MEMPHIS APPEAL.

WEDNESDAY, : : : : MARCH 12, 1884

THE FACTIOUS WAR ON GOV. E. A. O'NEAL, OF ALABAMA.

Two years ago the Democrats of Alabama, in State convention assembled, nominated Edward A. O'Neal, of Florence, Lauderdale county, as their candidate for Governor—a gentleman whose name recalls the proudest traditions of the State. The honor thus conferred was a tardy act of justice, for Gov. O'Neal had never been an office-holder or office-seeker. He had given a life of unrequited service, labor and sacrifice to the Democratic party. He had long been the first in party councils, stood by the people in the dark days of adversity and defended their history. But his modesty, his unselfishness and the proverbial ingratitude of a thoughtless and capricious public made him last in receiving reward. In conferring the nomination on Gov. O'Neal two years ago the party simply paid an honest debt due a faithful friend and one of the largest and oldest creditors of the Democratic party in Alabama. So soon as Gov. O'Neal was nominated he bravely entered the field and made a brilliant canvass. The eloquent voice which had for forty years been pleading for party and for the election of others was for the first time raised for himself as the standard-bearer of the party in whose cause he had been wounded, scarred and suffered so many defeats and disasters while exposed to the storms of the terrible past when many of his present assailants were either silent or arrayed against him. After a brilliant canvass, Gov. O'Neal was elected, and he signalized the advent of his administration in an inaugural address which, on account of its beauty, statesmanship and patriotism, attracted the attention of the whole country. As Governor of the State of Alabama, Gov. O'Neal has encountered many embarrassments, but he has met them bravely and has performed his duties as faithfully and successfully as any man could have done under similar circumstances. He has promptly met the payment of the interest on the public debt and the current expenses of the State government. The State bonds are steadily advancing, because it is known that the July interest will be promptly met. During the last two years the Alabama Legislature has increased the expenses by appropriations of $60,000 to the university to rebuild it, $30,000 to the Agricultural and Mechanical College, $100,000 to the common schools, and $7500 to the Medical College in Mobile, besides minor sums to the Normal Schools; and yet such has been the increased assessments by the rapid growth of the industries of the State, she has been able to meet these increased liabilities. Vincent stole about $228,000, but the State it has recovered of one of his bondsmen $60,000, and has just recovered of Fred Wolffe $20,000 by the verdict of a jury, and will get out of the property of Vincent between $10,000 and $15,000, now decreed to be sold. A few weeks ago it was generally believed that Gov. O'Neal would be renominated for a second term by acclamation. But that envy and malice which lurks along the pathway of high official, whose positions are coveted by impatient ambition, has created itself in opposition to Gov. O'Neal, and in all our long experience in political life we have never seen a more frivolous, groundless, unjust and factious warfare made upon a faithful public servant. The personal integrity of Gov. O'Neal is beyond the reach of calumny. The most unscrupulous malice cannot gather enough courage to invent an accusation against his unsullied name, and as a result those who are opposing him in the interest of others are forced to resort to the most silly devices. O'Neal is now made responsible for Vincent's defalcation. The people of Arkansas are more just, for they did not make Gov. Garland responsible for the defalcation of the Arkansas State Treasurer. Here in Tennessee no one places the default of the State Treasurer, Marsh T. Polk, at the door of either Gov. Hawkins or Gov. Bate. Gov. O'Neal is charged with the monstrous crime of calling out the militia to suppress lawlessness. The Governor of Mississippi did the same, and troops were sent from Memphis to aid in suppressing lawlessness at Friars Point. The Gibson county riots occurred in Tennessee, and the Democratic Governor called out the military power of the State to aid in defending the majesty of the law, and the people sustained him and urged him to put down lawlessness at all hazards. The faction that oppose Gov. O'Neal disregard all precedent—repudiate the custom of nearly every State in the Union to indorse the gubernatorial incumbent by giving him a second term. This has been the almost invariable policy of the whole country. It is one of the unwritten party laws. Date, of this State, will be nominated for a second term: so will Berry, of Arkansas, and Lowry, of Mississippi. The rule has never been departed from in Tennessee save in one instance, when four years ago Marks was not made the party candidate for a second term, which resulted in the defeat of Wright, the Democratic nominee, and two years afterward the party adopted the policy of Marks's administration and he is now one of the strongest men in the State. Gov. O'Neal can not be driven into obscurity and disgrace by the silly war that has been made upon him. His administration has been generally satisfactory and the people will not permit him to be struck down merely to elevate some ambitious aspirant. If an honorable life stands for anything, if years of earnest toil and courageous devotion to party build up anything that cannot be swept away by the breath of party ingratitude, then Edward A. O'Neal will be sustained by the party and the people he has so faithfully served. If McKleroy or any other aspirant in Alabama fails to get the nomination on the 4th of June it simply defers an honorable ambition and brings no disrepute. If Gov. O'Neal is repudiated by the convention, it leaves him no future, it places the people of Alabama on record as saying that he has been weighed and found wanting, that he is unworthy of further trust and must be deposed. It is saying that his life with all its beauty, purity, brightness and usefulness must close in shame because, forsooth, as Governor of the State he tried to discharge his sworn duty by calling out the militia to save life and suppress lawlessness. Defeat will only disappoint other aspirants but it will ruin O'Neal. Will the people of Alabama record such a cruel and unjust verdict? We are familiar with their noble traits of character, and they will save from blight and stain a long life of integrity and show by their action that they believe it is better to disappoint a good man than to disgrace one equally deserving.

