

TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

MY VERY DEAR FRIENDS,—Many and many a time have I had serious cause to complain of your indifference. It has frequently occurred that circumstances have come so thick upon you all at once, and not being able to see your way, you have charged me and others with short-sightedness in not having taken the precautionary steps necessary to meet them. In a thousand instances of this kind I have been compelled to repel the charge of want of precaution or foresight, by directing your attention to the fact that you want of preparedness arose from your indifference, and not from your leaders' want of precaution. Upon reconsideration you have frequently found that I have been for years preparing you for the advent of these circumstances; but you were deaf to my teaching, indifferent to my exhortations, and regardless of my advice.

It is a very thankless, but I trust not a hopeless task, to endeavour to associate the working classes of a whole nation, and to make them of one common mind, to be used for one common purpose. Having said so much by way of comment on the past, I shall now apply my criticism to the present, in the hope that it may lead to better future results. If I am tedious, and recapitulate what I have stated scores of times before, lay the blame to your own indifference, inaptness to learn, or forgetfulness of what you have been taught, rather than to my love of repetition or prolixity. The Land Plan, as a means of creating an entirely new and independent class of labourers, has been my study for years, my dream by night, my thought by day, and my hope at all times. I have become so fond of it, that I may be led into captiousness or anger while discussing it; but, nevertheless, I trust that through the childish predilection of the parent you will see a paternal care manifested for the offspring.

I say that my object in the outset was to establish an independent class of labourers; and as many attempts have been made by letter, speech, and resolution to thwart this my primary object, it shall be the head that I will now discuss. Parties who are wholly ignorant of the value of the Land, and of its capabilities, are made to say that they see, in these small allotments of two acres, a dread lest the English occupants of that amount should be reduced to Irish serfdom, and many good, but shortsighted people require either that the allotments should be larger, or that those of two acres should be purchased contiguous to a manufacturing town, so that thereby the occupant may play the double part of a manufacturing and agricultural labourer. Now this would at once cut at the very root of the principle; and, so far from its practical working having the effect of removing the surplus hands from the artificial labour market, it would have the diametrically opposite effect. I have always warned against man's instincts, which, if not subdued by protective mildness, may be thwarted into competitive injustice. Selfishness is the characteristic of man. It is more than habit—more than propensity—more than custom—and can be only governed by the circumstances in which he is placed. If, then, we take a town having 5,000 of a manufacturing population, 1,000 of which is a competitive surplus, rendered competitive by circumstances over which they have no control, and if we locate that 1,000 upon allotments so contiguous to the artificial labour market as to enable them to compete when they pleased with their former associates, I have no guarantee, you have no guarantee, those for the moment relieved of their competition have no guarantee, that they may not, if engaged in the double pursuit of agriculture and manufactures, still continue as a portion of the competitive power—nay, as its worst section—and that it may not, as opportunity offers and circumstances press, be converted into a controlling power. Men who have nothing to rely upon but their day's wages, possess within themselves all the elements of combination, and all the materials necessary for resisting their masters' aggressions. Do we not every day see that the boldest spirits brave death itself in defence of their order. Have we not witnessed thousands bearing starvation without a murmur, rather than break the natural code that binds them to their brotherhood?

