













THE NORTHERN STAR.  
SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1839.THE "REFORMING" GOVERNMENT AND  
THE LEEDS MAGISTRATES.

It has been long thought to be a fact so well established that there is, in this country, "one law for the rich and another for the poor," that the observation has become proverbial, and is constantly harked from month to month by all parties as equally true and true. It has been repeated, however, for our present "liberal" Government, and their no less "liberal" tools, the Whig magistrates of this borough of Leeds, to demonstrate, beyond the possibility of contradiction, that this universally-admitted axiom is untrue. They shall no longer take up this proverb concerning the people of England, saying "There is one law for the rich and another for the poor," but henceforth shall it be said of this people, by the authority of their Government and of their magistracy, that "There is one law for the rich and NO LAW for the poor," but that, whenever the purposes of the rich, regarding their poorer brethren, are to be accomplished—whenever the solitary ewe lamb of the poor man is to be transferred to the sheep-fold of him who has abundance—whenever the faces of the poor are to be ground, and the hands of the oppressor to be filled with spoil; whenever it may be deemed necessary by a Whig Government, for the upholding of factious rule, and the sustenance of class distinction and robbery, to rifle consciences, and prostrate righteousness, and deny justice; the law shall be, at the pleasure of its administrators, perverted, warped, changed, altered, contradicted, or suppressed; made to assume all forms, and, when yet more convenient, no form at all.

Never was the determination to sustain the wrongs of party by the sacrifice, not merely of justice, but of law, more fully, or more unblushingly exhibited, than by the Whig Magistrates of Leeds, acting under the immediate orders, and by the "special instructions" of their masters in Downing-street, in the case of GEORGE WHITE and JOHN WILSON, who were committed to York Castle by JAMES HOLDFORTH, WILLIAM SMITH, and WILLIAM PAVSON, Esqrs., on the 27th of July last, for soliciting, (as appeared even from the evidence of the prosecution) respectfully and peaceably, that certain shopkeepers would aid them and others in preventing the frustration of the ends of justice, by contributing towards a fund for providing legal advice and assistance to the incarcerated, doomed victims of Whig malice. In a small portion of our last week's impression we gave the following letter received on Saturday last from our attorney in London: We again give it, because it cannot be too often read by the one, and ought to be read by every one.

"THE QUEEN P. WHITE AND WILSON.  
"DEAR SIR.—I send you a copy of the order made by Justice Littledale, yesterday, for the discharge of these prisoners. I endeavoured to get the amount of recognizance mitigated, but the Judge said he could not accept less than the sum he had ordered. I was rather surprised to find that the Magistrates had transmitted, with the Depositions, a letter they had received from Mr. Phillips, the Under-Secretary of State, containing precise instructions to them not to admit these two persons to bail. The Judge seemed rather surprised at such a document being sent to him, which he said was decidedly improper, and had not the slightest influence on his mind, either as to the admission of the prisoners to bail, or the amount of the recognizances required. It is quite clear that the Magistrates had been told to admit the bail, if they had thought fit, without putting the parties to the trouble and expense of applying to a Judge.  
"I am, dear Sir, yours truly,  
"M. TRENKLE.  
"London, 23rd August, 1839."

"In the master of George White and John Wilson, committed to York Castle upon a Warrant under the hands and seals of James Holdforth, William Smith, and William Pavson, Esqrs., dated the 27th of July, 1839.  
"Upon reading the affidavits of George White, John Wilson, and William Robinson, and the depositions of George Broadbent, Sarah Foxcroft, John Wood, Charles Noades, Edward Matthews, James Wase, Edward Rhodes, Joseph Kirk, Edmund Stead, Samuel Wace, William Mawson, Wm. Prescott, John Ullery, Hannah Ullery, and the statements of the said G. White and J. Wilson, and upon hearing the Attorney or Agents for the Prisoners, and the Prosecutor, I order that, upon the said George White and John Wilson entering into their own recognizances in the sum of eighty pounds each, and finding two sufficient sureties in the sum of forty pounds each, for their personal appearance at the next Assizes to be held in and for the County of York, to answer to all such matters and things as on their Majesty's behalf shall then and there be alleged against them, they shall be discharged out of custody, and the said George White and John Wilson be discharged out of custody as to the above-mentioned warrant. And I further order that the said recognizances be taken before a Magistrate or Magistrates, in the country, before this 22nd day of August, 1839."  
"J. LITTLEDALE."