TRADE AND FINANCE.

The week has been a stormy one, which has, of course, affected sales to some extent, but although we are nearing spring trade there has been no special progress in business affairs. The late snows are supposed to have put wheat in a better position than it occupied a year ago, which improves prospects, but, says the New York *Chronicle*, "this may be an important consideration later on; at present, as the country has the surpluses of two years production on its hands, with no buyers, the better condition now does not give rise to any particular exhilaration; on the contrary, the tendency, in both trade and speculative circles, is to exercise great caution." Among conservative men the strange decision legalizing the issue of legal-tender money, a something approaching the "fiat money" of fanciful theorizers and able jugglers of other men's property, excites anxieties. The baleful effect of this decision, which defies letter and spirit, has yet to be felt in all its enormity. The *Chronicle* says: "Contracts made for payment in gold, already held valid, will, it is likely, become the rule in all cases, and especially if any disposition should be shown to force either paper or silver on the public. We have gained, through much suffering, a gold basis for our currency and we mean to keep it." The official returns show that during the last month the total revenue was only a little more than $1,000,000 less than for February last year, showing how little the tariff reduction made last Congress amounts to. The month's customs receipts were actually $1,500,000 in excess of February, 1883; indeed for January and February together that item of revenue foots up larger than a year ago, notwithstanding tariff revision. The conclusion appears inevitable that there is likely to be a larger revenue from the last than from the former tariff. With such heavy penalties imposed upon doing business who can wonder that it languishes. Let those who want better times labor to deliver our commerce from the shackles that bind it and neutralize its energies. Public confidence is suffering by the obstructions opposed to commerce. Because a few millions of gold are shipped which would excite no attention another time, there is anxious looking out whether we may not fall to a silver standard, and so all prices be unsettled and the amount of all fixed incomes be reduced. Exchange has continued to rule strong at figures which afford a fair profit for the export of gold; consequently bankers who have to remit are sending more or less by every steamer. A total of $7,050,000 has gone away this week, which is unusually large. Many bankers think that gold exports will continue, and if the present three and one-half minimum rate of the Bank of England fail to prevent a drain of their gold the volume of gold export will probably increase. "We are unable at the moment," says the *Chronicle*, "to meet a foreign demand by the shipment of anything in lieu of gold," as speculators hold back our grain and provisions, and foreigners do not want our securities while our currency is so insecure, so we must make up our minds to pay gold. There is a very light demand for time loans on stock collateral with three to four and one-half. The interior reports money comparatively plentiful with a better rate for carrying grain and in the Southwest advancing to ranchmen. During the week the New York banks have lost $15,085,000 gold. The New York *Bulletin* says: "The feature to-day in financial circles was the engagement of about $5,000,000 specie, to be shipped by to morrow's steamers. This, with the $2,000,000 taken out Tuesday by the Arizona, and other sums, will make the week's shipments aggregate $8,000,000—among the largest in a single week on record. The sum of $1,350,000 gold was withdrawn from the sub-treasury to-day, and the total withdrawals since February 21st are $8,750,000." Of stock market transactions *Bradstreet's* gives the following lively account: "In the first place trading in any form is dangerous in the extreme. One side is waiting to catch the other. When the sustaining orders are withdrawn prices go down. When a short interest is created the screws are put on the pooled or cornered stocks and the shorts are squeezed. The ordinary conditions of business, or the laws of supply and demand, do not prevail at all." The same authority says owners of stocks become weary of carrying them and only await opportunity to sell. There is talk of higher rates for money. At present rates the banks will carry stocks on loans. A demand for money would cause them to call these in, throwing off the stocks. "Everything," says *Bradstreet's*, signifies cly, "everything cautions carefulness." It adds that all over the West trouble prevails, or is brewing, among the railroads; all over the country they show decreasing earnings or absolute deficiency, and dividends are paid that are neither earned nor passed. Still further, *Bradstreet's* says: "The exportation of gold continues and a premium is predicted on it. One option on $1,000,000 at 101 any time this year, which was purchased at one-quarter of one per cent., is recorded. Smaller options for same at the same price have been bought."

THE SOUTHERN IMMIGRATION CONVENTION.