If, upon the other hand, 1,000 men, or any large portion of them, relieved from all apprehension of want, and released from all the conditions of co-dependence, should at any time feel disposed to devote a portion of what they may term their leisure hours to artificial labour, they would, from their circumstances, be the most obstinate, uncontrollable, and deadly enemies of the artificial labouring class. My object has been to establish a class, every man of which will have the power to arrive at a thorough knowledge of the value of his own labour, with the conviction that the artificial scale should then be raised to the natural standard; and that, if the agricultural labourer prefers the artificial market, he will have a standard by which he will be enabled to judge of his value. I have always made what struck me to be the proper distinction between small farms and allotments. The allotments I have shown to be merely necessary, and may be very small, say the eighth of an acre, for growing vegetables and flowers, and affording amusement to the families of those who are otherwise employed, while I have shown that the only amount of Land that can be valuable to a man who performs no other labour, is just that quantity which he can conveniently cultivate. If he has more than he can cultivate, he pays rent for what he does not require. If he has less, he is deficient of the means of developing the full value of his whole labour. The great question, then, was to agree upon the proper amount; and I stated that no man, with the aid of three or four well-grown children, could cultivate even so much as two acres to the highest advantage. Some persons, however, with capacious notions, and without a particle of practical knowledge upon the subject, lay it down that a man and his family could not exist upon two acres of ground; and straightway a new principle, a very dangerous principle, is sought to be introduced—the principle of establishing a kind of hereditary property of half agricultural labourers and half manufacturing slaves. I never dreamt that all at once the occupants of a single district, contiguous to a manufacturing labour market, would betake themselves, as if by magic, to an agricultural life; but I was convinced that the charm of that simple state society, so many unmistakable comforts, that, by degrees, they would be weaned from that which entailed the greatest drudgery, the greatest dependence, the greatest uncertainty, and the greatest amount of servility. Notwithstanding my reliance upon this charm, however, I still feel assured that this novel undertaking must be entered upon with as few inducements to complete, and as many to emulate, as possible. We must not admit the principle that we are going to establish an association of this heterogeneous kind, because the very belief that the double resource is necessary, will lead to non-reliance upon that which of itself is abundant.

Like the fictions, however, plenty, two strings to your bow and a choice of markets, is a good "cry," and faction thrives better upon a good "cry" than upon the best principle. I am provoked to make those remarks in consequence of a speech delivered by a person whom I must presume to be a shareholder, at the meeting held on Sunday week last at Dewsbury, and the resolutions emanating from that meeting were published in last Saturday's *Star*. This gentleman appears to me to have had ample reasons for not becoming a shareholder, and, perhaps, as ample reasons for now discovering the awkwardness of his position, and in another speech, or in a comment on all the speeches, there is one man of steel, that we were forcibly reminded of poor Mr. Bradshaw, and his opponent Mr. Smith, in "Chambers' Employer and Employed." If the society was ungenerously to give 215 lbs. 8s. to each member as he was located, the society would be very foolish, and the realisation would be very problematical. Indeed, if the society were to exonerate all its located members from all consideration of those not located, the society would be anything but paternal. If the society was to undertake to divide £37,000 amongst the 2,000 original members, the society may not be enabled to perform it, and so far the society would fail! and all this too from an arbitrary rent.

At a general meeting of the members of the Land Society, held on Sunday night, Nov. 16th, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed upon:—
The Charter Co-operative Land Society to consist of an unlimited number of members, but that it be divided into divisions of 600 each.
That the society be exalted, providing the name and objects are not altered in consequence of enrolment.
That the members be so located as the opinion of the council directs.
That Mr. Thomas Wilkinson, late of Derby, but now of Manchester, be nominated by this branch as a fit and proper person to represent this district in the Manchester Land Conference.
That the board of directors be chosen by the Conference, and that the delegate that represents in the forthcoming Conference be instructed to support the resolution of the present board of directors.
We hereby tender our best thanks to the board of directors for their unwearied conduct in managing the affairs of the society; and think they are perfectly justified in appropriating the profits arising from the sale of cards and rules to the management of the society.

Working men of Derby, I thank you. This is just the protection we require. This is precisely the spirit and co-operation that I have a right to look for. The great object of a public man should ever be to leave the largest amount of corrective power vested in the people, thereby enabling them effectively to guard against his rashness, his errors, want of judgment, apostasy, or deceit. If then it should be argued that certain parties have become shareholders in the Land scheme, in consequence of the

We are not let into the secret whether the matter to which I now allude was delivered to the meeting in a speech, or whether it was simply sent by way of comment on all the speeches—but this much I do know, that it savours very strongly indeed of excessive diffidence with which the forthcoming Conference will have no difficulty whatever in dealing.

Difficulties which I and my brother directors have considered over and over again, and difficulties, the facility of correcting which I have explained to more than one philosopher. But, perhaps, it was thought more prudent to comment upon them before they were corrected.

In this very egotistical and very inconclusive commentary, we are told that the rent of £5 a year for what the society proposes to give, and will give, is a mere arbitrary rent—a high rent—the apportioning of which will have anything but a salutary effect upon the sale of the Land, because it will be burdened by cottages and population. In passing, I here repeat my old assertion, that 2,000 men in England will not, as individuals, get what the society proposes to give them, and will give to them, for £10 a year. Those gentlemen, who would so spitefully nibble at the details of this Land Plan, appear to lose sight altogether of the following facts:—

Firstly, that it breaks through the law of primogeniture.
Secondly, that it brings the Land from the wholesale into the retail market, and thereby makes it available to individual purposes, by giving each man the exact quantity he requires for the exercise of free labour.