We ask our readers to read this letter carefully, and then look back to the report of the proceedings in the case of WHITE and WILSON, given in the Northern Star of July 27th, and of August 3rd, and when they have brought before the mind's eye all the circumstances of this extraordinary affair, to ask themselves if better judgment could have been exhibited by any party in the selection of creatures to bid bidding, than has been exhibited by the "Reforming" Liberals, in the selection of occupants for the Magisterial Bench at Leeds.

Here were two men brought into the sacred court of justice, to be dealt with, in all fairness, according to their deserts. They were not accused of anything which constitutes a crime. They were charged with having asked for contributions of money, for a public, legal, and avowed object. They had a right to do so. It was not pretended that they had misappropriated the money which they had thus collected, or that they had made use of either force, or fraud, or falsehood, in the obtaining of it; there was no evidence of their having in any case, threatened or intimidated any one; nor had they taken one farthing from any of the witnesses who appeared against them. This was a case which magistrates, seeking not to uphold party rule, but to do justice, would have dismissed instantly, with a severe reprimand to the vile and mendacious informer. But these men were Chartists. They were seeking aid for those who were suffering under Chartist persecution. The Chartists seek for the establishment of right; the establishment of right would be the downfall of middle-class plunder and aristocratic domination; the downfall of middle-class plunder and aristocratic domination would be the death-warrant of the Government; and these things being apparent, the Government, the aristocracy, and the middle men joined all their energies for the destruction of the Chartists, no matter how or by what means. The Leeds Justices were middle men. Appertaining to the class of profit-mongers and money-hunters, whose unrighteous emoluments were thought to be endangered by the principles of Chartism, they were loth to let go the gaucy which had been ensnared; and yet, in the very lines of their souls, they were unable to find out how the sacred functions of their office could be twisted and distorted to the accomplishment of their wicked purpose, without endangering their own safety.

In their perplexity and hesitation, instructions were sought from their official masters in Downing-street. The case was adjourned to afford time for this, and terminated, as our readers know, in the illegal incarceration of the men.  
Several circumstances of an extraordinary character, in connection with this affair, excited some surprise; they are all now explained; and, as we stated in our last Number, we now know the reason why the case, after having been adjourned from Wednesday to Friday, was again adjourned from Friday till Saturday, and then adjourned upon, without any fresh evidence being taken! We now know why the Mayor was absent from Court till after the arrival of the London Mail. We now know the reason why the extraordinary meeting of Magistrates took place, viz. to hear Mr. PAVSON, and

instructions read, and to proceed upon the case, BEFORE they asked the accused for their defence!! All this is now explained, and more; it speaks in terms not to be misunderstood, the opinion which our Leeds Magistrates have of their own competency, when they have to SEND FOR, and WAIT FOR, the arrival of "instructions" from Mr. Under-Secretary PHILLIPS, before they can adjudge upon a case which common sense would have dismissed from the Court in two minutes!!

And then the transmission of the Under-Secretary's letter to the Judge by the Leeds noodles! In the hope, or expectation, that what had been to them "instructions" not to be departed from, would have a similar effect upon the mind of the Judge!

The Judge was surprised at the document being sent to him. He would not have been, had he known any thing of character of the rascals elevated now-a-days to the Bench to "DO JUSTICE!" "IT WAS DECIDEDLY IMPROPER," says the Judge. What of that! Have not Whig magistrates, and Whig Under-Secretaries of State, and, above all, Whig Governments, a licence to do what they please for WHIG purposes? "Improper" is a word excluded from their political dictionary. When a purpose is to be served, all means are proper.

Let it be well remembered that Judge LITTLEDALE, whom no man will suspect of any meritorious leaning towards the Chartists, has admitted WHITE and WILSON to bail in sums of one hundred and sixty each, when the Leeds Magistrates, acting under special "instructions" from PHILLIPS, the Under-Secretary of State, refused to accept bail at all! And never let it be forgotten, that the Whig Mayor, HOLDFORTH, ACTUALLY WENT THROUGH THE PACE OF CONSULTING WITH, AND GATHERING THE OPINIONS OF, HIS BROTHER MAGISTRATES AS TO WHETHER bail should be accepted or not;—on the application being made by WHITE—AFTER THEY HAD MET IN PRIVATE, AND DECIDED TO ACT ON THE "INSTRUCTIONS" of the Under-Secretary!!!

This affair must not be allowed to rest here. We must know whether Mr. Under-Secretary PHILLIPS has any right to interfere with and pervert the administration of justice. We must know whether Magistrates are to be allowed to set all law at defiance, on the responsibility of Mr. Under-Secretary PHILLIPS; and we must know whether it be seemly or "proper" for Magistrates, when they have thus acted contrary to law, to try to warp the mind of a Judge of the land, by PRIVATE COMMUNICATIONS addressed to that Judge, which he is compelled to designate as "decidedly improper."

