faith. It is true there are among the Freemasons some whom I account my friends, and as 1 allow my wife freely to follow her convictions, so do I respect their principles ; yet I cannot adopt them myself. They have shaken off the yoke of the Church to place themselves under a

new bondage.2 By no means,' interrupted the Freemason. Do not interrupt me,' continued Morren; you well know that your society is not us known to me. Is, then, the oath by which you

bind yourself no bondage. Is the punishment of him who breaks the oath no bondage? And then the secrecy in which you shroud yourselves can never commend itself to me-a secrecy in which you strike in the dark. Why does not every Freemason proclaim his convictions openly as I do mine?

Van Dormael was by no means pleased, and there was something of bitterness in his tone when he answered:

Supposing all this were true, which is far from the case, your honor requires that you should take the step."

Bab! My honor, my conduct shall show plainly enough that I am not changed-that I remain still true to myself?

'I fear that will hardly be believed. More over, you well know that the bondage of which you speak is very different from that of the Church. You will be left at full liberty."

'It is impossible,' replied Morren coldin.

But think of your own interest, Morren, said Ernest. 'You love your son, I am very sure. Well, your entrance into our society may protect him from many dangers." From the bullets and cannon balls on the

battle field, doubtless?' asked Morren scornfully.

From the dagger, at least, of the secret society,' answered Ernest; 'a weapon, Mynbeer Morren, far more formidable than the other."

Morren, as if lost in thought, remained for a iew moments without making any reply.

The Freemason doubted not that his last argument had made an impression on the father's heart. He had reserved it to the last, for now they were very near to the railroad.

(To be Continued.)

THE LAND QUESTION OF IRELAND.

(FROM TIMES SPECIAL COMMISSIONER).

No 29, (Continued)

These considerations being kept in sight, I proceed to unfold the plan I have mentioned. I would not altar the status of tenancy at will, though I would regard it as what it actually is -an interest capable of indefinite continuance; nor would I, so long as subsisting tenaucies of this description remained undisturbed, interfere at all between landlords and tenants. I would not ever deprive the landlerd of his powers of raising rent and giving notice to quit, but in Lord Coke's significant phrase, I would here 'hi the bird in the very eye, and I would compel a land-lord seeking to assert these rights to show before the proposed tribunal that they were compatible with the aquitable claims of the tenant. To vindicate these last-mentioned rights, the Legislature should recognize the existence of Tenant Right as a social fact, and the equity of the tenant in respect of Improvements; and the least Courts should have full powers to ascertain and appraise all claims of these kinds on such terms as should appear just, when the prope opportunity arose, not interfering in any way until the adverse action of the landlord had induced the necessity of interference. In this way, in the great mass of cases, the ordinary relations of land lord and tenant would not be touched by the law at all; tenancies at will would so to speak, be prolonged into continuous terms that would support the rights of the tenant, whatever their nature, and would give him legitimate security; and whenever a landlord attempted to impair or to put an end to the subsisting tenure, by the means I have before indicated, he would be forced to prove that the medicat ed act was consistent with the interest of the tenant In this state of things, if the raising of rent or the notice to quit, in the judgment of the Court, clashed with the custom of the estate, in case it were bound by Tenant Right, or if it detracted from the title gained by the tenant in respect of improvements these matters, as I have before said, being determined upon the hearing of the cause—the landlord's proceeding would be defeated, and the tenancy would continue unimpaired, maintaining all rights attach ed to it. It may be said confidently that, under these conditions, attempts unduly to interfere with the tenant's possession would be extremely rare, that his moral rights would be really upheld, that a great step would have been made in atrangthening the position of the occupier, without tampering wrongly with the claims of the owner. Yet I would not stop even here in giving protection to the occu-pation of the tenant Except where Tenant Right existed, and the custom assured a measure of com-Pensation, I would empower the Court, in cases in which it would sanction an eviction upon notice to quit, out not, I think, in any other case, to adjudge to the tenant, over and above claims in respect of improvements or otherwise, a capital sum by way of damages the maximum to be fixed by the Legisla-ture, and to be capable of being reduced indefinitely, according to what should be thought justice No doubt it may be urged that this would be equivalent to extending a sort of Tenant Right, potentially applicable, to all estates not at present subject to such a chatge, and that it would thus violate the fair rights of property. But the scheme is wholly differ ont in kind from that of fastening a uniform burden of Tenant Right upon land generally, and the circumstance that the proposed sum may, at the option of the Court, be cut down to nothing, deprives the project virtually of injustice. It should be viewed as the means of giving a tenant compensation for those results of eviction of which a Court of Couscience may take notice, though it may be difficult to fix their value precisely, and it would be easy to show that this part of the plan is not without ample