Thirdly, that without co-operation it could not be done at all, and
Fourthly, and above all, for reasons that I have assigned before, neither landlords, manufacturers, capitalists, nor Government, will undertake to forward the principle of sub-dividing the Land for the purposes of free labour.

Now, my friends, apart from any opposing doctrine, I submit to you the following simple principle for your consideration:—Land is the thing that produces everything upon which you live, and which gives you every comfort you enjoy. The withholding of the Land from you hitherto has subjected your wages to that capricious scale by which capitalists would measure it. The Land is a thing daily purchased as an article of traffic in the wholesale market. No attempt till now has ever yet been made to subdivide it to you by bringing it into the retail market. By the application of as much labour as the health of each occupant will allow them respectively and comfortably to devote to agricultural purposes, I hope to create a class of free labourers so large as to set an example worthy of imitation to the working classes of the country.

In propounding this principle for practical working to the last Chartist Convention, I stated that what was then done in the way of detail must be taken as mere guess. That it would require *five weeks* to consider and mature all the machinery necessary for carrying out the principle, but that when we had 2,000 enrolled members, that then, according to the true spirit of popular representation, they, by themselves or their delegates, would be called together to amend and alter the rules as far as necessity required. I was aware that each day's consideration would considerably inure the public mind for that day's discussion; and, therefore, although many attempts have been made to force me into a controversy by anonymous writers, by friends, and by foes, I have abstained from offering any suggestion as to the required alterations, while I have placed the question before you in such a way as was likely to insure consideration and sound action.

Then you will understand that my object is to buy the Land in the wholesale market, and to divide it in the retail market, with such profit and such benefits as the wholesale purchaser in any other commodity derives from his traffic. Such is the whole plan, while you are called together without reference to £37,000 surplus, or anything beyond the honourable working of the principle, to say what the profit accruing to each retail purchaser out of the consolidated fund shall be, and how it shall be secured to him, and if you can't do that, don't blame me. There is nothing on earth more easy. I have shown you before, that if 1,000 individuals require a hat each, that each may have to give 12s. for the hat, whereas if the thousand club their money, they may, by co-operation, avail themselves of the retail profit, and purchase a hat for 8s. each. Even this is not a parallel case; because, as retail purchasers of hats, you should pay the manufacturing profit, whereas you save it in the manufacture of Land.

Now, notwithstanding this simple illustration, our critics would actually persuade us that the building of cottages, and better manufacture of the Land, would deteriorate the value of the property. It is remarkable how every scheme for acquiring large land, undertaken by the trading class, either receives the co-operation of the critics, or passes unheeded, unless, curious to say, every proposition made for the benefit of the most powerful of all classes, is considered as a Utopian, impracticable scheme. Some go so far, in the midst of starvation, as to ask sagaciously, "What shall we do with the surplus?" while others cry out, "Lo! we shall starve!" Others say, "How can you give £15 out of a fund of each of 2,000 persons, who only pay £2 10s. each?" If they got it all, each of the 2,000 at ONE AND THE SAME TIME, it would be a very difficult problem to solve; but when they receive it out of the certain profits arising out of the co-operative fund, at such times as that fund will afford it, then the difficulty is no difficulty at all. I have told you how to get the Land; I will assist you in showing you how to make the best use of it; and then I will devote my every moment to instruct the occupants, which are allotted, in the art and practice of agriculture, which I understand better than all the scribblers that ever wrote upon the subject.

I was proceeding with the further consideration of the subject, when I received the following gratifying letter and resolutions from the good men of Derby:—

DEAR SIR,—We rejoice in the glorious progress making by our association, and are anxious for another visit from Doyle: will you have the goodness to present our best respects to him, and that we hope he is growing fast upon his ten bob a week. Go on, sir, and never mind the railings of the disappointed, or the ravings of madmen.

Yours respectfully,

Wm. CHARTER.

