



THE LAND BILL

CRITICIZED!!

THE CASE LUMINOUSLY STATED.

Government's Bill Condemned

MR. LOUDEN'S ADDRESS IN DUBLIN

The following speech of Mr. Louden, one of the delegates at the Land League meeting, held in Dublin on the 12th of April, is about the clearest we have yet seen on the question—

Mr. Louden—I therefore must address myself to the provisions of this bill with great caution, and with due regard to the opinions of those who have made this land movement what it is (loud applause). Now, I will confine myself as far as possible to a more or less technical criticism of the several clauses of the bill which the Government has introduced as a settlement of the land difficulty in Ireland. We all know that when the Land League advocated the law of Ireland for the people of Ireland there was a body of very influential politicians (they are not influential now), who advocated against our programme, the programme or principles known as a 'fixity of tenure, free sale, and fair rents.' It is quite plain that the Government of the day has sought to deal with fixity of tenure, free sale, and fair rents; but I am in a position to show from the bill before me that if this bill is passed—what they call fixity of tenure, free sale, and fair rents were granted, the condition of the tenantry of Ireland would be worse under the new law than it is to-day (hear, hear). I will deal first with free sale, for it is the first provided for in the bill. The bill says that a tenant may get for the same, but subject to certain conditions. What are those conditions? The first is, that if the tenant wishes to sell his land, the landlord then and there has the right to involve him in a lawsuit. Now I ask all who have had experience of the procedure of the land courts in Ireland—who have had experience of the impoverished condition of the country, where could there be found a small tenant farmer, or even a farmer of moderate means, who would have the courage to attempt to sell his holding while the landlord was holding the threat of litigation over his head (hear, hear and applause)? We all know whenever (in the past) litigation has taken place between landlord and tenant that the law has always been on the side of the long purse (hear, hear). We know further that the tenant farmers of Ireland have so little confidence in British justice that they will never stand in a British court and believe that they can obtain justice against the representatives of British tyranny. Consequently, if there was nothing else in the bill to prevent any tenant from selling than his threat of a lawsuit held in *terrorem* over them that threat will be sufficient to make the provisions for free sale nugatory, if not a farce (hear, hear). What are the other objections? If the landlord objected to the sale the court would have a right to hear from the landlord's objection against the purchaser on the ground that he was a bad character. Now, what state of things would that bring about? In the first place the landlord would openly advance in court the plea that the purchaser was at one time of his life a Fenian, and I believe that the county court judges are men of a class who would hold that the Fenians were not men of good character (hear, hear). The landlord might say that the purchaser was a man of whose character or of whose loyalty Mr. Forster had a reasonable suspicion (laughter and applause). He might say that he was reasonably suspected of having incited the people to crime; that he was reasonably suspected by the Royal Irish Constabulary. Gentlemen, I have no doubt but if they could not hit the purchaser any other way they would raise the question whether he went to Mass or church on Sunday, and so on *ad infinitum*, until they had made the judge believe that their characters were tainted, and that, therefore, he could not make a good tenant farmer. Now, I am almost at a loss to know what good agriculture or skill in farming, depend upon a man's moral character (hear, hear), but the Government of the day seem to be of a different opinion, and they have raised the question of a man's character as being a bar to his holding land in Ireland. A fair provision is made for an objection against the purchaser on the ground of any cause whatever, so that in point of fact the judge would have to take into consideration every conceivable objection advanced against the purchaser by the landlord, and consequently you may see at a glance that wherever the landlord objected to the purchaser that no sale could take place (hear, hear). I therefore say that the provision for free sale, as contained in the bill is worse than a farce—it is an insult to the intelligence of the people of Ireland (hear, hear). There is another extraordinary provision in this bill, a provision which has for its object, to perpetuate landlord domination and the subjection of the tenant farmers of Ireland. It is this—that where the landlord has at any time during the tenancy reaching back, no matter how long,