support from our law. In this manner the worst mischiefs of tenancy at will in Ireland would disappear, and the precarious tenure would be converted into a continuous occupation hardly ever interrupted, protecting and talking in the equities possessed by the occupier in his holding, and charged with a benefit for the tenant in the exceptional instance of interruption. To fortify still more the position of the tenant, it might be advisable to reverse the absurd and unjust presumpsion of law that whatever is added to the soil accrues to its owner, and thus to establish a rule for the future in favour of the class which almost neces sarily makes the permanent additions to the land under the small farm system which prevails in Ire land: . It will be said, however, that under these conditions the landlerd's rights would be unduly abridged, and that his authority would be wrongly imprired. I reply that I do not touch one night save those which in their arbitrary exercise have proved fatal to the welfare of Ireland; and that excepting only the trifling fine to be paid in the Shape of compensation to the tenant, in order to obtain a not an easy question. It has been argued, with great who imagine that when their minds have been title to evict, I do not lessen a landlord's property in | ingenuity, that the true test would be the price of the swakued to the sence of a national grievance. they

is necessary, to make this matter plain, to put the scheme in its true light. The existing law of Ire land allows a landlord to evict a tenant at will whenever's year's rent is in arreers, subject only to claims of Tenant Right, secured now by the Ulster custom; and, save as to recognizing that custom in the case of estates bound at present by it. I do not propose to alter that law, though it might be expedient to take away a jurisdiction from the Itieh County existing law of Ireland allows a landlord to sue a retain this right, with a right to sue, but not to evict, unless with the sauction of the new Court, on account of subletting or subdivision, except where concent had been given. In a word, throughout the whole range of relations and rights subsisting under this tenure, I would interpose only in two instanceswhere tenancy at will is so often incompatibly with the moral rights of the tenant-the raising of rent and giving notice to quit; and even in these I would remit all questions as to the conflicting claims of landlord and tenant to the decision of a competent tribunal, pledged to administer justice to its suitors I avoid subjecting estates to a valuation, nor would I reduce by one shilling the existing rental of a single landlord, for, though some lands in Ireland are rack-rented, this certainly is not commonly the case; and I have never seen a farm so rack-renied but that time and industry, with a secure possession, would before very long redress the balance. It will be observed, too-although for the future I would forbid the unconditional rise of rent without the permission of the Court I leave the landlord every other real right and meident of property unimpaired, except that of capri ious eviction; and, as I have said, it might be expected, although under the plan I have sketched a tenant would be assured ample protection in cases in which he would be entitled to it, that in an overwhelming majority of instances there would be no necessity for interference. In short, if tenancy at will so modified became virtually s continuous occupation, maintaining the legitimate rights of the tenanant, it would not the less be a legal tenure guaranteeing the legitimate rights of the landlord. By these means, I venture to hope, the exigencies