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fascinating inducements held out in the preliminary resolutions, here is the largest amount of protection for that class. If any alteration should be made in the rules which would justify or induce those now holding shares to abandon the project in consequence of such alteration; in such case I shall submit the following resolution to the forthcoming Conference:—
Resolved,—"That we, the representatives of the working classes, called together for the purpose of protecting their interests, have made such alterations in the rules for the government of the Charter Co-operative Land Association, as to us seemed best calculated to secure the just and equal working of the principle; and if any parties have subscribed solely for the inducements held out in the preliminary rules, and are now dissatisfied with the alterations made by this Conference, this Conference decides that each shareholder, so situated, shall receive back the full amount of monies paid by him as a shareholder in the above Association; and that the directors or trustees, as the case may be, are hereby empowered to carry this resolution into full effect."

Now, my friends, you have always had the full benefit of my suggestions and exertion, and I think the foregoing resolution gives you the largest amount of protective power against my ignorance, my folly, my want of judgment, or my deceit.

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Poetry.

BEAUTIES OF BYRON.

NO. XX.

"CHILDREN."

Canto IV. opens with the following magnificent stanza on Venice.

I stood in Venice on the Bridge of Sighs;

A palace and a prison on each hand;

I saw from the arches of the ancient structures rise

As from the throats of the anachronistic band

Around me, and a dying glory smiles

O'er the far times, when many a subject land

Look'd to the wing'd Lion's marble pile;

Where Venice sat in state, throned on her hundred isles!

She looks a sea Cybele, fresh from Ocean,

Rising with her tides of proud towers

At every distance, with majestic motion,

A ruler of the waters and her powers;

And from her walls, her daughters and her dowers

And from spots of nations, and the exhaustless East

Pour'd in her lap all gems in sparkling showers;

In purple was she rebed, and of her feast

Monarchs partook, and deem'd their dignity increased.

In Venice Tasso's echoes are no more,

And silent rows the songless gondolier;

Her palaces are crumbling to the shore,

And music meets not always now the ear:

Those days are gone—But Beauty still is here.

Still, still, all fade to dust—yet still she dies,

Nor yet forget how Venice once was dear.

The pleasant place of all festivity,

The revel of the earth, the mask of Italy!

But unto us she hath a spell beyond

Her name in story, and her long array

Of mighty shadows, whose dim forms disposed

Above the dogeless city's vanishing away;

Quies is trophy which will not decay

With the Rialto, the Spicery, and the Moor,

And Pierre, can't be swept or worn away.

The keynotes of our birth, though all were o'er,

For us re-peopled were the solitary shore.

The beings of the mind are not of clay;

Essentially immortal, they create

And multiply in us a brighter ray

And more beloved existence: that which Fate

Prohibits to dull life, in this our state

Of mortal grandeur, by these spirits supplied,

Still exiles, then, replaces what we hate,

Watering the heart whose early flowers have died,

And with a fresher growth replenishing the void.

The spouses Adriatic mourns her lord;

And annual marriage now no more revives

The Baucant's lifeless rotting unredeemed,

Neglected garment of her widowhood!

St. Mark yet sees his Lion where he stood

Stand, but in mockery of his wither'd power,

O'er the proud place where an Emperor sued,

And monarchs gazed and cavied in the hour

When Venice was a queen with an unequal'd dower.

The Euphrates silt, and now the Austrian reigns—

An Emperor's tramples where an Emperor knelt;

Kingdoms are shrunk to provinces, and chains

Clank o'er conquests; nations meet

From powers' high pinnacles, when they have left

The sunshine for a while, and downward go

Like lawine loos'd from the mountain's belt;

Oh for one hour of blind old Dandolo!

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Full-pulsed, tremulous and deep-toned string

Proclaimed down a myriad marching with the step

Of stately joy to an vast gathering:

While, "Ever and anon," the trill and sweep

Of dulcets and viols caught the heart to leap

With forest of its "ha," "ha," "ha," "ha," "ha," "ha,"

Ev'n in its hour of glaze, "a pure as deep

From Handel's giant pumps or organ bound,

While goss cathedral aisles so peacefully proud was

grown.