A convention of the Southern States Immigration Society is at present in session at Nashville, and will discuss the subject of immigration and kindred matters. There is good reason why the main object of the association should be discussed, for while the efforts made to encourage immigration to the South have brought us many good citizens, it must be acknowledged that, in point of numbers, the efforts made thus far have not been strikingly successful. That such incoming lands as those of Minnesota, Dakota, and Manitoba should gain more thousands than the South gains hundreds from those who arrive from abroad, is matter worth discussion. There is a reason for it, of course, and what that reason is, and how to counteract it is worth bringing to light. The whole facts of the matter should be treated without reserve. If the methods adopted to win immigrants to the South have been defective, it would be well to ascertain in what our methods have been deficient. It is not that immigrants are averse to settle in Southern regions, for Texas has been as successful in gaining them as the colder districts of the West. That State and the West have a larger amount of wild land amid which the stranger can find a home than the older States can offer. What is more, those States can find labor for those who have no capital. By that labor the industrious and economical can gain sufficient to buy, in a few years, farms for themselves and become the employers of immigrants who come after. These settlers form the best results of immigration, and the most successful. They have begun at the bottom, know their business as it is adapted to this climate, have learned what are its resources and the customs of the people. When they start in business on their own account they have practical knowledge of what has to be done and they succeed, and their success attracts other settlers, for it is generally made known to old friends and neighbors at the place whence the emigrant came. When a fresh immigrant has sufficient capital to buy land at once, he has many disadvantages to encounter, the principal one of which is his ignorance, at starting, of farming as practiced in a climate to which he is unaccustomed, and among a people of whose habits, and often of whose language, he is ignorant. It is this capitalist, the man who wants to buy a farm already improved, who is the most sought for in the South, and this class is the least numerous among the immigrants, and, as he started with money his success is less striking and produces less impression among those he has left behind him, than comes from the success of the penniless laborer. Southern seaports as emigrant depots is one of the subjects to be discussed by the convention, and it is worthy of all the consideration that can be given to it. Were New Orleans, for instance, possessed of a Castle Garden, a place where the immigrant could be supplied with a temporary home until he went to his final destination; given such information as he requires, and his road smoothed for him in traveling in a country to which he is a stranger, the problem of Southern immigration would be much simplified. An old cookery book, in giving a recipe for cooking a hare, considerately sets out by saying, "first catch your hare." With a good immigrant station at a Southern port, the South would first catch its immigrant, perhaps intending to go up the Mississippi to some spot in the West. With these in hand, skill, attention, and ready kindness would keep the immigrant in the South when once he was within its sunny influence. Other subjects to be discussed at the convention at Nashville are: The relations of Southern agriculture to immigration; the present needs of the South; its climatic advantages for agriculture, manufacturing and mining; its mineral interests geographically recited; its vast coal fields; its successful manufactures, and how to be further advanced by immigration; its timber resources, its sanitary status, its educational possibilities, and how best to promote its material interests; the needs of the great Mississippi Valley, and suggestively in that connection the importance to the general development of the Southern section of the World Industrial and Cotton Centennial this year.

TENNESSEE RIVER CONVENTION.

At Chattanooga to-day a convention meets to consider the subject of so improving the navigation of the Tennessee river as to secure uninterrupted navigation upon that stream to its mouth at Paducah. The Tennessee is as large and fine a river as the Ohio, and like the Ohio at Louisville it has a serious obstruction at Muscle Shoals. Let that and any other obstruction be removed, make the navigation of the Tennessee equal to that on the Ohio from Pittsburg down, and the result would be much more important than has arisen from opening the Ohio all its length. There are lands on the Tennessee as rich as are found on the banks of the Ohio, and coal as plentiful glides down its current, but there are also resources in timber and iron such as the Ohio does not possess. Within a very few years Chattanooga, situated upon its left bank, has become an important manufacturing city, and Sheffield, which has just risen up like a young giant further down the stream, promises to be no less successful. Let the river be opened to constant navigation, so that the coal, and iron, and lumber, and produce which it can so plentifully supply may reach, by its means, the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and they can be sent at a low rate of transportation to all parts of the world. It is proved that water navigation is the most effectual of all means of preventing railway extortion, and this is a powerful reason, added to others, why both the Tennessee and the Mississippi should have the most that is possible made of their advantages. Congress has liberally provided the Ohio with the improvements it required. The claims of the Tennessee are stronger than any that could be made originally for the Ohio; yet that river, as the Nashville *American* remarks, has been treated and regarded by the statesmen of Congress just as has been the treatment by that body of the smallest and most insignificant local navigable streams in other sections of the country, that have no commerce to speak of, and do not penetrate a tenth of the country traversed by this grand river. Seventeen years ago the people of Tennessee, at a Chattanooga convention, applied to Congress to open the navigation of the Tennessee, and work has been carried on at Muscle Shoals, but carried on so tardily that permanent means of passing the obstructions there have not yet been completed. The claims of the Tennessee are as strong as can well be urged, and deserve from Congress a degree of attention never yet given to them, and we cannot but express the most earnest hope that the efforts that will this week be originated by the Chattanooga convention will be crowned with signal success.