the tenant in this position, that if he acts against the opinions of the landlord, if he votes like a freeman, if he votes against the landlord on the board of guardians (hear, hear), if he does anything against the seigniorial rights of this successor of a bastard feudal lord; in short, if he does anything against the wish of the landlord, the landlord has the power to stir up strife between that man and his labourers, and, in the name of the labourers, banish that man and resume possession of the holding (applause). There is another ground for the rejection of that part of the bill by the people of Ireland. Now, I touch on the question of fair rents. What is a fair rent? He describes a fair rent as follows:—"A fair rent means such a rent as in the opinion of the court, after hearing the parties and considering all the circumstances of the case, holding, and district, a solvent tenant would undertake to pay one year with another;" and then it says, "provided that the court in fixing such rent shall have regard to the tenant's interest in the holding, and the tenant's interest shall be estimated with reference to the tenant's conditions," amongst those conditions being the right to "compensation for improvements effected by the tenant or his predecessors in title." Now, mark the language of this clause—"having regard to the tenant's interest in the holding." We have been pointing out in the past that the landlord had no right to rent for the tenant's improvements in the soil; and we also pointed out the nefarious injustice of empowering the landlord to extract interest in the shape of rent upon property which belongs to the tenant and not to the landlord (hear, hear). This bill professes to deal with the question so as to take away from the landlord the right to tax improvements made by the tenant; but it is so worded, it is so constructed, that the judge might refuse to take into consideration what improvements the tenant had made, and I believe if the bill were to become law tomorrow, that the provision, as set forth here, would not give effect to the intention of the person who suggested this idea, or at least it would not do justice to the tenant farmers of Ireland by preventing the landlord from extracting any rent whatever for those improvements he or his predecessors in title had effected in the soil. But assuming for a moment that the court would take into consideration the improvements effected by the tenant in the soil in adjusting what is a fair rent, the question arises—Are those courts so constituted that the tenant farmers in Ireland could expect to get justice from them? ("No, no.") To answer the question I must go back to the working of the Land Act of 1870. The act contained valuable provisions for the benefit of the man who lives by cultivating the soil of Ireland, but my experience justifies me in saying that those provisions have seldom, if ever, been put in force for the benefit of the tillers of the soil. We all know that the 8th section of this act of 1870 gives to a tenant evicted for non-payment of rent a right to the crops then in the soil, or else to compensation for them; and yet I have found at the sessions in the West, even the other day, that tenants were under the impression that they were not entitled to their crops when evicted;

IRELAND!

THE LAND BILL

WHAT IS THOUGHT OF IT.

ARRESTS AND EVICTIONS

FAIL TO DAUNT THE PEOPLE

THE LIGHT SPREADING

LONDON, April 19.—The Daily News says it is intended shortly after the reassembling of Parliament to present for the signature of members a petition praying the Queen to release Michael Davitt. Besides the Home Rulers several English and Scotch members will sign the petition.

LONDON, April 20.—The Duchess of Marlborough has arranged for an outfit of fifteen Irish families, who will be provided with free passages to Manitoba and located there in newly furnished homesteads.

One thousand delegates from the local branches of the Land League are expected to attend the Convention, which opens in Dublin on Thursday.

DUBLIN, April 20.—Mr. Dillon, in speaking at Londonderry to-day, held that public bodies holding land should be expropriated without compensation. The committee appointed to draw up a report on the Land bill, to be submitted to the conference of the Land League to be held in the Rotunda to-morrow, says the bill is bound to be imperfect, for the reason that it is impossible to correct landlords and tenants on any sound basis.

DUBLIN, April 20.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Land League Conference to-day a report was drawn up for submission to the Conference proposing reasonable grounds on which the landlord may refuse to admit the purchaser of a holding as a tenant struck out of the Land Bill; declaring the provisions with regard to bequests by tenants as unjust; those relating to cases of intestacy criminal and inhuman, and protesting against eviction for non-payment of arrears. The emigration and other clauses were also objected to.

LONDON, April 20.—The Times, in a leading article, says:—"Under certain provisions of the Land Bill which Mr. Gladstone in his speech did not comment upon, the Court would apparently be compelled, in fixing rents, to carve out of the landlord's property the value of the tenant's interest, hitherto treated as separate, and thus reduce the landlord's income and the marketable price of his estate in a degree which, if directly proposed, would be recognized as involving ruinous confiscation, which would inevitably be followed by a forced sale of the remainder of his interest. We believe Mr. Gladstone did not intend the clause to have this effect, or he would not have passed it over in silence. The defect must be remedied by amendment in committee, or provision must be made for compensating landlords; otherwise the bill will be seriously endangered in the House of Lords."

