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PARNELL.

His Influence on English Politics.

Hon. George A. Bruce Reviews the Situation,

And Outlines the Radical Program.

The Land, Common Schools, the Church,

And the Reform of the House of Lords,

Four Issues Demanding Attention of Voters

In the Elections Now Close at Hand.

While in the United States we are living in a period comparatively free from political excitement, having before us for settlement none of those exciting questions which tend to stir the pulse and excite the emotions of a people, in England, Scotland and Ireland a political campaign is now being carried on, which is quite likely to result in a modification of the British constitution more radical than any to which it has been subjected during the last two centuries. Two millions of people, by reason of the extension of the franchise, for the first time are to have their influence felt and their votes recorded in the general election for a new parliament this fall. The addition of such a force to the existing voting population lends something of that interest to the elec-



tion which we should experience if, for the first time, all of the women were to add their votes to those of the men. While an English nobleman may sneer at the political opinions of a shoemaker or a blacksmith, yet the thought of 2,000,000 of voters, no matter what their position in society may be, will always, in every country, command attention and respect. There is something in a large crowd that leads one up to reverence for it, no matter what is the character of its constituent parts.

Just now, in Tory and Liberal ranks alike, the liveliest interest is manifested in the question: "Which side is to secure the support of the newly-enfranchised citizens?" They constitute the unknown quantity in British politics.

But my object in this article is simply to present to the readers of the GLOBE the leading questions which are now being earnestly discussed in England, and which, decided this way or that, are to so materially affect the future of Great Britain. In a general way it may be said that there are two parties in English politics—the Liberal and the Conservative. The old familiar names of Whig and Tory, now embalmed in history, have been laid aside, and the new party names have been taken up as better suited to the changed condition of political questions. Though Liberals and Conservatives constitute the great body of the voting population, yet there is no question upon which the followers of either party are fully agreed. Politics takes the place of a personal following to a far greater degree than with us, the discipline of the

party whip being loose and only felt to a very moderate extent. This follows from the fact that no general party conventions are ever held in which a general average of party opinion can be struck and a common policy laid down. Yet from the general discussion that has thus far been carried on I think the following issues stand clearly outlined:

- 1. The land question in both islands.
2. The disestablishment of the state church.
3. The question of universal and compulsory secular education.
4. The reform of the House of Lords.

THE LAND QUESTION.

As usually happens in all movements for a reform or change in government, no agreement has as yet been reached, as to what the exact changes in her land laws shall be, but this question is the one that is debated with the greatest interest, and is calculated to excite the intensest feeling on the one side and the other, of all the four questions above enumerated. It is now admitted that the introduction of this question into English politics is directly due to the movement inaugurated by Parnell and his associates for a modification of the land laws in Ireland. Parnell, though regarded as a champion simply of Irish rights and liberties, has in reality borne the brunt of a battle that is as much in the interest of the English and Scotch tenant farmers as it is in the interest of those of Ireland. Perhaps he has not intended to champion the cause of the oppressed, but of all three kingdoms, and assuredly the English tenant farmers do not yet recognize him as their benefactor. Nevertheless, they have taken their cue from him, and are pressing forward through the breach in the walls of aristocratic landlordism which he has made, and are demanding the same reforms for their own benefit which he and his gallant band of Nationalists have extorted for the Irish people. Slowly but surely the English working farmer in Yorkshire, or Devonshire, or Surrey has got through his head that there is need of reform in England as well as in Ireland, and that which keeps him from owning the soil he tills, and which make him the subservient lessee of a great titled lord, who can ride over his estate from sunrise to sundown without coming to the end of it, and who draws from him the highest rentals he can exact, and leaves him at the end of a long life of hard labor no richer than he started with, the titled lord hands over this vast estate, improved by his industry, to his eldest son, and he to his eldest son, and so on, world without end. Parnell has done a great work, greater, I think, than even he himself yet realizes, in showing to the English farmer already, and England will yet enroll him as a benefactor of her landlord-ridden people. The general feeling of hostility among the English towards the Irish tended in no slight degree to present the need of the reform of the Irish peasant was laboring under, and still more to awaken attention on the part of the English and Scotch to the system of laws in those countries, which, of late years, have tended inevitably to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. But in spite of this prejudice a successful fight was made, which has resulted in bettering the condition of the Irish tenant to a considerable degree, and awakened the working farmers of Great Britain to a sense of the need of a reform of the land laws in England. Her soil is not tilled by those who own it. The men who hold the plough and sow the seed are simply tenants at will or for terms of years of those who are styled "the landed gentry." Two hundred persons own one-fourth of the entire acreage of Great Britain, and only one person out of every 100 is the possessor of even so much as a square foot of the soil. By the laws of primogeniture and entail, and a system of family settlements now in force, the result has been to diminish, year by year, the number of holdings and to increase the possessions of the few. To-day 600 peers own over one-fifth of the entire area of England and Scotland. A Scottish duke is lord of nearly a whole county, and his possessions stretch from ocean to ocean. In a general way it may be said that the object to be attained is the breaking up of these large estates, and the transfer of the land to the men who cultivate it, not by confiscation or theft, but by a series of enactments that shall effect this result peacefully and without violence to the rights of the present owners. The system of family settlements will be broken up and a fixed interest in the land which he occupied will be vested in the working tenant farmer. Other nations have found this result by the use of force and bloodshed, while others have effected equally great revolutions by a simple appeal in the name of justice to the law-making power. Before the revolution of 1789 the soil of France was held in very few hands; now the country in Europe possesses so large a number of small farmers living upon and cultivating their own fields. There are now in France no less than 3,000,000 people owning estates under twenty-five acres.