LAWS THAT MAKE RASCALS.

There is a kind of intended goodness that, in its operation, often produces the most cruel injustice; among such acts are some of the legal provisions intended to relieve persons owing money. Such lawmakers could think of the hard creditors selling out the effects of the unfortunate who owed them money, but they gave no thought to the man who is rich enough to make a display that induces tradesmen to trust him, and while some of them are put to torturing straits, and some perhaps ruined, and the poor washerwoman left without a dinner, the gentleman has not a thing the robbed creditors can seize. In their anxiety to deliver the debtor from hardship the legislators subjected the creditor to hardship no less harsh. The Little Rock *Democrat* the other day pointed out the effect of such clumsy attempts at kindness, as they are exhibited in the law of Arkansas. To say that no part of a man's property shall be taken to pay debts he had not discharged, is rather further than this class of well-intentioned but not wise law-makers have gone, but they have done partially what even their feeble vision showed them it would not be well to do utterly. An unmarried person can get $200 credit and nobody can make him pay a cent; the law will reward him if he act dishonestly. Let him be honest, and it will secure him nothing for that. The head of the family can carry the same privilege to the amount of $500; the owner of 160 acres of land in the country can stretch out to $2500; eighty acres of the land can be held, let wealt widow may go unpaid, whatever the value of the eighty acres may be, and that value we know may be very great sometimes, but however great, the rich owner can laugh at his creditors and refuse them anything. In town nobody can make a man pay what he owes, if he holds a quarter of an acre of land, *whatever the value of such an estate may be*. The makers of these laws have offered rewards for rascality, and the richer the scoundrel the greater the reward. If he is unmarried and "has nothing but what he stands up in" he can safely cheat to the amount of $200, but if he has eighty acres of valuable land in the country, or a quarter of an acre of still higher value in town, he can cheat to the full extent he can catch unwary and confiding people to trust him. Be poor and find it hard to keep out of debt, and from $200 to $500 is all the swindling latitude allowed. Have valuable real estate, and be able to get the necessaries and comforts of life without trouble, and the owner of it is permitted the full run of all the cheating ability he may possess. The Arkansas exemption law encourages dishonesty, but by a refinement, the less excuse there is for dishonesty the greater the reward offered by law to be a scoundre'. As a resource against such inducements to play the rogue, creditors are driven to demand the security of a mortgage, which the *Democrat* well characterizes as a withering, blighting influence, as "the ironclad mortgage system with all its unutterable woes, which the people must be rid of before they can be prosperous." When fools make laws there is mischief done, and though they be good-natured fools the mischief is none the less.

IRISH POLITICS.

A Very Careful Review of the Condition of Parties in Ireland, the Classes That

Compose Them and the General Drift and Tendency of Their Policy and Their Purposes.

The Island and the People Handicapped by the Curse of Torydom and Religious Bigotry.

BOSTON, March 11.—The London correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser* writes from Dublin, Ireland, under date of February 16th, the following careful and well did review of Irish politics: It is universally conceded that upon the character of the Irish vote will largely depend the future of English political parties, as well as the future of Ireland herself. I have been in this country for some days, and have had unusual opportunities for discovering what is the real state of affairs, and I will therefore give as concise an account as possible of the position and prospects of parties in Ireland. The recent invasion of Ulster by the Nationalists, as it was called, excited deadly hatred among the Orangemen, who acted with such vigor and made so much noise that English people were confirmed in their prejudices as to the importance of Orangemen and the weakness of the National party in Ulster. Now it is not denied by anyone that this party is less strong in Ulster than in the other provinces, owing very largely to the religious element entering into politics. But there was a substantial truth in what I heard Mr. Parnell declare in the House of Commons, namely, that "Ulster was no more loyal" than any other part of Ireland. I find that in Ulster the Nationalist sentiment is constantly gaining ground, and I should say that the recent action of the Orangemen has helped rather than hindered the development of the National movement. The Orange faction in Ulster is led by landlords, is supported by the magistracy, but its rank and file are composed of rowdy lads and the most ignorant laborers. These latter neither know nor care anything about politics. Their fets and sticks can be easily bought by land lords, and, as a matter of fact, they are so bought. The most intelligent business men and the professional men whose interests do not lie on the side of the landlord class will have little or nothing to do with Orangeism.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

comprises the best elements of Ulster Protestantism; the sturdy, shrewd farmers are of this persuasion, and they are very far from being Orange in their sympathies. Presbyterians are strong advocates of all privileged classes and the "residuum," Violently opposed to these Orangemen, and equally fanatical, are the poorer and lower classes of the Catholics. In this class there can be no doubt disaffection is widely spread, and political assassination is not unpopular among them. The "Invincibles" were heroes for the most part with this class, and, notwithstanding the murder as quite different, ethically, from murder of the ordinary kind. This class is pretty numerous, and it was these who lined the roads when the Land League was made, and caused the crime which accompanied that movement. The accusation of intimidation made by Englishmen at the Land-League leaders for moving at this crime was not so much false as absurd. The leaders could not help the crime. Given the conditions—a widespread agrarian agitation among the lower class of ignorant people who have never been accustomed to reason or to orderly methods—and crime was inevitable. The wonder is, in my opinion, that there was not much more. Between these two classes—