of the case would be met without rude or violent change. The rights of the tenant would be wind; cated and marshalled to support his possession; the rights of the landlord would be preserved, or modified only to fall in with justice. The custom of the North, the Tenant Right of the South, and the equity of the tenant to improvements would be recogniz d and would receive a legal status; claims under toese beads would be ascertained defined, and messured according to fact, and they would be rendered available to assure the title of the tenant to his holding, and would ensure wholly to his benefit. In this way a transient and precarious tenure would become practically almost a Right of occupacy, safe, except in cases where justice required, from invasion upon the part of the landlord; the tenant's position would approach that of a copyho'der or a lessee under a long term, and the Irish peasant would at list obtain the coveted boon of security of posses sion. Placed under the ægis of a tribunal armed with extensive powers and backed by opinion, he would be as safe as he could reasonably expect; and be would feel perhaps for the first time in his life emancipated from the sense of ever present thraldom. Yet the end would have been gained without barsh disturbance or real violation of the rights of property -in fact in the immense majority of cases, things would go on without apparent change; the very in stitution of the new jurisdiction would be sufficient to throw a weight into the scale of the tenant that would be universally felt; and the reform, I believe, would not affect the good, while it would effectually restrain the bad, landlord In short. I think it would adequately fulfil the conditions which, as I wrote long ago, would be essential to the solution of the problem: it would obliterate the mischiefs of tenancy at will; it would respect the legitum-te rights of property; it would make no wild innovation on law; it would fall in with the wishes of the Irish people. We might fairly hope in this new state of things that agriculture in Iraland would improve, and that agrarian crime would greatly dimin ish; nor is it improbable that the landlord class would be the first to perceive the good consequences Yet I hould be sorry to think that a reform of this kind would be in the nature of a perpetual settlement, or aught but temperary and provisional. For less it would be necessary that the new jurisdiction should continue; and probably, as existing leases fell in, most pessant farmers would at first elect to be placed under its powerful protection Nevertheless, I trust the time would come when the Irish occupier would be set tree from the leadingstrings of State interference, and would be able to deal with his superior independently, on the footing of definite contract. To facilitate this object the Legislature ought to remove legal difficulties which attend the enforcing of obligations in leases, and which, accordingly, discourage the grant of these interests; it ought also to extend equitably the leasing powers of limited owners, so that the Irish ccupier should have every opportunity of acquiring by bargain a secure tenure if he wished not to re main under the tutelage of the proposed tribunals and to treat with his landlord as an equal. Every person at all familiar with the subject knows that

much may be done in this direction. In dealing with this question it will be observed that, in order to justify the plan I suggest, I assume that in an immense number of cases the equity of the tenant in respect of improvements would entitle him to a real interest in his holding. It will be observed, too, that I treat this equity as virtually a subsisting right, and that, therefore, it necessarily includes, not only future, but past improvements; these last, however, to be estimated only under proper checks and limitations. As this is the very essence of scheme, wish to say a word or two on the subject .-It will be at once admitted that the tenant in Ireland ought to have a property in future improvements; and if, as I have wen used to suggest, the presumption of law shall be reversed, and things permanently added to the freehold shall be deemed hereafter to belong to the occupier, there would be no great difficulty in determining prospectively what should be tenant's improvements. But it will be argued that it would be unjust to take past improvements into account and to raise thereby an equity for the tenant; and the changes will be rung on retrospective enactments without a clear perception of the subject. Yet the question really is not of doing anything inherently unfair, which is the objection to retro-clive laws, but of recognized long ago, and of giving it Ita legitimate status. In this sense many and noble precedents exist for measures of a retrospective character. The Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, the decisions which set copyholders free, which emancipated estates by common recoveries, and which vindicated for the mortgagor his equity of redemption in the land-all these great and comprebensive reforms, which went to the very roots of society, interfered with an existing order of things, and necessarily had a relation to the past; and, in truth, every judgment of a Court which modifies a subsisting interest has, and must have, a similar tendency. Yet it will be seen that, under the plan I propose, though the Legislature would distinctly acknowledge the title of the occupier to past improvements, it might well happen that the intended tribunals would not often be called upon to inquire into rights of this kind, and thus to deal retrospectively with them, since these powers would not be called into being until a landlord assailed a tenant's interest By what criterion to ascertain and measure the worth of claims of this class - of course, under just restrictions and safeguards - is certainly

