving the lie direct to the Parnell version of the confidential discussion at Hawarden in November last. It is specially worthy of note that only one of the twenty-three admitted supporters of Mr. Parnell was consulted in the matter. The original draft of the manifesto was drawn up in consultation with J. O'Kelly, who had as his colleague in the matter a bankrupt retainer of Mr. Parnell's named Loudon. This Loudon was in 1882 expelled from the National League for cowardice in connection with the Land League during Mr. Forster's suspect epoch.

Dublin, November 30.—Archbishop Croke has sent the following to Mr. Justin McCarthy as representing the views both of himself and of the Catholic clergy of Cashel:—"We are all sorry for Parnell, but in God's name let him retire quietly and with God's grace from the leadership. If he does so the Irish party will be kept together, the honorable alliance with the Gladstonian Liberals will be maintained, success at the general election assured, and Home Rule will be certain. But if he does not retire, the alliance will be dissolved, the election lost, the Irish party seriously damaged, if not broken up, and Home Rule indefinitely postponed. Coercion will be repeated, the evicted tenants will be hopelessly crushed, and the public conscience outraged. Parnell's manifesto is flat and discreditable."

Archbishop Walsh to-day telegraphed to Mr. William Martin Murphy, Member of Parliament for the St. Patrick's Division of Dublin, that the Hierarchy would meet on Wednesday next to consider the situation. The Archbishop says:—

"We have been slow to act, trusting that the party will act manfully. Our considerate silence and reserve are being dishonestly interpreted, but Archbishop Croke's telegram will make further misrepresentation impossible."

In an interview Archbishop Walsh, referring to his recent letter on the Parnell difficulty, says:—

"The letter was guarded because Mr. Parnell had not then spoken. But now his manifesto enables me to speak more plainly. Unless Mr. Parnell clears himself of the charge of adultery, the party taking or retaining him as their leader will not find the support, co-operation, or confidence of the Irish Bishops. Mr. Parnell's breach of Mr. Gladstone's confidence is blamable."

At the meeting of the Irish party in London on Monday, December 1st, to consider the situation the question of Mr. Parnell's breach of confidence with Mr. Gladstone was warmly discussed. Jas. J. McCarthy explained how he went to Mr. Gladstone on Saturday to reopen negotiations. Mr. Gladstone told him that he regretted the disorganisation of the Irish party. He would offer no suggestion, nor would he sign any document or give any message to be conveyed to the party. Mr. Gladstone informed him that he could not give any document with any certainty that it might not be printed by some of those concerned. He (McCarthy) also saw Harcourt, who said that in view of the disclosures made in the Parnell manifesto, he would not give anybody, verbally or in writing, assurances which were to be brought to the notice of Parnell. As to the general question of Parnell's resigning, Mr. McCarthy said Parnell's leading error had been his keeping private until now the Hawarden conversation. Mr. McCarthy severely reproached Parnell for accepting a pledge of secrecy, for declining to disclose it when he saw that his party and his country were sliding down to a precipice and for glorifying Gladstone on public platforms, while as he (Parnell) alleged he knew that Gladstone's purpose was to betray the Irish cause and the Irish people. "But," continued Mr. McCarthy, "supposing I had felt that terrible bond of silence, that seal rigid as the confessional, pressing upon me, would I have broken it for the sake of publishing a manifesto under any conceivable condition of public affairs? The whole transaction appears to me to have betrayed from the beginning a vital error of judgment on the part of Parnell." Mr. McCarthy concluded:—"This error has so shaken my confidence in the judgment of our leader that I have ceased to hope for success unless he be retired."

(Cable message from the Irish delegates, under date Chicago November 30.)

What Mr. Parnell asks us to do, stripped of all side issues, is to sacrifice all the hopes of an early settlement of the Irish struggle to his resolve to maintain his personal position.

We are driven to choose between our leader and our cause. In that sad choice we cannot hesitate. We lay these views respectfully before all our colleagues of the Irish Parliamentary party in the earnest belief that a decisive vote on their part will deliver Ireland from the fearful anxiety which now overhangs her people.

We are convinced that a calm, but resolute, course of action on our part in this cruel emergency will redound to the advantage of our cause, by furnishing conclusive testimony to the capacity of our party and of our people for self-government.

We cannot relinquish the hope that in the face of such decisive action by the elective representatives of the Irish people, Mr. Parnell's sense of patriotism will withhold him from plunging Ireland into those horrors of dissension which have so often already, in her tragic and unhappy history, robbed her of liberty at the moment it was