LONDON, April 21.—Earl Grey, in a letter to the Times, condemns Mr. Gladstone's land policy.

DUBLIN, April 21.—The National Convention of the Land League opened to-day. One thousand delegates were present. Farnell presided. Justin McCarthy, T. D. Sullivan, James O'Kelly, E. M. Marum, Thos. Sexton, J. O. McCoan, R. Lalor and other members of Parliament were present. Resolutions were unanimously passed declaring that Davitt, who was imprisoned because of his heroic defence of persecuted tenants, should be released, and expressing heartfelt thanks to Irishmen in America for their sacrifices to sustain the struggle for the abolition of landlordism.

The proceedings of the Land League Convention to-day were principally confined to reading and discussing the report of the Executive Committee on the Land Bill. Delegates criticised the report. Farnell commented unfavorably upon the bill, and complained that it did nothing for the laborers; that the legal procedure prescribed by it being complicated and expensive, would deprive the tenants of any hopes of redress. The effect of the bill would be to raise, not lower the rents.

LONDON, April 21.—The returns to April 7th show that there have been thirty-five arrests in Ireland under the provisions of the Coercion Act up to that time. The charge against Boyton was that of meeting to murder.

DUBLIN, April 21.—At the meeting of Irish landowners held to-day, motions were passed condemning the Land Bill.

DUBLIN, April 22.—In the National Land League Convention to-day Farnell submitted a resolution declining to make the Convention responsible for the Land Bill, and expressing doubts as to whether any amendment could make the Bill acceptable to the Irish. Farnell again condemned the emigration clauses, and the omission of provisions for laborers in the Bill. The Convention unanimously carried a resolution giving to the parliamentary party full latitude to devise amendments to, and watch the progress of the Land Bill in the Commons.

The resolution adopted by the Land League Convention recommends the Irish party to seek to reject the Land Bill if they fail to obtain adequate amendments.

The Land League Convention also adopted a resolution to summon another Convention before the Land Bill passes its third reading in order to decide whether the Bill as amended can be accepted. The Convention then closed.

Farnell tried to gain admittance to Kilmainham prison to-day to see the prisoners in custody under the Coercion Act. The Governor refused to admit Farnell on the ground that the prisoners had already been visited by friends.

LONDON, April 22.—The Conservatives will meet on Wednesday to consider the Land Bill.

LONDON, April 23.—The Times says:—"We understand that the surplus of the Duchess of Marlborough's relief fund now at her disposal is only £3,400, and that she is keeping it in the Bank of Ireland until some good scheme for emigration is set on foot to which it can be given with the approval of the trustees of the fund, and with satisfaction to the Duchess that it will do the utmost possible good to Ireland."

Lord Beaconsfield's death is of serious moment in connection with the Land Bill, as he would have accepted it more than Marquis of Salisbury or the Duke of Richmond. During the past week agitation on the Land Bill has made great strides. Landlords evidently intend to demand compensation for tenants' interests and option of sale from the latter.

DUBLIN, April 24.—Farnell yesterday attended a meeting of Catholics and Protestants at Castle William. Resolutions condemning certain portions of the Land Bill were passed.

DUBLIN, April 24.—Mr. Dillon, in speaking at Cashel, repeated his disbelief in the Land Bill.

DUBLIN, April 25.—Mr. Hodnett, chairman of Ballydeop branch Land League, was arrested to-day under the Coercion Act. At Skibbereen market town, in Munster, to which he was taken for incarceration, thousands of people gathered and cheered the prisoner and taunted the constabulary who had made the arrest. There was no breach of the peace.

Some bailiffs who were selling some cattle for rent at Shanonee, were attacked by the crowd, and the police were completely surrounded. The military have gone to their rescue.

John Leyden, of County Galway, has been shot dead and his son wounded. It is an agrarian crime.

LONDON, April 25.—At a meeting of the principal Conservative members of Parliament, yesterday, fifty were present, and Sir S. Northcote presided. Several landlords agreed that the Government should be asked either to compensate the landlords whose property would be destroyed or depreciated by the Bill, or to come under a compulsory obligation to purchase the estates of those owners who were ready to sell at a fixed number of years' purchase. If the Government refused either of those proposals, it was decided the party would oppose the Bill. A Committee of Irish landlords has sent over an influential deputation to watch the progress of the Bill.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

RE-OPENING

Debate on the Land Bill

THE TORIES OBSTRUCTING!