This same question has been under discussion in Germany, Russia, and other European countries, resulting in the improved condition of the tenant farmer in every case by the breaking up of large tracts into large number of small farms. In 1831 and in 1850 all of the common lands in Prussia, amounting to a considerable portion of her whole territory, were sold to and divided among a large number of tenants who were interested therein. Many of the large landowners of Great Britain admit the necessity of a reform of the existing land system of that country, and are practically ready to meet the Radical program somewhere about half way. As in all English crises, as the climax approaches the spirit of compromise shows itself. This is the spirit which has saved England from violent revolutions on so many former occasions, and

it will probably save her again in the settlement of the land question.

THE EDUCATION ISSUE.

The second plank in the Radical platform is nothing more or less than a demand for a system of common schools such as we have in Massachusetts. Singular as it may seem, until recently no plan for a general education of the people had ever been adopted in England. Though the upper classes have always been as highly educated as any people in the world, though her schools were among the most renowned, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge had among their alumni a longer list of distinguished names than any university of Europe could boast; though in no land has education and mental culture been more highly esteemed or amply rewarded, yet the condition of ignorance in which generation after generation the governing powers of England have allowed the common people to grow up, and still is a disgrace to her civilization. The only means of education open to this class were the sectarian schools established and maintained by the various religious organizations. Until 1870 no school-house had been built and no school established by the state. In that year a beginning was made and the "order educational bill" became a law, which both furnished assistance to the existing denominational schools, and compelled new ones to be established wherever there was lack of school accommodation for all children under a fixed age. Under this bill a great interest was soon manifested in the question of educating all the children of the state, and on the school boards in the various cities and towns could be found the names of the first citizens of England. Though much has confessedly been accomplished in the short period of fifteen years, yet a demand is now made for a reformation of the system, which shall take away from it all recognition of that which is sectarian and make its education compulsory for all children, doing away with the local option of the Forster bill.

THE CHURCH QUESTION.