soury any more than in the leading strings of the least, taking the term in its legitimate sense. It goodwill which, subject to the existing rent, would be given by a purchaser to the occupier, adopting interest of the great class of the Irish tenantry, at by Sir John Gray, proposing that a depontation law of Ire possible to arrive at a more exact conclusion, at least provided his right were made out, should be entitled to charge for the existing value of what may be called apparent improvements - such as houses, farm Courts which they possess only under a recent sta- buildings, and the like; and with respect to nontute, and to confine it to the Superior Courts. The apparent improvements—such as reclaiming waste land, draining, or fencing-he should be entitled to existing iaw of freehold arrows a feetainly ought to charge for their value upon a scale determined by tenant at will for waste, and he certainly ought to considering the benefit done to the estate for a certain this right, with a right to sue, but not to tain period, regard being had to the mode of cultivation be had pursued, and not to an ideal mode, and by taking into account his own outley. After all, however, the question would be one of fact, degree, and reasonable evidence.

Such is the scheme I venture to submit for a re

form of the system of occupation in Ireland. It is no doubt liable to the objection that it would create a novel jurisdiction, and I am conscious that it has other defects Nevertheless, I think it is in the right direction, and I hope it will be not useless. I turn to consider the land system of Ireland upon the side of ownership. As we have seen already, it may be expedient ta afford facilities for the voluntary aliena tion of a certain amount of landed property in Ireland. As we have seen, too, Mr. Bright's plan contains the germs of a good measure, though faulty in details of importance. Mr. Bright proposes that absentees should be encouraged to sell their estates; that the State should enter into the management of them, having first paid off the original owner, and that the tenants should ultimately acquire the fee by paying the purchase money in instalments added to the rents It would be, I think, unwise and invidious to restrict this measure to absentees, some of whom are exceedingly good landlords, or to make any distinc ti...n of class whatever; and it is obvious that Mr Bright's plan exposes the Exchequer to serious loss. lays no conditions upon those who would derive a large prospective advantage, and does not give them the healthy stimulus to industry that would be so desirable. I would suggest that Mr Bright's scheme ought to extend indiff-rently to all landlerds who thought proper to avail themselves of it; and the result probably would be that, by a kind of natural selection, Ireland would be gradually freed from those landlords unbappily of no use to her I think, also, that is no instance ought the State to negotiate for an estate unless the tenantry were prepared to advance say, one-fifth of the price; in order to give the nation security, to guarantee the posment of the rents that would be the fund to discharge the four-fifth of the price; in order to give the nation security, to guarantee the payment of the rents that would be the fund to discharge the four-fifths advanced by the State to the former owner, and to quicken the energies of the tenant purchasers, who would prize double that which had cost them dearly Nor would this operate as a serious check on the contemplated alienation of land, for the farmers of Ireland have millions idle that would be available for this purpose; nor, if necessary would they find it difficult to borrow Subject, however, to modifications like these, I believe that Mr Bright's project for the formation of a pessant proprietary in Ireland is, under existing circumstances one of true wisdom. It is easy to point out the economic objections, to say that the State ought in no instance to uniertake a land agency, even on a limited scale; to assert that subdivision would be the result, as, to some extent, it probably would; to maintain, as I think, is partly true, that the Irishman has not the same esgerness as the Englishman for freehold ownership. Nevertheless, in my jungment, it should be an object of high Imperial policy to pledge a not inconsiderable number of the occupiers of the soil in Ireland to the cause of order, by giving them the status of owners of land, and thus to break the revolutionary wave which is menacing property and that without doing injustice to any one and through a purely voluntary process. The measure would be also expedient in the North as probably it would en ble many farmers to acquire the freehold of estate in which the dominion of the proprietor had been seriously impaired by the custom of Ulater especially when this should have been made lawworthy. It is unnecessary to say that the effects of a scheme which would open to the Irish tenant a prospect of possibly becoming an owner of land would extend far beyond those actually benefited I can only hint at the supplementary messures that