A petition to Parliament from these injured and illegally used men, will be one means of bringing their case before the public, and obtaining for the Leeds "Justices" that notoriety of which they have shewn themselves so ambitious.

## UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE CANDIDATES.

We have often been defeated by both factions; and almost always from the want of arrangement amongst ourselves, rather than from any superior merit of our enemies. This must be remedied in future; and, as a first step thereto, we now suggest to our readers the necessity of being prepared with suitable candidates in the event of a general election, which may be known to be not far off by the haste with which the old rats are quitting the building.

The Whigs and the Tories take advantage of electioneering for the purpose of marshalling their forces; let us profit by example, and let every city, county, town, and borough instantly select fit and proper candidates, who shall proceed forthwith to a rigorous canvass of their respective constituencies. Let election committees be formed for the promotion of the success of the Universal Suffrage candidates; let those candidates do their duty, and let Government and the authorities interfere at their peril. We have much pleasure in announcing that, in our next number, we shall give the Address of Mr. FERGUS O'CONNOR to the electors and non-electors of Yorkshire. After which that gentleman will commence at Sheffield, and make a canvass of the whole of the West-Riding of Yorkshire, of the day and hour of meeting, at each place, notice will be given; when the electors and non-electors will be invited to attend and hear the principles upon which Mr. O'CONNOR will lay claim to their support.

THE PETTICOAT GOVERNMENT: THE  
QUEEN'S SPEECH.

The Queen being the only "Court card" in the hands of the wretched shufflers who now "play" with our national destinies, they can afford to lose no opportunity of parading her, both in name and person. At the close of a long and mischievous Session, the disgrace of frequent defeats, the storm of public disapprobation, and the equivocal distinction of continuing to rule "on sufferance," are sought to be hidden behind the ample folds of the Royal Petticoat. The gallantry of the country is appealed to, by the exhibition of a royal and youthful female orator, in the hope that its attention may be withdrawn from the many and great delinquencies of the Session thus ostentatiously closed.

We give the MEANSBURY Government credit for a fair share of that peculiar sort of wisdom which appertains to Whig office-mongers, but we cannot permit ourselves or the public to be amused with show till we forget "the substance of the whole."

Even while the words of hoarse sweetness drop from lips of maiden Royalty,

We must endeavour to retain, in a small measure, our faculty of observation.

The speech before us consists of fourteen paragraphs strung together in pretty much the style of all King's and Queen's speeches time out of mind.

The first paragraph expresses Royal satisfaction—which would, we doubt not, be heartily reciprocated by both Houses;—that the Session had at last come to an end; and in this expression of satisfaction we feel strongly inclined to concur. Little, indeed, is there in the retrospect of inability, recklessness, and treachery, which its history exhibits to induce us to desire its continuance. Not one great object of beneficial policy has been accomplished or even attempted. Every one of the great measures to which, in the QUEEN'S speech at the opening of Parliament public attention was directed, as means essential for the prosperity and welfare of the empire, is unachieved; and the subjects to which this reference are either *status quo* or in a worse condition than at the commencement of the Session. While ample employment has been made for succeeding legislators, who may combine the qualities of talent and honesty, in retrieving the mass of mischiefs which have been perpetrated. Truly then the people have great reason to join in the royal gratulation that the labours of the mischievous workers are suspended for a season.

Credit is next taken for causing, in concert with the other "great powers," the small state of Holland and Belgium to be good boys, and not bad; each other a careful scholastic is manifested, for Turkey, and Royal highness announced the France and Mexico have ceased hostilities; but not one whisper of the present harsh offer of violence to the British flag; which, during these long months, was tamely suffered.

We are not curiously informed that the disputes between France and England fisheries have been amicably settled, and that the traffic in black slaves

may be put an end to; that we are still at sixes and sevens with the Court of Persia; that an army has marched across the Indus; and that her Majesty hopes it will not march back again, like that of the famous King of France.

In all this, not a single word of any one thing interesting to the great mass of the people; not a word of the redress of grievances; not a word of the prevention of yet greater evils; so far as the people are concerned, seven out of the eight royal paragraphs which have been noticed, are mere words, and nothing but words.

In the next and succeeding paragraphs, much credit is given to the mischief workers, for some of their most mischievous exploits. They are commended for their intrepidity in battling with the liberties of the people of the Metropolis by an extension of the powers of the *gens d'armes*; and for the craft with which they have taken advantage of the excitement produced for the purpose, by unconstitutional attacks on the people, to make the first beginning of an universal application of the accused measure. Much merit is made of the Penny Post measure, by which large savings are effected, to the middle and trading classes; the industry of the country, that is, the blood and sinews of the labourer, being mortgaged for the difference in revenue.