In the April number of the Edinburgh Review for the year 1839 appeared Macaulay's review of a book entitled "Church and State," by William E. Gladstone, M. P., then recently published. In the light of subsequent history this review is exceedingly interesting reading. The opening sentence reads: "The author of this volume is a young man of unblemished character and distinguished parliamentary talents, the rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories, who follow, reluctantly and mutinously, a leader whose experience and eloquence are indispensable to them, but whose cautious temper and moderate opinions they abhor." The theory upon which that book was written is, that the propagation of religious truth is one of the principal aims of government. A little more than a quarter of a century later Mr. Gladstone, no longer the hope of stern and unbending Tories, but as leader and chief of the Liberal party, accomplished the overthrow of the English church in Ireland, and as is generally believed is no longer inimical to a complete separation of church and state throughout Great Britain. If such result is accomplished, but that the established church is most deeply rooted in the affections of a majority of the English people, and her overthrow will be resisted by a power that will compel the Radicals to exert themselves to the last degree. If such result is accomplished, it will be only after years of agitation, and under circumstances more favorable than those existing at present. But the change of views by such men as Gladstone and some of his more prominent associates shows that tenacious English though they are, they are not any one who would be bold enough to make a prediction as to its final solution must be more familiar with English traits than I can, for a moment, lay claim to.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The last feature of the Radical program, the reform of the House of Lords, is receiving more and more prominence as the canvass advances. In the great Radical constituencies, like Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle and other centers where the laboring men are in the heavy majority, I was told that speakers found the most earnest and hearty response to any hit at the House of Lords. Those who have read the story of John Bright's career, will remember that twenty years ago he provoked a tremendous explosion in England, and was read out of its good society for declaring, at a mass meeting of his Birmingham constituents, that "an hereditary house of legislature cannot be a permanent institution in a free country." By many it was called a treasonable utterance. It so incensed the ruling classes that when Lord Palmerston some time afterwards came to form a Liberal ministry, and was urged by Lord Russell to offer Bright a seat in it, he replied that he would like to do so, but could not, for the reason that many persons whose support was necessary to his administration had notified him that they would withdraw their countenance from it if Mr. Bright, holding such a view of the House of Lords, should become a member of it. The Radical wing led by men like Labouchere and Cowan, talk right out for the total abolition of the peers as a legislative branch, and Chamberlain, whom I found to be everywhere looked upon as the successor of Gladstone, advocates a radical reorganization of "the upper house," as it is called, which would practically abolish it as it at present exists. The existence of a legislative body, the great mass of whose members are simply there by the accident of birth, whose seats in Parliament literally come to them as birthday presents—is admitted by all classes of Englishmen, even by the lords themselves, to be an anomaly, which must be corrected. I heard many schemes for reforming the House of Lords. One proposition is to deprive the "spiritual peers," so called, of their seats. The archbishops

and bishops of Great Britain, belonging to the Protestant Episcopal church (the state church), have seats at present by virtue of their office in the upper house, and are styled "the spiritual peers." The other kind of peers are styled "the temporal peers." There seemed, as I thought, to be a pretty general opinion that the reform of the Lords must start with dropping the spiritual peers from the list of members. Beyond that no definite plan of reorganization for the hereditary chamber has been blocked out. Some propose to extend the principle of life peerages; i. e., peerages created by the sovereign nominally, but paid by the prime minister of the day, by which means the destructive power of the hereditary land-holding peers could be effectually overcome. Others insist that the hereditary right to legislate must be entirely done away with, and the House of Lords become, as our senate is, a purely elective body—a body to which, it is suggested, only peers of the realm might be eligible, but into which they could not enter, except by election, either directly by the people or by some representative bodies chosen in their turn by the people. From what intelligent Englishmen of various shades of party opinion said to me, I do not look for the abolition of the House of Lords, at any rate not in the near future but rather for a compromise reform measure which will bring it much nearer in its nature to the House of Commons, making it perhaps about half elective and half members, and the other half hereditary members. One London gentleman gave a view of the matter, which was new to me. Said he: "I am not so sure that we should gain much by abolishing the House of Lords altogether. All the authorities on popular government are agreed as to the necessity of having two branches to a legislature. If we knock over the House of Lords we shall certainly empower a popular measure more than once. An elective senate might prove to be stronger as a curb on the lower branch, and in that event we should not have made our government more, but less Democratic in its actual working than it is now. That the House of Lords, within a few years, however, is a defect overwhelming, and of important modifications in its make-up, there can be no sort of doubt. Such are the leading points of the Radical programme in England, and the elections now close at hand will be chiefly interesting in ascertaining how steadily the program shall be crystallized into statute law.—GEORGE A. BRUCE, in Boston Globe.

A ST. PAUL NEWSBOY.