THE ORANGE FACTION,

which is numerical small and morally contemptible, and the ignorant Catholic faction, which is pauperized and brutal, there is great room for the outlooker at the politics of Ireland, which has been created and fostered by the statesmen of England. Between these two classes—

THE ENGLISH AND IRISH DEMOCRACY,

And if the Radical party in England meet the Nationalists half way, and press for a sweeping reform of the internal government of Ireland by constitutional means, declaring for local self-government, this union between the English and Irish Democracy may be attained. It is an encouraging sign, that the statesmanship of this object is desirable, that the "coming man" in England is strongly on the side of Irish reform. Mr. Chamberlain is and has long been a personal friend of Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Chamberlain is the one public man in England who is admired by the Irish. "If Mr. Chamberlain would but come over here," said a prominent Land-League leader to me in Londonderry, "we would give him a grand reception." And I believe that if Mr. Chamberlain were to visit other parts of Ireland he would be received as well meet with a very flattering reception. In calculating Mr. Chamberlain's chances for the future leadership of his party, this sentiment must not be overlooked. The Irish care nothing about Lord Hartington, while they dislike Sir W. Harcourt and know nothing of Mr. Goschen. But Mr. Chamberlain appeals to the lower class of ignorant people who have never been accustomed to reason or to orderly methods—and crime was inevitable. The wonder is, in my opinion, that there was not much more. Between these two classes—

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NATIONAL PARTY,

and very strong hold on Ulster Radicals. And if, therefore, Mr. Chamberlain can show that he is more likely to obtain a following in Ireland than any other statesman, he will have strong additional claims to the reversion of the Liberal leadership. The only means by which the Tory party could prevent the future alliance between Nationalism and Radicalism is by pushing forward the scheme for a peasant proprietary, as suggested by two of the Tory leaders, Mr. W. H. Smith and the Honorable Gerald Hamilton. A peasant proprietary is always conservative, as in France; and this, in conjunction with the naturally conservative influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood, might give the Tories a hold over Ireland. But, so far as I can see, this is not probable. Toryism is detested by the people; it is associated in the Irish mind, at any rate, on grounds which are capable of being argued and clearly set forth. The immense majority of this class are Nationalists. I have met with but one Tory that fact. They may not agree as to the details of the reforms they need; they may feel differently as to the kind of tactics to be pursued in order to obtain these reforms. But within these limits they are Nationalists of the party led by Mr. Parnell. Indeed, this young leader is what Daniel O'Connell was, namely, the "uncrowned king of Ireland," as Lord Randolph Churchill truly described him the other night in the House of Commons. And this party is not only making way in Ulster, but there can be no doubt that with a more popular suffrage it would control a large share of the representation of Ulster in Parliament. Large numbers of English people are still laboring under the delusion that

MR. PARNELL

only represents a mere faction of the Irish people, and that when the time comes the "loyal" will rise in their majesty and sweep these rascals down. They will be undeceived by the events of the future; for nothing can be further from the truth than that the Land League party is confined to the three southern provinces; and with extended suffrage it will embrace most of Ulster, excepting perhaps Belfast and one or two other towns. A small minority of this great mass of average Irishmen is liberal in politics, that is, more or less in sympathy with the Liberal party in England. In this small section, which comprises perhaps the most intelligent and best educated men in the north of Ireland, there are a few Tories, and shades of opinion, moderate and radical, the latter predominating. The Whigs, whose chief organ is the *Northern Whig*, a Belfast journal with a very wide circulation, are not very well pleased with the tendencies of things. They do not altogether approve of the land act, and they are for any extension of local self-government and widening of the suffrage. But they count for very little in practical politics, though of course they have some official influence. They will fall more and more into the background as Radicalism will come more and more into the front. In Belfast itself the Whigs are angry at the introduction of the caucus system, and organized a rival Liberal party. They formerly pulled the wires and chose the candidates; and they are indignant that they can do so no more. In Londonderry the Whigs will take no prominent part in politics, while the Radicals are the active politicians of the city.