ought, I think, to be kept in sight in a settlement of the Irish Land Question. The extreme wetness of the climate of Ire and and the singular configuration of the island-a low watershed and a coast line of bills, rendering the conres of several large rivers aluggish and making their valleys liable to fl ods cause the soil to be charged with superfluous moisture, and a considerable area to be injured; and a good system of arterial drainage, to open outfalls for thorough draining, is one of the chief material wants of the country This great work should be done under the superintendence and control of the State -indeed, it could not be done otherwise; but the Exchange ought not to be at the charge, it should be distributed over the districts benefited. It would, moreover, be very advisable if, as we may assume the State must interfere between Irish landlords and tenan's, that the whole of Ireland should be revalued and a fair standard be see up, by which, approximately, to measure her rental. The present valuation is extremely imperfect; it is much too low for the fine grass lands, the mountain pastures, and the rich tracts generally, though tolerably fair for the light corn lands; and its inequalities have contributed to excite that gry for a 'fixed rent' which is heart so loudly in some counties It might also be worth considering whether the State, taking proper precautions, might not lend generally to tenants as well as to landlords under the Acts for improving landed property; the benefit of such advances would be great, and there need be no difficulty as to the security. I might stop here; but as the Land Ques tion is a political and social question, I would finally glauce at it from this point of view We may reasonably expect that a just reform of the laws relating to land in Ireland will greatly diminish agrarian disorder; but we must not suppose that any Act of Parliament will, as if by magic, conjure "way a spirit that has long exercised a baleful influence. We ought to endeavor to root agrarianism out, and I believe it will be generally admitted that the machinery for this purpose in Ireland is not of the most efficient kind. May not something be done in this matter to strengthen the hands of the executive Government; and is a military police the proper agent to cope with a stealthy combination? On the other hand I may be allowed to express a hope that the time has passed away when the force of the Crown shall be employed to vindicate rights of property, when the agents of oriminal justice in Ireland be made bailiffs, in the interest of landlords for the execution of the civil process of the law .-This illegitimate and unwise practice has done something to prolong the traditional dislike of the institutions and laws of the State that lingers in the hearts of the Irish peasantry.

For the rest, much may be done indirectly by kindly, generous, yet firm policy; by fostering and promoting sound opinions, by recognizing frankly the legitimate instincts and sentiments of the Irish race, 'e win the affections of the people of Ireland, to effice evil memories of the past, to blend Ireland inci solubly with the Empire It is not forms, however, to dwell upon this; I conclude with one or two general remarks It may be affirmed confidently that the coming Session will witness a through, yet equitable, settlement of this most serious and momentous question It is in the interest of England, for she Cannot afford to have Ireland her repreach and her weakness; and they know nothing of Englishmen

good will which, subject to the accupier, shopting interest of the great class of the Irish tenantry, at by Sir John Gray, proposing that a deputation should thus a Tenant Right standard. This would be one present without rights they ought to have, kept in a proceed to London, and before the second which a state of vertex deposits to have, kept in a proceed to London, and before the second which a state of vertex deposits to have, kept in a proceed to London, and before the second which a state of vertex deposits to have, kept in a proceed to London, and before the second which a letter addressed to yet basis of valculation, and in many cases would be a state of unfair dependence, vexed. angry, irritated, sound one; but I am disposed to think it might be and discontented too commonly charged in one mass with crime, too prone to listen to the false teaching in a considerable number of instances. The tenant, of ignorance, unscrupulousness, or malignant faction.