The addition of four million to the National Debt is complimented as evidence of "determination to preserve inviolate the national faith." Then comes, in the last two paragraphs, a gross libel on, and scandalous aspersion of, the insulted and oppressed people:—

"It is with great pain that I have found myself compelled to enforce the law against those who no longer concealed their design of resisting by force the lawful authority, and of subverting the institutions of the country. The solemn proceedings of courts of justice, and the fearless administration of the laws by all who are engaged in that duty have checked the first attempt at insubordination."

It is, indeed, evidence of pitiable weakness, when the Government of a mighty empire find themselves under the base necessity of putting falsehood into the mouths of their own liegemen. None better know than the bad men who are responsible for this speech that no design has ever been avowed of "resisting by force the lawful authorities;" that the most outrageous of all the physical force leaders have gone no further than to advise the people to resist, by force, the usurpation of authority, when exercised unlawfully. The "insubordination" to the laws and constitutional usages of the country has been all on one side—the side of Government, its allies, and supporters.

Altogether the Speech furnishes what was quite unnecessary—another proof that the people must hope only from themselves—that Royal countenance, and those on whom it is bestowed, wait not on popular advantage; seek not the interest of the people; care not for the promotion of their welfare.

## MINISTERIAL CHANGES.

This old cart, which has so long gone clumtily, is at last laid up for repair; some of the ugliest and most crooked of the spokes are taken out of the wheels, and it is hoped, by the driver, that the substitution of new ones, whether better or worse, will enable him to keep on the road a little longer.

We calculate that it will be but a little longer. Mr. SPRING RICE, after saddling the country with a neat legacy of Forty Millions of additional Debt, goes to the "Upper" House, his place being supplied by FRANCIS THORNTON BARNES. How well Mr. SPRING RICE is qualified for a high place among the dignitaries of the peerage, his exploits in the House of Commons, and especially during his Chancellorship of the Exchequer, might be appealed to as sufficient evidence; but let that be as insufficient, a London weekly contemporary, the *Era*, in his paper of last Sunday, has given the new-fledged "Noble Lord" the following certificate of character:—

"Everybody knows that Mr. Spring Rice has for some time past been ambitious of enjoying the office of Comptroller-General of the Exchequer, and its £2,000 a year, and of raising from the Commons to the 'official dignity' of the Lords; but everybody does not know of the ill-advised method he is reported by the Club authorities (allegedly) to have adopted in order to gain his end. Far be it from us to give that report on any authority; but, being able to throw the onus upon at least a score of persons well able to bear it, we do not hesitate, in our valour, to say that Mr. Spring Rice is accused of having purchased the resignation of Sir W. NEWPORT, with a bond for an annuity of £1,000 a year. The resignation of the Comptroller-General, in consequence of this, has been in the possession of Lord Melbourne for the last three months; and what is still more extraordinary, Mr. Spring Rice has had the outrageous indiscretion to write to his constituents that he is about to be called to the Upper House! The latter proceeding is what Parliament men call 'unconstitutional'; the former (the purchase of the resignation) amounts to a misdemeanor. Of this fact Mr. Lord Rice may be convinced if he will turn to the Act of George IV., 1806, against selling places, in which he will find, included in the same category, purchasing resignations!"

We, like our contemporary, shall scarcely give this statement on our own authority. Far be it from us to charge the Noble Lord with "outrageous inconsistency," "unconstitutional" conduct, or "misdemeanour;" but such is the statement we find in the *Era*, and with the conductor of that paper and his "score" of authorities, we leave the new-fledged Lord to settle it.

TOULIER THOMSON leaves the Board of Trade, for which the factory children owe him many thanks, to give the benefit of his kindly attentions to the Canadas. He is succeeded by Mr. LANOUEUR. Mr. SHIEL to be Vice-President of the Board of Trade. Mr. VERNON SMITH, Under-Secretary of the Colonies. Sir G. GREY to be placed in the Cabinet, with his present office.

It is also stated that MACAULAY, alias "Lucky Tom," has been invited to join the set, and has stipulated for a seat in the Cabinet as his price of adhesion.