THE LIBERAL PARTY,

therefore, which, it must be understood, is but small, is being organized on distinctly Radical lines, and is, so far, in sympathy with the sentiment of the Liberal party. Now the hope of Ireland lies, as many of her best men think, in the union of the Liberal party with the better section of the National party. The former of these can do little or nothing alone. It is emphatically an Ulster party, the party of the Presbyterian farmers and business men, and has no sympathy with other portion. Of itself it is likely to decrease rather than increase, especially if the Liberal party in England are to go on passing coercion bills, prohibiting meetings and imprisoning public men. The Liberals themselves do not generally approve of all the present government has done in Ireland, although they have a very warm attachment for Mr. Gladstone. How then can the people generally be expected to work in harmony with the Liberal party of England? In point of fact they cannot and will not so work in the immediate future; and the reason for this is very simple. No matter whether a Liberal or Conservative party is in power, the government of Ireland is a Tory monopoly.

Englishmen of the Liberal party enlarge Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan, and wonder why the Irish are not satisfied with the rule of such liberal-minded men. But Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan do not rule Ireland. The real rulers are the permanent officials at Dublin Castle, and these men are steeped to the lips in the worst Tory traditions. Their advice is taken on every question, and the character of their advice is always of one kind. The result of their influence may be seen from the state of the Irish magistracy. No fewer, it is agreed, than ninety per cent. of the magistrates are Tories. These are appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant; and considering that Liberalism has been for a century the Liberals have been in office seventeen years and the Tories only eight, it becomes obvious that a Liberal Lord-Lieutenant is almost entirely in the hands of the Dublin bureaucracy. A prominent Belfast Liberal told me that that when he was at Dublin Castle, urging on the Lord-Lieutenant a list of generals for the Belfast magistracy, the permanent secretary, Mr. Courtney Boyle, was chuckling over some tory appointment which he had made in the face of a strong opposition. These Tory magistrates detest the popular movement, and they invariably throw the weight of their influence and power on the side of the Orange faction and of the landlords. When one remembers, too, that the whole country government in Ireland is in hands of this class, and that large numbers of the people are shut out from

THE PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE,

it is not to be wondered at that the people care little for either English political party, and put their trust in their own leaders, who are pledged to act independently of either party. This state of things is likely, so far as I can see, to last some time; and it is, therefore, impossible to anticipate anything else, so long as these things continue, than the ascendancy of Mr. Parnell. He is the incarnation of the opposition to this detested rule, and as such he seems to be as powerful as ever. And yet, I think, if we look far enough, we shall be able to discern some indications of a *modus vivendi* between advanced Liberalism and a very large section of the National party. The latter party has, to begin with, low or no religious prejudices; the curse and bane of Irish politics in the past. Mr. Parnell himself is, of course, a Protestant, as was John Martin before him. Deference to the priest in political matters no longer exists to any great extent; and indeed in many parts the priests are compelled, against their own inclinations, to defer to the popular party. It is evident, therefore, that the party might very well work with

LIBERAL ULSTER PRESBYTERIANS

for broad national objects. Then again, the very success of the National party may lead to its overthrow, by reason of those internal dissensions which almost arise in any very large party, and which have always characterized Irish popular movements. It was so in the days of Grattan, it was in the days of O'Connell; it is not unlikely to be so in the days of Parnell. Already, of course, there is a marked divergence between the views of Parnell and Davitt on the land question. The former is for peasant proprietorship, the latter for land nationalization. Mr. Davitt is not likely to gain many disciples by this special idea; but he is so admired and loved for his honesty and courage that he may sway not a few if he and Mr. Parnell should seriously differ. Then the Parliamentary party are by no means agreed on many points; and when their numbers are doubled from thirty-five to seventy, differences still more marked are more likely to creep in. Men like Mr. Gray, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, are well acquainted with England and English feeling, and they know very well that the aims of Irish reformers can never be secured by outraging and defying English sentiment. They will be likely to do something to promote union between

THE ENGLISH AND IRISH DEMOCRACY.

And if the Radical party in England meet the Nationalists half way, and press for a sweeping reform of the internal government of Ireland by constitutional means, declaring for local self-government, this union between the English and Irish Democracy may be attained. It is an encouraging sign, that the statesmanship of this object is desirable, that the "coming man" in England is strongly on the side of Irish reform. Mr. Chamberlain is and has long been a personal friend of Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Chamberlain is the one public man in England who is admired by the Irish. "If Mr. Chamberlain would but come over here," said a prominent Land-League leader to me in Londonderry, "we would give him a grand reception." And I believe that if Mr. Chamberlain were to visit other parts of Ireland he would be received as well meet with a very flattering reception. In calculating Mr. Chamberlain's chances for the future leadership of his party, this sentiment must not be overlooked. The Irish care nothing about Lord Hartington, while they dislike Sir W. Harcourt and know nothing of Mr. Goschen. But Mr. Chamberlain appeals to the lower class of ignorant people who have never been accustomed to reason or to orderly methods—and crime was inevitable. The wonder is, in my opinion, that there was not much more. Between these two classes—

THE ORANGE FACTION,

which is numerical small and morally contemptible, and the ignorant Catholic faction, which is pauperized and brutal, there is great room for the outlooker at the politics of Ireland, which has been created and fostered by the statesmen of England. These two classes—