Above all, it is in the interest of the landlords of Ireland, who must be aware of the peril to their order of the present state of things; who now have a chance afforded them of regaring some portion at least of their lost inflance if they will take part honourably in a work of justice; who can no more prevent the inevitable change than a broken dike can arrest the tide, but on whose attitude it may largely depend whether reform shall be a message of peace or a triumph of class and political party I cannot doubt that if a just course be taken, if the relations between the general character of the proposal of the Governthe immediate consequences fruitful of blessings to a regarding it as worthless grossly misrepresent their long distracted country. Yet-and this ought to be berne in mind, for it is the lesson of all history let us not expect that any single measure will work a sudden transformation of Ireland, that any reform of the Land System will at once cancel the ills of the past and put an end to all evil passions and recollecpast and put an end to all will passions and teconics. The traces of these things will remain; to are conferred on the tenantry, and, agreeing with fluerces of Time and just Government; the process must be gradual, and may be slow. Nevertheless, that is no reason why a great and good work should not be accomplished; why in the noble parase of our ancient law, 'Right should not be done' in this matter; and we may hope that Ireland will, in our day, prove by her conduct how true was the remark of a keep but unfriendly critic at the beginning of the 17th cen tury: * There is no nation of people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the excution thereof, although it be against themselves, so as they may have the protection and benefit of the law when upon just cause they do desire it.'

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IRISH INTELLIGENCE,

A man named Joseph Lynch was passing through Kilpatrick, county Westmeath; two men sprung from behind a hedge; one fired and shot him in the bigh The only re-son assigned is that he had entered the service of a new employer.

A man is reported killed at Philipstown, King's County, in a dispute about a right of way.

The Land Bill is condemned by the Independent Club of Queen's County, and also by a meeting held at Birr, King's County; the extension of Ulater Tenant Right is demanded.

The trial of the Longford election petition is fixed for Tuesday, 29th March.

The fire at Colligan Lodge, Dangarvan, is believed to have been accidental.

On Thursday night an attempt was made to assassinate a man named Michael Slattery, a land eleward in the employment of Mr. James Foster Vesey Fitzgerald J P., at Moyrisk, within a few miles of Ennis. He was fied at as he was entering his own hall door, but fortunately suffered no injury. Marks of sings were found on the door next morning. He had received a threatening notice warning him to gult the service.

In the landed Estates Court in Dublin, on February Il, the sale of an estate in Roscommon was adjourned in consequence of the low bidding. A threatening letter had been received by a gentleman who was believed to be an intending purchaser .-Wr Leopold Cust, agent for Mr. Smith Barry, M.P. on his Tipperary estate, has received three threatening letters, warning him to leave the country, otherwise his house will be burnt and himself murdered Mr Smit's Barry has also been threatened, unless be parts with Mr. Cust, Dr Mahon, of Westport, has received a threatening notice, signed 'Rory of the Hill, stating that if he did not prevent a Mr. Prendergast, of Ballins, from evicting some of his tenants he would get the death of Hunter, a landlord who met his death by the bends of an assassin about twelve months since. Much surprise is manifested at this startling proceeding.

Mr. Kickbam polled five hundred and thirty five votes more than O'Donovan Rosss, and yet it was not quite certain whether, if elected, he would take bis seat. He refused to be put in nomination. He some satisfaction from the spectacle. is friends to say so everywhere over the LUTDOZISEC E county. After the nomination he would have been content with the show of hands in his favor. The people had successfully asserted a principle in his person. But he could not control the action of his friends. If they wished to go to the poll be could not control them. The latter was not very encouraging to his supporters, and yet under every disadvantage, they lost the battle only by a majority of thirteen. A retiring and smiable man, shunning notoriety, and preferring the more congenial pusuits of literature, was not the sort of candidate to attract a large portion of the electors. Yet, as we have said, he polled five hundred and thirty five votes

