

1860

February 18th 1860 *Middleton Albion* "The Crimes of the Popes!" Four lectures in the Temperance Hall, Middleton by Mr. Jas. Finlen upon the nights of Monday - Thursday February 20 - 23.

March 25th 1860 *The Reasoner Gazette* p. 52. Grand Political and Social Reform Banquet and Ball at the Working Man's Hall, Oldham on Saturday March 31 - James Finlen of Manchester agrees to take part.

May 15th 1860 *Morning Advertiser* – Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate THIS EVENING (Tuesday) will be:- “Is pure Democracy or a mixed form of Government best suited for the British Empire?” To be opened by Mr. Finlen.

June 1st 1860 *Morning Advertiser* – Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate this evening (Friday) “Would it be advisable, in the present state of public opinion, to withdraw the Reform Bill?” To be opened by Mr. Finlen

June 3rd 1860 *The Reasoner Gazette* p. 91 South London Secular Institute, Blackfriars Road, opposite the Surrey Theatre Discussion (7.30) Mr. Finlen (Late Editor of the "*Northern Star*"), "Garibaldi: His mission and its effects." then; **June 24** p. 103 - "The Crimes of the Popes." **July 1st** ditto p. 107.

June 26th 1860 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street - G. Walter proprietor. The subject for this evening (Tuesday) will be "Do the necessities of Italian freedom demand the abrogation of the Papacy?" to be opened by Mr. Finlen.

June 28th 1860 *London Evening Standard* The Sunday Trading Bill A public meeting was held last evening at the British Institution, Cowper Street, City Road for the purpose of protesting against Lord Chelmsford's Sunday Trading Bill. Mr. Cox, late MP for Finsbury, occupied the chair and the attendance was very numerous. 'the bill did not oppose Sunday trading as a principle, inasmuch as it said that it was right to trade between certain hours on Sunday, and wrong to trade out of those hours.' This motion was carried. Mr. Finlen moved a second resolution – “That, as the bill has been uncalled for by public meetings, or by any public expression of opinion, this meeting resolves to petition the House of Commons in opposition thereto.” Resolution adopted.

July 29th 1860 *The Reasoner Gazette* p. 123 London, City Road Hall of Science - Mr. *John* Finlen "The Crimes of the Popes". More detail of the speech on p. 122.

October 21st 1860 *The Reasoner Gazette* p. 171 - London, City Road Hall of Science - Mr. Finlen "The Jesuits, how they have garrisoned ecclesiastical iniquity and occasioned reactions as instanced in the duty and mission of General Garibaldi."

November 16th 1860 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate THIS EVENING (Friday) will be:- “John Bright's letter on the strikes.” To be opened by Mr. Finlen.” Chair taken at nine o'clock. Admission free.

November 24th 1860 *London City Press* Discussion Hall Shoe-Lane. On Tuesday evening Mr. Franklin resumed the adjourned debate on “Mr. John Bright's Letters on Strikes.” Several very able speeches were delivered after which Mr. Finlen, the original opener of this question, replied.

December 15th 1860 *South London Times and Lambeth Observer* Royal Victoria Theatre. On Monday (Last Night of the season) OTHELLO. Othello Mr. Rickards. Iago Mr. Finlen, the Lecturer of the Working Classes. To conclude with THE CHILD OF CHARITY.

December 16th 1860 *Reynold's Newspaper* Mr. James Finlen, who is well known as a popular political orator, makes his *debut* to-morrow at the Victoria Theatre, as an actor. [*The Victoria was a working class theatre, noted for its 'roughs'*]

1861

March 5th 1861 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate THIS EVENING (Tuesday) will be:- “The case of Major Yelverton and the perplexities of the marriage laws.” To be opened by Mr. Finlen.” [*Under a Statute of King George II (i.e. of the infamous Penal Laws) any marriage between a Catholic (Popish) and a Protestant or a marriage celebrated by a Catholic priest was null and void. Yelverton, a protestant, married a Catholic, then met another woman and married her. His first wife sued for maintenance – but the Lords ruled her marriage unlawful. The case and its perceived unfair consequences, led to the enactment of the Marriage Causes and Marriage Law Amendment Act of 1870, under which a mixed marriage before a Catholic priest became valid and lawful, subject to the normal provisos of civil law.*]

March 16th 1861 *Christchurch Times* – London Political Union – The first public meeting convened by the committee of the above association was held on Monday evening in the lecture-room of the Mechanic’s Institution, Southampton-buildings, Holborn. The object of the Association is to effect the complete enfranchisement of the working classes, and to reduce the expenditure of the country. ‘Even Mr. Bright, their great apostle, had abandoned his Reform Bill.’ Mr. Finlen did not question the motives of the promoters of this association, but he did not look upon the measure named as an instalment to the working classes, for, as far as he could see, it would only augment the influence of the manufacturing interests.