NATIONAL PARTY,

and very strong hold on Ulster Radicals. And if, therefore, Mr. Chamberlain can show that he is more likely to obtain a following in Ireland than any other statesman, he will have strong additional claims to the reversion of the Liberal leadership. The only means by which the Tory party could prevent the future alliance between Nationalism and Radicalism is by pushing forward the scheme for a peasant proprietary, as suggested by two of the Tory leaders, Mr. W. H. Smith and the Honorable Gerald Hamilton. A peasant proprietary is always conservative, as in France; and this, in conjunction with the naturally conservative influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood, might give the Tories a hold over Ireland. But, so far as I can see, this is not probable. Toryism is detested by the people; it is associated in the Irish mind, at any rate, on grounds which are capable of being argued and clearly set forth. The immense majority of this class are Nationalists. I have met with but one Tory that fact. They may not agree as to the details of the reforms they need; they may feel differently as to the kind of tactics to be pursued in order to obtain these reforms. But within these limits they are Nationalists of the party led by Mr. Parnell. Indeed, this young leader is what Daniel O'Connell was, namely, the "uncrowned king of Ireland," as Lord Randolph Churchill truly described him the other night in the House of Commons. And this party is not only making way in Ulster, but there can be no doubt that with a more popular suffrage it would control a large share of the representation of Ulster in Parliament. Large numbers of English people are still laboring under the delusion that

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only represents a mere faction of the Irish people, and that when the time comes the "loyal" will rise in their majesty and sweep these rascals down. They will be undeceived by the events of the future; for nothing can be further from the truth than that the Land League party is confined to the three southern provinces; and with extended suffrage it will embrace most of Ulster, excepting perhaps Belfast and one or two other towns. A small minority of this great mass of average Irishmen is liberal in politics, that is, more or less in sympathy with the Liberal party in England. In this small section, which comprises perhaps the most intelligent and best educated men in the north of Ireland, there are a few Tories, and shades of opinion, moderate and radical, the latter predominating. The Whigs, whose chief organ is the *Northern Whig*, a Belfast journal with a very wide circulation, are not very well pleased with the tendencies of things. They do not altogether approve of the land act, and they are for any extension of local self-government and widening of the suffrage. But they count for very little in practical politics, though of course they have some official influence. They will fall more and more into the background as Radicalism will come more and more into the front. In Belfast itself the Whigs are angry at the introduction of the caucus system, and organized a rival Liberal party. They formerly pulled the wires and chose the candidates; and they are indignant that they can do so no more. In Londonderry the Whigs will take no prominent part in politics, while the Radicals are the active politicians of the city.

THE LIBERAL PARTY,

therefore, which, it must be understood, is but small, is being organized on distinctly Radical lines, and is, so far, in sympathy with the sentiment of the Liberal party. Now the hope of Ireland lies, as many of her best men think, in the union of the Liberal party with the better section of the National party. The former of these can do little or nothing alone. It is emphatically an Ulster party, the party of the Presbyterian farmers and business men, and has no sympathy with other portion. Of itself it is likely to decrease rather than increase, especially if the Liberal party in England are to go on passing coercion bills, prohibiting meetings and imprisoning public men. The Liberals themselves do not generally approve of all the present government has done in Ireland, although they have a very warm attachment for Mr. Gladstone. How then can the people generally be expected to work in harmony with the Liberal party of England? In point of fact they cannot and will not so work in the immediate future; and the reason for this is very simple. No matter whether a Liberal or Conservative party is in power, the government of Ireland is a Tory monopoly.

Englishmen of the Liberal party enlarge Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan, and wonder why the Irish are not satisfied with the rule of such liberal-minded men. But Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan do not rule Ireland. The real rulers are the permanent officials at Dublin Castle, and these men are steeped to the lips in the worst Tory traditions. Their advice is taken on every question, and the character of their advice is always of one kind. The result of their influence may be seen from the state of the Irish magistracy. No fewer, it is agreed, than ninety per cent. of the magistrates are Tories. These are appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant; and considering that Liberalism has been for a century the Liberals have been in office seventeen years and the Tories only eight, it becomes obvious that a Liberal Lord-Lieutenant is almost entirely in the hands of the Dublin bureaucracy. A prominent Belfast Liberal told me that that when he was at Dublin Castle, urging on the Lord-Lieutenant a list of generals for the Belfast magistracy, the permanent secretary, Mr. Courtney Boyle, was chuckling over some tory appointment which he had made in the face of a strong opposition. These Tory magistrates detest

HAIL, RAIN, WIND

And Snow-Storms Over a Wide Area of the Country from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Immense Destruction of Railroad and Other Property—Helena, Ark., Suffered Severely Yesterday.

Terrific Wind-Storm Near Waverly, Miss.—The Plantation of Maj. Young Completely Wrecked.

Special to the Appeal.]