Beneath the wondrous arch of heavenly vault,

I passed into the hall, when—lo! no more

Monarchal dainties and monster-shells were seen

Within; but, from the middle of its floor

Immense, shelled gently upward countless store

Of sculptured seats extending to the bound

Of that elliptic vast—and wisest lore

By plastic art into each seat seemed wound—

So that the mind read deepest lessons all around.

And on the rim of the ellipse, where, erst

Wild shapes were wildly, and

To prop the rainbow-roof in dread 'twould burst:

Upon their heads—stood images of life,

Bright as the sun, their countenances rife

With blended beauty, intellect, and love:

Fair plumed wings they had—but 'twas a strife

For mind to judge what it did best believe

To say were such grace seemed in their forms

enve.

And, as the myriad multitude swarmed in,

Filling the spacious amphitheatre,

In spirit-whispers some of seraphin

And some of genii talked, and guessed these were

Such mystic essences. Interpreter

None needed long; the soul 'gan soon perceive.

They were her own creations, which the stir

Of glorious brother-thoughts had power to weave

To generous shapes—as if they did it right upheave.

With vigour as bright, with looks as blest

As kindly and intelligent, all beamed

And smiled upon each other, while their rest

They took upon the graven seats. None deemed

Himself nobler than others: none esteemed

His brother meanly: pride, and rank, and state,

Had vanished—and, all equal, as beamed

His brother-thoughts, and his brother-thoughts

In love, of humblest citizen and potentate.

Alas, o'er all, the roof with splendour hue'd

Of hours celestial still was self-suspended.

The regal forms whose blazoned pomp I viewed

In earlier dreams, now sat with sages blended—

Uncrowned, unscathed, all their haughtiness ended—

With hands, and workers-out of human weal,

And patriots who in lofty deed transcended

Their earthly fellows.

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got a rail to defend himself, he returned

sors and a knife. Dean then came up and stabbed in the face and neck. In the struggle they fell having recovered, he ran out of the house. He assisted the police in breaking through the roof taking Dean into custody. Police inspector having proved the finding of

Dr. C. Tait, surgeon, of Audley, said the head of the deceased was taken off near the shoulder. The primary cause of death was no doubt a fracture of the temple, which was apparent.

All the witnesses having been examined.

The jury, after a short consultation, returned a verdict of wilful murder against the prisoner James Hann.

asked by the coroner if he wished to say any-
thing; he replied, with a vacant stare, "I was not
giving any notice."
On the coroner telling him the verdict the jury had
returned, he said, "I have a good deal to say, but I
have forgot it; I did not want to kill him: I did not

He was then removed in custody of the police to
afford gaol, to await his trial at the ensuing assizes.

pout of this atrocious murder without arriving at
 conclusion that it was the act of a maniac, and
 present state of the prisoner strengthens that
 supposition. Dean is by trade a stone-mason, and
 for some time employed in the alterations and
 improvements in Trentham-hall ; he has lately been
 industrially engaged at Apedale, the mansion of R. Cole
 Threlknot, Esq. He had lodged at the widow Cook
 Leigh's, Alsager's-bank, for the last twenty-three

[illegible]

went to Newcastle. Mycock observed that on returning Dean put the razor in his trousers' pocket, and on the way kept taking out the instrument and looking stealthily glances at it, several times remarking that he was not going to use it. He then went to the Almshouses, Dean took the razor and a knife from his pocket, and put them down on the stones in front of a large stone he broke them into pieces and gave to Mycock, "There; now are you satisfied?" On the evening, for the first time during the five years of their cohabitation, Dean went to the Wesleyan Chapel at Alsager's bank, where he conducted himself in a very decorous manner, resting his hands on his knees, and singing hymns with a loud voice. On Monday Dean went to his work as usual at the mill, but was sent away in consequence of not performing it in a proper manner. Instead of chiselling, he applied the hammer to break it to pieces and then carried a razor with him, and holding it in one hand, he solicited a maid at the half past eight into a shed with him, saying "I would show her how to use a razor." He then seized her by the hair, and the boy visited some relations of Mycock's at Stone. They returned in the evening as far as Alsager, where they slept at the cottage of a relative, and arrived back at Alsager about eleven o'clock on the Wednesday morning. Mrs. Colclough, on having occasion to go to Newcastle, had left the cottage, and Mycock wishing to execute an errand at that place, called on her, and was told that she had been away. Within a few minutes after this, poor Fielding was murdered. Dean was yesterday removed to Newcastle. The general impression is that he is decidedly insane.