more than G'Donovan Rosss.-Freeman. The Land Bill is in danger of being torn in pieces between conflicting interests. The Tenant Leagues and Farmera' Clubs unanimously condemn the Bill. What the exact form of their hostility may be it is not easy to conjecture, for some of these bodies, although bearing the high-sounding name of 'League,' and assuming great representative importance are of mushroom growth, and look formitable only in print The strongest declaration against the Bill is from Mr. Batt, Q C., the president of the Irish Tenant League, whose professional character and the special attention which he has devoted to the subject give weight to his opposition. He contends that the Go vernment scheme leaves to the landlord the erbitrary power of eviction, and that the advantage of being subject to 12 months' instead of a six months' notice is more imaginary than real as it would be counteracted by the extension by the landlord of the practice of issuing annual notices to quit. He says it leaves unfouched those cruel and oppressive contracts by which the tenant is bound to dispense with the usual notices, and give up possession on demand. He further objects that endless litigation will arise from the unsatisfactory way in which the principles which are to regulate the amount of compensation are defined. He is afraid that in the majority of cases the yearly tenant will not be able to establish any claim for improvements, and that the compensation for eviction will be reduced to whatever the tribunal may award him for loss of his occupation. There are many estates on which the arrears of rent hanging over for years will enable the landlord to evict on the next gale day, and in these cases the effect of the Bill will be to insure the tenant's eviction. There are also cases in which the tenant has signed an agreement not to improve without the landlord's consent, and in such cases no claim can be made. He thinks no measure ought to be accepted as a satisfactory settlement of the Land Question 'which will still leave in serfdom and bondage, and liable to oppression, to capricious eviction, to arbitrary increase of rents, a large number of the occupiers of the Irish soil' and that 'such a messure, even if beneficial in some respects, will leave in our social system e ements of discord and disorder which will yet shake Irish society to its base.' Mr. Kinneslly, hon. secretary to the Kilkenny Tenant League, declares with pithy plainness that the members 'reject and repudiate it as false, fraudulent, wirthless, and hypocritical. The following letter has been addressed to the secretary of the recent Conference by the O'Donoghus :-

National Conference.

'Dear Sir,-I have just seen in the Exciss

proceed to London, and before the second reading of the Land Bill, with a view to ulterior action, call upon Mr. Gladstone finally to assent to or dissent from such alterations in the measure as the deputation may deem necessary. I think such a course, taken before the second reading, would be premature and would have the effect of increasing the difficulty of bringing the Bill into a thoroughly satisfactory shape The scope of the Bill is good, and Mr Glad. stone's speech proved that he woll understands the wants and washes of the nation. I cannot, then doubt our being able to remove what defeats the evident size of the framers of the Bill, and to substitute what may give that aim a more certain effect. I will say that I am far from being disappointed by ment, and that those who represent the occupiers as views. I believe that the man who would counsel its rejection would be shouted at from one end of Ireland to the other as a rogue or an ass. Other Land Bills were, and with reason scornfully rejected, but there is a ring of true metal about the present which all leand has detected. I see that great advantages Mr. Butt, the able and eloquent president of the Tenant L'ague, that the Government bas 'au earnest and sincere desire to protect the Irish tenant,' I look forward with confidence to the result of a united effort made at the right time by the Irish members. We must support the second reading, and thus adopt the principle of the Bill.

le of the Bill.
'I am, dear Sir, yours truly,
'O'Dozoenuz.' Times Cor.

THE ENGLISH PRESS ON THE TIPPERARY ELECTION. -It is clear that the majority of the winning candidate is so exceedingly small that the apparent victor may well doubt whether be would not prefer to have been defeated. A balance of 18 is easily disputable, especially in a country whera the Sheriff sometimes omits a page or two of the poll-books in adding up the returns. The second observation is that the numbers appearing at the poll-booths, though much larger than at the election in November, still represent a comparatively small section of the registered voters What were the motives of those who abstained altogether from voting! It may be safely assumed that they had no ardent real in favour of the Fenian movement, and we cannot affect any surprise that they should care nothing for the success of the Dublin Counsellor. The more probable solution of the difficulty is the existence of s wide spread apathy as to political action, if not an absolute distrnst of its practical effect. The 'Post' says it will doubt, until an official declaration of the poll, to which side victory has inclined. But if returned, Heron will have nothing to congratulate bimself on, save getting into the House of Commons by the skin of his teeth considering the money which he has expended and the pains which be took, for on this occasion he left no stone unturned to secure his return. Such a victory is as bad as defeat. The Daily News' thinks that Mr Heren's experience should be a lesson to bim and a warning to others. The pancity of votes recorded on his behalf show that the people have little respect for sham patriots ism. The gentle Kickham, as the true Fenian is called, comes in every way more creditably out of the matter than his rival. Times.