He sends a Nice Little Letter to the Editor. To the Editor of the Globe: Dear Sir: It is with some regret that I notice the way in which the Public regard us and our profession. I myself being a bootblack it hurts my feelings to think that we are not to be trusted. That we are slovenly, dirty, spend our money as fast as they can, and are a nuisance to the city in general. Imagine Sir, a boy of 7 years his father dies, his mother tells him to go and make a living, he goes out on the streets, he sees other boys selling papers or blacking boots, he naturally tries to work in the same way. He is a kind of a hustler, he can make enough to support his mother and himself, then perhaps his mother dies and leaves him to fall on his own resources, he naturally takes to chewing tobacco and smoking cigarettes. This is a bad habit, and I don't deny it, but thanks to my own common sense, and the advice I received from my fellow bootblacks I never tried either. At night he generally hangs around the Opera house or some other pleasure resort, and in the war time the warth of such places as the clapping of hands and the occasional glimpse of scenery, draws him on until he can resist the temptation and if he has any money he naturally goes in. When the play is over he goes to sleep in some lively stable or dry goods box filled with straw, paper, and wakes up in the morning cold and shivering to find that he has got to make some money before he can get anything to eat. This is not fiction, dear Reader but facts from my own experience. Why don't you go to work in your own way? because most everybody wants references or boys that live with their parents. This makes him think that he is not to be trusted, and he gets discouraged and sad and he thinks if you want help me I can help myself and he falls back on his profession again. There is a good many things yet that I would like to speak about but fearing that I am consuming too much space already, and paper that this will not go to the waste basket, but find his place in the columns of that excellent family paper THE SUNDAY GLOBE. I remain very respectfully yours. LOUI EVANSOX. A St. Paul Bootblack. St. Paul 23, '85.

The Princess Pocohontas.

Art Journal: Among the "natural inhabitants of Virginia," characterized by Capt. John Smith, in his description of that country, as "very strong, of an able body and full of agility, able to endure to lie in the woods under a tree by the fire in the worst of winter, or in the weeds and grass in the summer," one of the most remarkable was the young Princess Pocohontas, or Matoaks, the daughter of the Emperor Powhatan, a powerful Indian chief. Her exceptional qualities are mentioned in Capt. John Smith's "True Relation," a letter written to a friend in England and published in 1608. "Powhatan's daughter, a child of 10 years old, which not only for feature, countenance, and proportion much exceedeth any of the rest of the people, but for wit and spirit is the only nonprell of his country." Very shortly after this mention, and for some years later, Pocohontas constantly befriended the English settlers recently arrived in Virginia; sought to bridge over the enmity between them and the Indian tribes, and served them with devotion and skill, conveying to them assiduously the supplies of food which helped to keep the struggling colony in existence.

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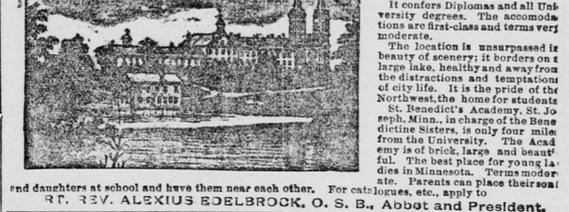
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CITY NOTICE.

OFFICE OF THE CITY TREASURER, ST. PAUL, MINN., Oct. 19, 1885. All persons interested in the assessment for Sprinkling Mississippi street, between Grove street and Nash street, WILL TAKE NOTICE that on the 10th day of September, 1885, I did receive a warrant from the City Comptroller of the City of St. Paul for the collection of the above named assessment. The nature of this warrant is, that if you fail to pay the assessment within THIRTY DAYS after the first publication of this notice, I shall report you and your real estate so assessed as delinquent, and apply to the District Court of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota, for judgment against your lands, lots, blocks or parcels thereof so assessed, including interest, cost and expenses, and for an order of the Court to sell the same for the payment thereof. 293-303 GEORGE REIS, City Treasurer.

Notice to Contractors.

CITY CLERK'S OFFICE, ST. PAUL, MINN., Oct. 16, 1885. Sealed proposals, indorsed "Proposals for Infirmity," will be received at this office until Tuesday, the 27th day of October, A. D. 1885, at 12 o'clock m., for furnishing the necessary materials for and the construction of an Infirmity for the City of St. Paul, in accordance with the plans and specifications therefor on file in the office of the City Engineer of said City. A bond in 20 per cent. of the gross amount of the proposal must accompany each proposal. The Common Council reserves the right to reject any and all proposals. By order of Common Council, THOS. A. PRENDERGAST, City Clerk.

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