The body of the murdered man was removed from Alsager's Bank to Stoke-road, last evening, for interment. The uncle (William Ratcliffe) with whom the deceased was connected, and who was brought to the mill by the police, is a very aged man, of advanced years; Fielding was something over forty years of age. William Ratcliffe is a bachelor, in possession of a small competency, which was understood to be derived by will to be decedent, with remainder to his children of his brother Humphrey. The family was much respected for their probity and industry, and was well known in the different parishes of the parishes upon the Humphreys. About two months ago, the daughter of Humphrey's married to Dr. Whit-

General Intelligence.

JOINT STOCK FACTORIES.—On this subject, Mr. V. W. JOHNSON, the celebrated author, writes to the *Lancet*, "What reason is there, that railways, armaments-packets, and gas-works, and joint stock banks are all sorts of trade and money inclosures should have such a name? That joint stock companies could not have been named otherwise than as they are now called? The answer is none. The millions who have their shares in such companies, which shall be regularly managed by paid agents as these other investments are, are to receive their fair share of profit over and above mere price of their labour. If this principle would be brought to bear, and worked into practice it would confer on this country, and on the world, its greatest benefit."

NEW ORANGE MOVEMENT.—The Orange confederacy, so recently established at the "Orange Institution," under the advice of its counsel, Mr. Napier, has adopted the new designation of "the Protestant Alliance."

DEATH OF A CELEBRATED DANZ.—In Copenhagen a healing art has sustained a loss by the death, on the 72nd year, of the celebrated surgeon, Christian Langer, Director of the Royal Academy of Surgeons in that city, chief surgeon to the king, and author of a great variety of professional works—the most in-

NEW BOOK BY THOMAS CARLYLE.—A new book of two vols. octavo, is announced, from the pen of Thomas Carlyle, entitled "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with elucidations and connecting narrative." It is to be published by Chapman and Hall, 15, Abchurch Lane, in London.

FLORIAN TO ART IN BRITAIN.—The King of the Belgians has created M. Wappers, the most eminent of the Belgian artists, a baron; and conferred upon him the Legion of Honour of M. Hubert, the order of the Lieghin System of Musical Education among the people.

SUPPOSED SHIPWRECK.—COPENHAGEN, NOV. 8.—That many losses in the late storm we fear we may add to that of the Victoria steamer, purchased in England by Mr. Lundt, for a week ago a piece of the side of the steamer was driven on shore to the north of the Agger, and it is supposed to be a piece of the Victoria. Nothing has been heard of her since she left England on the 18th of last month.

RAILWAYS.—Nearly 270 railway schemes, exclusive of those in Ireland and Scotland, are expected to be introduced into the House of Commons.

POTATORS AND PROVISIONS.—There has been a very considerable improvement in the quality of the potatoes introduced into the London market during the week ending the 10th of Spitalfields; however, the general opinion is that the supply of the Eastern districts, the staple of the market, is still inferior.

DETERMINED ACT OF SUICIDE BY A POLICEMAN.—On Friday evening police constable Thomas Peters committed a most determined act of suicide by burying his throat at his lodgings in Lock's-Fields, Bedford-square. Upon his landlady going to call him to his duty, she found him with a razor in his hand, and a dreadful wound in his throat; he was not quite dead at the time, but breathed his last at two o'clock on Saturday morning.

WORTHY OF SUPPORT.—A subscription is in progress for the widow and young family of Mr. Augustus Wade, the late song writer and composer, who died prematurely in very indigent circumstances.

LIFE PRESERVERS.—A few days ago, a large company of persons assembled on the cliffs, at Brighton, to witness a trial of some life preservers. The novel experiment was to see two men smoking their pipes while the sea was running high, and their hats on the water, although the sea was running so high that the life-preservers could not get to the men above water, admirably.

THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.—It appears that the Sandwich Islands have a king, an independent government, and a local legislature.

COMMUTATION OF SENTENCE.—The government have commuted the sentence of death passed on Martin Tierney (Tierne) at last Tipperary assizes for the murder of Timothy Clarry, the bailiff of John Cane, Esq., of Barneg, Esq., and have directed that he be imprisoned for the period of his natural life.