THE TORIES OBSTRUCTING!

LONDON, April 25.—The House of Commons reassembled to-day.

Earl Grosvenor (Liberal) announced that Mr. Gladstone would, a fortnight hence, move a vote for a fund to erect a monument to the memory of Beaconsfield in Westminster.

The debate on the second reading of the Land Bill then commenced.

Mr. Gibson (Conservative) pronounced the bill confused, obscure, involved, and otherwise unintelligible.

Mr. Warton (Tory) moved an adjournment to give the Government time to answer the questions put by Mr. Gibson.

Mr. Gorst (Conservative) strongly condemned the silence of the Government.

Mr. Gladstone said the law officers desired to consult together before an answer was made to Mr. Gibson's questions.

Sir S. Northcote said that, as the House was called upon to vote the second reading of the Bill before any explanation was given, there was nothing unreasonable in the motion for an adjournment.

Mr. Forster said the Government desired to learn the opinion of their critics before replying to Mr. Gibson.

Sir V. Harcourt charged the Opposition with obstruction.

The motion for an adjournment was then withdrawn.

The Speaker then rose to put the question, that the Bill be read a second time, when Mr. Lewis (Conservative) moved an adjournment.

Mr. A. J. Sullivan (Liberal Home Rule) appealed to Sir Stafford Northcote not to waste time in party skirmishes when Irish tenants were under notice to quit.

Mr. Forster said the Government was willing to give the explanations demanded. As there was three amendments on the Order Book, it was only respectful to defer a reply until the proposer of the amendments stated their views.

Sir Stafford Northcote stoutly refuted the charge of obstruction.

Mr. Lewis's motion was withdrawn.

Mr. Stuart (Liberal) moved that no measure of Irish land reform is complete which does not deal with the condition of the farm laborers.

Mr. Forster said the Government was ready to give favorable consideration to any clauses for the amelioration of the condition of laborers. The Land Bill had three objects: the reform of the land tenure, the increase of the number of yeoman proprietors, and the relief of the overcrowded districts. The latter would be effected by State aid in the direction of emigration or public works. The increase of peasant proprietors would be effected by advancing money to enable tenants to purchase holdings. The reform of the land tenure was composed of three principles: a tribunal to fix fair rent, security of tenure at fair rent, and power to the tenant to sell his interest in his farm. The bill would do landlords no harm, but confer benefits upon them.

Mr. Forster said it was true that a disputed party made a raid for fire-arms in Limerick in the name of the "Irish Republic," and was sorry no one was arrested. It was impossible to get information or assistance from the injured parties.

Mr. Gibson admitted the desirability of encouraging the growth of a peasant proprietary in Ireland and the reclamation of waste lands and emigration, with proper safeguards, but the Land Bill confiscated the property of the landlords without compensation for what was taken, or security for what was left. It gave only guarantee of perpetual universal litigation. The question of fair rents was dealt in by permanently removing the laws of supply and demand.

The debate was adjourned until Thursday, and the House adjourned until Tuesday night in honor of the late Earl Beaconsfield.

CUBAN SLAVERY.

PARIS, April 23.—A Madrid correspondent telegraphs as follows: This evening, the Secretary of the Abolitionist Society has begun a series of meetings and lectures in the principal towns of Spain in the presence of enthusiastic audiences in favor of the abolition of slavery in Cuba. The Senators and Deputies of the Madrid press have called the attention of the Government to a confidential circular sent in 1880 by the Cánovas Cabinet very shortly after the Cortes had voted on the Emancipation Bill. The circular ordered the Cuban authorities to conceal from the negroes on the plantations both the law and the regulations issued for its execution. Consequently the slaves for months ignored their new condition, and on many plantations have not been paid the small salary granted to them by the law. In many districts no committees for the protection of negroes have been formed, as the law enacted, and the blacks get no redress against ill-treatment. Corporal punishment is still flourishing, and the blacks are bought and sold under the new law, which will last till 1888. The Minister of the colonies is disposed to correct these abuses, but he finds that the Colonial authorities and the planters offer a passive resistance to the pretext that they fear a black agitation.