## A PREMIUM ON PERJURY.

That must be a bad state of society in which a man's conscientiousness of principle and loathing of hypocrisy is a certain introduction to suffering and passport to punishment; and yet such has been the state of society in this country for a long period, as evidenced by the oppressions, and, in some instances, fearful persecutions to which the religious sects, who respectively have had the power, have subjected the religiousists of other sects. We need scarcely refer to the alternate experience of the Roman Catholics, the Episcopal Protestants, the Puritans, Covenanters, and Quakers; each of whom were made to have bitter knowledge that it was a dangerous thing to cherish hypocrisy. Until very recently, and in some instances even yet, magistrates of the age, this infernal spirit has been, and is still, developed, not merely in these private and social relationships of men which the laws cannot well reach, but also in the publicly recognised legal bonds of society. A forcible instance, not only of this, but also of the manner in which the law is so mystified by complexity and a multiplicity of statutes, as to render anything like a general knowledge thereof, by those who are expected to obey it, out of the question; and of the manner in which the administrators of the law are not infrequently led by their ignorance of the law into a perversion of justice, has very recently occurred at Lancaster. A person named GEORGE CONNARD, resident, we believe, in Oldham, had some time ago, unfortunately for himself, the good nature to become surety for JAMES ANSWORTH, of Oldham, for a debt contracted by other parties who, afterwards falling in business, paid a composition to their creditors, and went to America. Mr. ANSWORTH possessed Connard, the surety, for the balance of the debt. Connard, who is a poor man, having had perfect confidence in the honesty of the party for whom he had been bound, never dreamed that he should be called upon and, when called upon, was unable to pay. He was arrested, sent to prison, and so the law of England, came up to be heard on his

petition, before Mr. Commissioner REYNOLDS, in the Insolvent Debtor's Court. It had been insinuated that the insolvent was an unbeliever so far as regarded the article of future punishment. He was very pointedly questioned on the subject by the Learned Commissioner, and, in answer to various questions, stated that he believed in God; that he believed himself bound to speak the truth; that he believed that the just God who created him had the same power to take him out of the world; that he believed in a future state of bliss; but that seeing God's goodness in his creature in the next. On this declaration, he was remanded to his prison—the Commissioner declaring that he could not hear him on his petition.

It was in vain he pleaded a starving wife and family, as well as the hardship of the case. The Commissioner declined to entertain his petition, assigning as his reason:—  
"The law imposes upon me to cause every insolvent to swear to the truth of his schedule; it would be ridiculous to offer an oath to a man who holds it at no responsibility whatever; a man daring to call God to witness, which God he fears not to go before."

Now we must take leave to tell Mr. Commissioner REYNOLDS that this is a stretching of the powers of his office beyond all warranty and reasonable bearing. What right had he to interfere, because the insolvent did not believe in a state of future punishment, he would hold the sacred obligation of an oath "at no responsibility whatever?" There was nothing in the insolvent's statement to justify such an inference. On the contrary, the insolvent expressly stated that he held himself bound to speak the truth; and the very fact of his choosing rather to risk the rejection of his petition than to speak falsely concerning his opinions, was evidence that he did hold himself bound to speak the truth, and was more worthy of credence than many who are glib enough in their professions of belief in anything which they are required to believe. Our contemporary of the *Lancaster Guardian*, in reference to this case, says:—  
"The ends of justice are frequently defeated by the conscientious objections of witnesses to take an oath. The Legislature has permitted Quakers and Moravians to substitute a declaration in its place; but has refused to allow to other religious sects who may have similar objections a like privilege."

In this case, however, it does not appear that there was any objection made by the insolvent to the form of the oath; the objection was on the part of the Commissioner to allow him to take the oath, on account of his religious creed; and we do maintain that so long as he was willing to take the oath, there was no fair reason why it should not be tendered to him; because the very matter of objection was of itself proof that he was a conscientious man, worthy to be believed.

For the information, however, of our contemporary, and of Mr. Commissioner REYNOLDS, who both seem totally ignorant of the law upon this subject, we beg to say that even if the oath had been objected to by CONNARD, the Commissioner had no power to refuse to hear him on that account, but was bound to receive his testimony on any such form of oath, declaration, or affirmation as he himself might acknowledge to be binding upon him to speak the truth.

An Act was passed in the last Session of Parliament for the purpose of affording relief to such other religiousists, besides Quakers and Moravians, as might entertain conscientious scruples about oath-taking. It is short and sweet; and as it is one of the very few good things that have been done during the power of the present Government, we have great pleasure in giving it entire, and directing attention to it. It is entitled:—  
"AN ACT TO REMOVE DOUBTS AS TO THE VALIDITY OF CERTAIN OATHS: PASSED 14TH AUGUST, 1838."

"Be it declared and enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That in all cases in which an oath may lawfully be and shall have been administered to any person, either as a juror or a witness, or a deponent in any proceeding civil or criminal, in any court of law or equity in the United Kingdom, or an appointment to an office or employment, or on any occasion whatever, such person is bound by the oath administered, provided the same shall have been administered in such form and with such ceremonies as such person may declare to be binding; and every such person, in case of wilful false swearing, may be convicted of the crime of perjury, in the same manner as if the oath had been administered in the form and with the ceremonies most commonly accepted."