HELENA, March 11.—Between 8 and 12 o'clock this morning one of the most violent rain-storms ever witnessed visited this place, and in a few minutes the branches and ditches leading out of the hills were transformed into good-sized rivers, and as a consequence the river rose one inch.

Terrific Wind-Storm Near West Point, Miss.

Special to the Appeal.]

WEST POINT, March 11.—Reports came from Waverly, Miss., at 4 o'clock this evening that every cabin and ginhouse on the plantation of Maj. Val Young were completely wrecked by the terrific storm. No lives reported lost. The rain poured in torrents from 4 until 6 o'clock, accompanied by hail, lightning and wind. The elements are frightful at this writing and worse is expected.

No Mails at Phillips, Me.

PHILLIPS, March 11.—Snow four feet deep. No mails since Friday.

Snow-Blockade in New Hampshire.

CONTOOCOOK, N. H., March 10.—There is a serious snow blockade in this section of the State. Trains are greatly impeded.

Passengers Delayed by Snow.

SAN FRANCISCO, March 11.—The *Chronicle's* Los Angeles special says: Passengers by delayed trains from the East arrived to-day. They came by rail as far as Pamona, thence by team and on foot. They report fully 1000 emigrants and first-class passengers at Calton and vicinity.

Bad Weather on the Ocean.

PORTLAND, ME., March 10.—Incoming vessels are covered with ice, and report bad weather outside.

Terrific Snow-Storm in Vermont.

MONTPELIER, VT., March 10.—The worst snow-storm of the season has been prevailing since Saturday. Trains are blocked and highways closed.

Heavy Snow-Storm in Maine.

FARMINGTON, ME., March 10.—No trains over the Maine Central road since Saturday morning. The Sandy River road is blockaded without any snow-fall continues. Everything is blockaded.

Heavy Storms in San Francisco.

SAN FRANCISCO, March 10.—The storms last night and to-day were the heaviest for many years. Santa Clara Valley, eighteen miles distant, is one vast lake. The damage to property is fully $300,000. It is still raining.

Wind and Snow at St. Paul.

ST. PAUL, MINN., March 10.—A severe wind-storm, accompanied by snow, has been raging since last night over a considerable portion of Minnesota and Dakota. The snow is drifting badly, delaying trains, and in one or two instances causing freight trains to be abandoned. The temperature began falling to-night, but the wind has not abated.

Storm Still Raging.

ST. PAUL, MINN., March 11.—Specials from Fargo and points north and west say the storm is still raging. The wind is increasing in velocity. At 10:30 o'clock p. m. all trains were behind, drifting their way slowly on. The main lines of the Manitoba and Northern Pacific and the Southwestern to Lisbon are still blockaded. Temperature 24° above zero at Fargo.

Hail, Rain and Snow in New York.

NEW YORK, March 10.—Hail, rain, snow, thunder and lightning made up the weather hereabouts to-day. Icy sidewalks made walking full of peril. Trees and telegraph wires are heavily coated with ice. In Hartford heavy ice has broken down the wires and even trees. Telegraphing is badly interrupted. Virginia had its rain, hail and thunder storm. The Appomattox is very high and rising rapidly.

Southern Pacific Badly Washed.

SAN FRANCISCO, March 10.—The Colorado division of the Southern Pacific is washed for six miles west of Duggett. One break is 1500 feet; one is 6 chains, 800 feet. On the northern division near Fresno a number of bridges are impassable and passengers are transferred. Freight is accumulating at Lathrop. If repairs on the roads are delayed the effect on business will be serious. Southern wires are again down.

Most Serious Snow-Storm of the Winter at Montreal.

MONTREAL, March 10.—The snow-storm of the past two days is the most serious of the winter. The Canada Pacific trains to-day were cancelled. The branch roads are hopelessly blockaded. The snow is eight feet high. Two trains from Ottawa, due here Saturday, pushed as far as Glenn Robertson, where they came to a stand-still. The passengers were obliged to drive to Coleau, whence they were conveyed to Montreal to-day. The running of trains throughout New Brunswick is seriously interfered with.

Twelve Persons Killed by a Snow-Slide.

SALT LAKE, March 10.—At 6:30 o'clock Friday night, the 7th, a snow-slide of half a mile extending from the summit down Alta Altar, swept away the works of the New Emma mine killing Gus Libecker, foreman, D. D. Wasson, machinist, and brother, Samuel Prothero, Charles Colgreen and wife, Edward Crocker, Lottie Pieon, O. J. Johnson, N. S. Delano, William Stevenson and Jno. Richardson. The bodies were all recovered except one. The wreck slide never known, the snow piling forty feet high. The damage to the mine is $1500. The storm was too bad to bring down the bodies of the killed. Several of them have families. George Cullins, superintendent of the mine, came down to-day bringing the first news of the disaster.

Ten Men Lost in the Snow.

SPOKANE FALLS, WASH., March