PARIS, April 24.—A telegram from Tunis, received via Sicily and Rome, published in the *Intransigent*, announces that Tabarca was quietly occupied by the French troops yesterday morning. The news seems to be confirmed by a brief despatch, direct from Tunis, which appears in the same paper. Nothing official is yet known, however, as all private telegrams are submitted to a rigorous examination by the military authorities, and very few are allowed to go off at all. The public is growing exasperated at the mystery which envelops the expedition.

TUNIS, April 25.—The Sultan approves of the Bey's measures, and negotiations have been opened with the Powers to protect the rights of the Sultan and Bey.

THE TUNISIAN DIFFICULTY.

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THE EMERALD BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

HAMILTON, April 23.—The sixth annual convention of the Ontario Branch of the Emerald Benevolent Association was held yesterday and to-day in the Emerald Hall in this city. Rev. E. P. Slavin, of St. Mary's Cathedral, chaplain of Branch No. 1 of this city, opened the Convention with an appropriate prayer.

The following delegates, with a number of visitors from various subordinate societies, are in attendance:—No. 1, Hamilton—Rev. E. P. Slavin, J. E. Reitzman, James Hennigan. Branch No. 2, Toronto—Very Rev. E. P. Rooney, James Britton, Patrick Carey. No. 3, Guelph—Matthew Charters. No. 4, Leaside—Thos. H. Maher. No. 7, Toronto—Rev. J. Bergin, J. J. Glynn, D. A. Carey. No. 8, Toronto—Rev. J. Sheehan, Charles Burns, M. J. Callinan, and Rev. Father Bergmann. Mr. J. A. Gouldin, the International President of the Union of Pittsburg, Penn., arrived in the morning of yesterday, and is officially attending the sessions of the Convention.

After disposing of the usual routine business, addresses were delivered by several of the delegates. Toronto was selected as the place for holding the Seventh Annual Convention in April, 1882, and Hamilton as the location for the Provincial parade on August 6th, same year.

An interesting experience meeting was also held, Mr. Gouldin in the chair, at which earnest addresses were delivered on society matters generally.

The following officers have been elected for the ensuing year:—Grand President, James Britton, Toronto; Grand Vice-President, Jos. F. Holtzman, Hamilton; Grand Secretary, D. A. Carey, Toronto; Grand Treasurer, Jas. Hennigan, Hamilton; Grand Marshal, J. J. Glynn, Toronto; Grand Organist, C. Burns, Toronto.

THE MONETARY CONFERENCE.

PARIS, April 25.—A correspondent in Paris says there is no prospect of success at the Monetary Conference. A decision to postpone or even close may be expected shortly.

PARIS, April 25.—M. Farnault, Deputy Master of the English Royal Mint, is expected here on Wednesday to represent England at the Monetary Conference. It is believed he has been instructed simply to take notes, avoiding any expression of opinion.

THE LAND LEAGUE.

At the annual meeting of the St. Gabriel branch of the Irish National Land League the following gentlemen were re-elected office bearers:—John Lynch, President; James Curran, Vice-President; James Ellis, Secretary; Patrick McNeill, Assistant Secretary, and James McNamara, Treasurer. The branch, we are glad to know, is increasing in numbers and influence, and the members are indefatigable in their endeavors to do what they can for their suffering brethren in the old land.

THE OCCUPATION OF TABARCA DENIED.

Tunis advices state that the Maltese residents are hoivly sending telegrams to Malta asking for the presence of British men-of-war in view of the possibility of a fanatical outbreak. The Kroumirs have offered to surrender unconditionally to the Bey's troops. Garibaldi thinks French preponderance in Tunis will be a permanent danger to Italian interests. The Bey of Tunis has refused to allow the French to occupy the island of Tabarca. The report that they had occupied it is officially denied. The Bey protests against the proposed occupation as a violation of his territory and as not called for by the existing situation. He now declares that the Kroumirs have submitted to him, and he has stated to the French authorities that he cannot answer for the conduct of the Kroumirs and Arabs if the French persist in crossing the frontier. The European colony in Tunis is panic-stricken and condemn the advance, although the Bey has issued orders for the protection of foreigners.