Now nothing can be more clear than that if Mr. Commissioner REYNOLDS had known of the existence of this newly enacted law, he would have seen it to be his duty to receive the testimony of the insolvent, without any regard to his opinions, in such form as he himself might allow to be binding upon him; because by this act, a falsehood stated under such circumstances, by an Infidel or an Owenite, is as clearly perjury, as if stated in contradiction of the most solemn adjurations of the name of God that could be taken by the longest faced religionist in the world.

This is an important and valuable act; and it ought to be generally known. It is a great step towards the perfect establishment of free thought and liberty of conscience, as far as they can be established by law.

We advise all men who in future find themselves placed in circumstances of such difficulty as poor CONNARD to bear it in mind, and to insist on being heard in such form as may be binding on their consciences; while, at the same time, we would warn all bad men of the futility of any attempt to take advantage of this liberality in the law. It is an old saying that "an honest man's word is his bond," and this law tends to prove its accuracy; for by this law a man may very properly demand to be heard in any Court of Justice, without giving any other pledge of the truth of his testimony than the word of a man, and if he shall dare, on that account, to state untruths, he may quite as properly be transported.

## MR. CRABTREE.

We submit the case of WHITE and WILSON to the consideration of the Sheffield and Barnsley magistrates for their guidance, and also beg to say, in reply to JOSEPH CRABTREE's application to Mr. O'CONNOR, that he will have much pleasure in giving bail for him.

## CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE NORTHERN STAR.

Our readers must be no less conscious than ourselves that the Northern Star, the severest thorn that ever pricked oppression's side, has been long a marked object of attention to the Government, to their whole tribe of plumping official sycophants, and to the whole complex of the culture tribes, who, dominated "upper," "middle," or "trading" classes, who feed upon the vitals of the people, and watch eagerly every effort of their prey to rise out of the dust.

It was not to be expected that such a struggling against the power of their talons, as is manifested by the people in the establishment and upholding of the Northern Star—the mirror of public mind, and gazette of popular movements—the vehicle of thought, through which the masses, North, East, South and West, hold intercourse, and commune with each other, and by which their simultaneous expressions of feelings and determination made known, should take place, under their observance, without calling into exercise their natural destructive instinct. We have long seen the hovering of the birds of prey. We have known ourselves to be marked for destruction. We have seen the whole power of the executive long poised and balanced like a fowling piece applied to the shoulder of a sportsman whose game is in sight, but who waits for a convenient moment to let fly; while the underlings and small fry of the factions were setting, like so many trained pointers, their noses steadily pointing all one way.

In our Number of the 17th we directed the attention of our readers to the "dead set" of Mr. CHARLES DUNN in the House of Commons. The "set" was well backed by the literary dogs of

the factions, not only by the cur of the *United Service Gazette*, who barks loudly at his master's heels, because the shot does not come soon enough for him, but also by the better-practised snout of the *Weekly Chronicle*, who, in his last week's paper, by way of pointing more strongly to the game, attributed to Mr. O'CONNOR's words, which the catfish must have known Mr. O'CONNOR did not use, and quoted, as from the Northern Star, a portion of an article which was distinctly stated by the Star to have been copied from the *Vindicator*. These are small matters, and scarce worth notice, otherwise than as they serve to fill up the gaps, and render perfect the ramifications, of the conspiracy. Following close upon, or rather in connection with, these demonstrations of good feeling, were the "True Bills" of indictment stated to have been found against Mr. O'CONNOR at the Liverpool Assizes, last Thursday, the ground for which he is yet unacquainted with, and of which the only notice he has yet received has been through the newspapers; evidence, as direct as can be desired, that, through him, as its Proprietor, the destruction of the Star is aimed at.

Least, however, the dull and timid sportsman should yet fear to fire at a dog more forward than his fellows of the race, resolved to run in at once, and plunge the game. This brings us to the promised explanation of the reason why a large portion of our last week's Paper bore the unusual date and semblance of a Fifth Edition of the preceding Number. Our readers are entitled to demand the reason of so extraordinary a procedure; the more so we know that, by them, the Northern Star is not regarded with that indifference which attaches to the character of ordinary Newspapers; that they look upon it as the one, the only, organ of the national mind; and that they, therefore, feel an earnestness of solicitude for its welfare and permanency, such as could be generated by no other circumstances.