A recent despatch from London, by the French cable says that seventeen of the Irish members of Parliament waited on Mr. Gladstone on the 5th, accompanied by large deputations of their constituents, and asked him to give the tenants a ' continous land occupancy. This would virtually amount to con-fiscation of the property owned by the landlords, and Mr Gladstone, not only indirectly refused to concede the demand, but also gave the delegation ' to understand that, if Ireland was not satisfied with the measure of justice accorded her public opinion, which now sympathized with, would turn completely against In the debate had on the second reading of the Land Bill, as reported yesterday, Mr. Gladstone further stated that it would be followed by 'measure for the protection of life and property,' thus indicatind that he is about to take the advice given by the Times on Saturday, and suspend the writ of Habers Corpus 'whenever deemed necessary' The Torics were roundly abused by Mr. Gladstone and most of his supporters two or three years ago for following the policy to which, as a Minister, not a mere fan t fieder, he is now committed and must naturally derive

Mr. Gladstone's Land Bill seems unlikely to give satisfaction to the bulk of the Irish people. Lord Granard and Sir John Gray bave expressed their dissatisfaction with it in many grave particulars. This adverse opinion is all the more damaging to the prospects of the Bill, as Lord Granard and Sir John Gray have not identified themselves with the more extensive views of the Nationalists. Mr. Butt, Q.C., has written to the 'Freeman's Journal' an elaborate opinion, adverse to the Bill, in which be declares it to be ' nother of those ill-starred measures intended for the benefit of the Irish tenant, but in their practical effect bring mischief and disorder. He says that even in Ulster, the tendency of the measure would be 'simply and entirely to destroy the remnant of Ulster custom. He considers that a large number of tenants will still be exposed to all the evils and oppressions arising from insecurity of tenure which practically reduced them to the condition of serfs. He concludes that imperfect and inadiquate as the Bill is, he can trace in its provisions an earnest and sincere desire to protect the frish tenant; but the result is an elaborate failure to do that justice which it has elaborately attemper to work out. Sir John Gray has suggested that the National Conference of the Farmers' Club should send a deputation of trusted representatives to London to meet the Irish members, and in conjunction with them to seek an interview with the Premier, and state fully to him the Irish view of the matter. Sir John Gray writes, - The earnest desire of Mr. Gladstone is to do justice to the Irish people, will raise him above all a lawyer's formalities, and elevate him to the dignity of conceding to a nation's will, authoritatively placed before him by the representative men of Ireland, which has not yet been formally and officially done.'—Catholic Opinion.

The Cabinet has decided on a measure to be submitted to Parliament which has for its object the enforcement of law in Ireland. It is based on Lord Althorp's law of 1833, and Lord Grey's law of 1847. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is to have power to issue proclamation in districts where unusual trouble exists, and extraordinary powers of arrest and detention are to be granted to magistrates in such districts after the proclamation. In some cases police and jury trials are dispensed with. The police force is to be largely increased. The bill will be introduced on Thursday by Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The 'Cork Herald' says the return of the expenses sustained by the candidates at the recent general election shows that the acknowledged expenditure amounted in round numbers to one million and a half sterling, or an average of £2,100 for every m. m. ber of the House of Commons Some of the returns for Irish boroughs furnish nice materials for reflettion. It appears from them that Mr. Baylay spent £1 000 in the charming bo ough of Athlone in tringing 111 voters to the p 11; Mr. Morster, at Cashe, spent £1,251 in securing 84; Mr. Brodigan, at Drop-Leda, sport £562, and was supported by 3) electori, and Mr. Weguelin, at Yough , spent £1216 and rolled 127. These ums are quite ind modent (f the 'charities' which flow from such gool Samar tand on these occasions.

To Randal M'Donnell, Esq., Q. C., Hon. Secretary, against the Government Land Bill. They have also resolved to send a deputation to London to state their opinions.