It is a duty, therefore, which we owe no less to them than to ourselves, to lay before them a plain unvarnished statement of the facts connected with that extraordinary proceeding. In doing this we shall have to expose some of the blackest traits of human character with which we have yet become acquainted. We are always sorry to represent, unfavourably either the conduct of others, or their motives; but, however painful may be the task, when called thereto by a regard for truth—by duty to ourselves and the people, we never shrink from its performance. In acquainting our readers with the *coup-de-main* by which it was attempted last week to rob the people of their paper, we shall confine ourselves strictly to facts—exaggerate nothing—"nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

On Thursday morning in last week, while preparing the latter portion of the paper for publication, we were a little startled at the receipt of intelligence, from a source on which we knew we could rely, that Mr. O'CONNOR's bondsmen in the Stamp Office had both of them withdrawn their sureties on the Tuesday or Monday. Which of these two days did not certainly appear, but the fact seemed certain that the sureties were withdrawn; and we were warned that any publication of the Northern Star on the 24th would be illegal. We felt ourselves a little nonplussed as to how we should proceed, particularly as we happened to have no copy of the Newspaper Stamp's Regulation Act to refer to, and Mr. O'CONNOR, as was known both to our readers and the squirells of the conspiracy, was in Scotland. We had but little time for deliberation; for at the moment when we received the intelligence, we had papers to the value of more than £300 in the office printed on one side. Our information was, that the sureties had certainly withdrawn; and the conclusion which we necessarily drew from that fact not having been communicated officially to us, was that the government, operating through the Board of Stamps, was at the bottom of the conspiracy—that the Post-office would be closed against us—and that the whole week's issue would be stopped. Determined that, at all events, this should not be—that the plot should so far fail as regarded robbing the public of their papers for the week, and the proprietor of the amount for which they might have sold, we resorted to the expedient of meeting trick by counter-trick, taking out of the form all the news which had reference to matters of a later date than the preceding Saturday, and making, in fact, the whole paper a mere further issue of the previous number; at the publication of which we know the sureties to have been "all right."

We have since learned that our precautions were unnecessary—that the Government had no hand in the affair—that the whole procedure was that of an infamous conspiracy on the part of the lowest section of the Whig press in Manchester, prompted, no doubt, partly by the rabid insanity of political violence, and partly by that still worse species of insanity, arising out of vexation of heart from the curtailment of their own scanty circulation in their own town and neighbourhood, by the introduction therein of the Northern Star. We did not know at the time when to find Mr. O'CONNOR, and of course knew not what intimation he might have had of the to us, inexplicable proceedings of the Stamp-office squirells. Knowing him, however, to be somewhere in the North, we made up the paper immediately, printed a small quantity, and sent a few copies to each agent in the several localities where he was likely to be found. The result answered our expectations; the paper met Mr. O'CONNOR at Carlisle—his unusual appearance excited his surprise, and brought him home to see what was the matter. We then learned that he had not heard one syllable of the business—that he had received no notice—and was as much surprised at the unaccountable conduct of his friends as we could be. The sureties were gentlemen of whom we personally knew nothing, but whom Mr. O'CONNOR did know, and whom he refused to believe capable of any such proceeding, until it should be confirmed to him by their own mouths. We laid the whole matter before him. He said "Well I cannot understand it. I know the integrity of those men; I know them to be honourable gentlemen, and I will not believe it. It is some rascally hoax." To be certain, however, he and Mr. HOSON, our publisher, went immediately to Oldham, the residence of those gentlemen. An interview was obtained with one of them, Mr. JAMES HOLLIDAY, (the other, Mr. JESSE ANSWORTH, being absent from home), in the course of which the following extraordinary particulars transpired.

In the most frank manner possible, Mr. HOLLIDAY said:—  
"All I know of this business is this—I was in Manchester last Tuesday, and was waited upon by 'Mr. Jesse Answorth, who told me he was very uneasy about the bond he had given for the Northern Star.' 'That he had just then come from the office of Messrs. Prentice and Cathall, of the Manchester Times, who had been telling him of the very great risks he was running; that they had told him he was answerable, not only for the payment of the Advertisement Duty, but also for the amount of £400 that might be inflicted on the Northern Star for the Government; but that he was also for the payment of the Newspaper Stamp Duty, and, indeed, for all the debts that might be incurred on account of the Northern Star; that he did not believe it, and he was very much alarmed; that he was willing to withdraw his security. I replied to him, 'said Mr. Holliday, that he had no cause for fear; that the story which had been told him of his being liable for anything more than he was bound for, was not at all true; that his situation was fully explained to him at first, when he became bound, and that his position was not in the least altered. Mr. Answorth then asked if I would go with him to the Manchester Stamp-office, and hear what Mr. Shuttleworth would say about it. I consented. We went, and saw Mr. Shuttleworth. He fully confirmed what I had before said to Mr. Answorth, that there was no cause for apprehension; that he was not bound for so much things as he had been told he was; but that if it distressed his proper way was to write to 'Mr. Answorth and to Mr. Wilcock, the Stamp Duty tributor for the Leeds District. Mr. Answorth then produced from his pocket a letter which was ready written, but not in his own hand writing, (we then I know fully well, and asked me whether I would sign it, and I read it, and found that it was to the effect, that we were not satisfied with our position, and that we requested that we might be released from our liabilities, and fresh sureties procured in our stead. This letter was addressed to Mr. O'CONNOR. I said to Mr. Answorth, as you seem dissatisfied, I will sign this letter, for the purpose of being sent to Mr. O'CONNOR; nor, for I would soon to take any step whatever in the

business, until he has had time either to satisfy you as to your real position, or, if necessary, to provide other security. On this understanding, I signed the letter, 'lets it with Mr. Answorth, and that is all I know of the matter.'"

We imagine that our readers will now be at no further loss than ourselves to perceive the animus and the agency of this conspiracy, than which we have seldom known one more diabolical in character, or calculated more indubitably to stamp with infamy its agents. Our readers will note the circumstances—the excited character of the times—the fact, public and notorious, that the Northern Star is an object on which the Government has fixed its eye; the reading of the Northern Star by a Cabinet Minister every week, and the reporting of its contents to his colleagues; the continued hounding of the Government to its persecution; the distinct allusions made to it by Mr. BULLER in the House of Commons; and they will then not fail to see that any sordid wretch would naturally promise to himself some reward of an important character from Whig Liberals, if, by any means, he could accomplish the destruction of so formidable an enemy to factious dominance. Let them then look at Mr. ANSWORTH, held as it were by the button-hole in the office of his "friends" of the Manchester Times, while his ear is filled with a tissue of wilfully invented falsehoods, strung together with an artfulness equalled only by their wickedness, for the purpose of causing him to think his position one of unusual danger. We don't wonder at the success of the experiment so far as it did succeed. Mr. ANSWORTH was not likely to perceive that these parties could have any interest in wilfully misleading him. He is a simple-minded, straightforward man, unaccustomed to calculate the deep movements of political villainy. These parties were friends of his; they were occupying a situation which he knew must afford them correct means of information upon the subject; and it was natural, therefore, that he should believe what they told him. It was natural, also, that, regarding them as disinterested friends, he should incline to take their opinion as to the steps necessary for him to take before saying anything to Mr. O'CONNOR; whom he might well suppose to have an interest in inducing him to continue his surety. Let our readers view this in connection with the ready writer letter which Mr. Answorth produced to Mr. HOLLIDAY, but which Mr. HOLLIDAY declares, was not in Mr. ANSWORTH's hand-writing; and then let them say whether any doubt can exist that that letter was written by Mr. CATHALL, from whose office he had just come. Let the whole of these circumstances be taken in connection with each other, and we are persuaded, they will satisfy every mind which views them that the infamous purpose of Messrs. CATHALL and PRENTICE was to intimidate Mr. ANSWORTH, and through him Mr. HOLLIDAY into the instant withdrawal of their sureties from the Stamp-Office, in the hope that Government, in their anxiety to put down the Star, would gladly instruct the Board of Stamps promptly to permit the withdrawal, and that in the present excited state of the public mind, the character of the Star, as a Democratic organ, would preclude the possibility of finding new sureties. This was the plan regularly organised, and presented from obtaining at least a partial success, only by the virtuous firmness of Mr. Holliday. No doubt the crawling squirells supposed themselves certain to reap double benefit by this achievement. They expected to make it at once a means of ingratiating themselves with the dispensers of Whig patronage, and of helping the circulation of their own paper by the removal of a formidable rival. In the execution of their hearts at the supposed success of their infernal scheme, the town of Manchester was placarded with bills, announcing the stoppage of the Northern Star, and a paragraph was inserted in the Manchester Times of Saturday morning, which has since been copied into all the London papers, stating the understanding of the conductors of that paper that Mr. O'CONNOR had received notice from his sureties of their intention to withdraw. Now, how did the conductors of the Manchester Times know this, unless they had themselves concocted the notice which they supposed him to have received? They give shreds of our Publisher to our Agents, but that furnishes them with no such information; nor were there any means by which they could have known it, had it been so, "save such as would bring home to them the black conspiracy with















All Communications must be addressed, (Post-paid)  
to J. Henson, Northern Star Office, Leeds.  
(Saturday, August 31, 1939.)