March 16th 1861 *Kingsland Times and General Advertiser* – Reform Meeting at Kingsland – A crowded meeting was held at the British school-rooms, on Tuesday to consider a petition to Parliament praying the House to pass the measures now before it for lowering the county and borough franchise, as an instalment of the just rights of the people.....Mr. Finlen said he had been requested to move an amendment, but he did not think it prudent to do so. He had faith in Mr. Wilks and others connected with the Union, but he thought it ought to embrace the payment of members of Parliament.

March 27th 1861 *The Sun* (London) East London Reform Demonstration. Last night a very crowded meeting was held in the Standard Theatre, Bishopsgate-street, for the purpose of promoting the cause of parliamentary reform. Motion supported by Mr. Finlen. 4,000 attended. See also *Shoreditch Observer* March 30th.

April 4th 1861 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Thursday) will be: “The Builder's Strike.” To be opened by Mr. Finlen. [*Dickens was also reading the story of Little Dombey that night, at St. James' Hall*]

April 13th 1861 *South London Times and Lambeth Observer* Great Reform Demonstration – On Tuesday evening a great Reform demonstration was held at Taylor’s Depository, St. George’s Road. Mr. George Newman in the chair – about 2000 present. Many speeches. Mr. Finlen emphasised the importance of the ballot when speaking to the resolution. He said;

"he stood before them as one who had busily employed himself for the attainment of the people's charter. He was not disappointed at the conduct of Lord John Russell, for he never expected anything good of him. Whiggery had been triumphant more or less up to the present time; and the front figure head of Whiggery, Lord John Russell, when he had given promises to introduces Reform Bills, had given them for the purpose of floating upon their influence into power. Lord John had said the ballot box was un-English, but in his (the speaker’s) opinion, the things which recommended its institution was more un-English still. Bribery and drunkenness—the means

employed by candidates who attained to power upon gin barrels—by men who set their country reeling in a state of intoxication on every general election—who caused the gutters of boroughs to flow with intoxicating beverages, and who set their fellow countrymen wallowing therein, were infinitely more un-English. (Cheers) He would even go so far as to say that unless they had the ballot the extension of the suffrage would be an evil, or, of slight advantage for many who now possessed the suffrage were afraid to exercise it, because its honest use would place their interests in jeopardy. They made one step in 1832, another in 1846 or 1847, when the bread tax was obliterated for ever. (Loud cheers) They were again emerging into light; openings were appearing on the horizon; a star of promise indicated the goal to which the people should attain." (Cheers.)

April 25th 1861 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Thursday) will be: "Whether is General Garibaldi or Count Cavour the best Friend of Italy." To be opened by Mr. Finlen.

May 9th 1861 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Thursday) will be: "The Civil War in America, and how is it likely to end?" To be opened by Mr. Finlen.

May 30th 1861 *Birmingham Daily Post* The Building Trade - On Tuesday evening a densely crowded meeting of the workmen in the different branches of the building trade took place at the Surrey Theatre, convened by the delegates of the trades, to ascertain whether the men were still disposed to persist in their determination to oppose the hourly system of payment, as enforced by a few master builders. Thanks was given for the support the builders had received, which was supported by Mr. Finlon, French polisher and carried unanimously.

June 7th 1861 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Friday) will be: "How will the death of Count Cavour affect the Political State of Europe?" To be opened by Mr. Finlen.

June 27th 1861 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Thursday) will be: "The builder's strike – would the adoption of the nine-hours system be advantageous to all classes of society?" To be opened by Mr. Finlen.

August 8th 1861 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Thursday) will be: "The battle of Manassas Junction-will it be damaging to the Victors?" To be opened by Mr. Finlen.

August 16th 1861 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Friday) will be: "Lord Brougham's speech at the Social Congress at Dublin" To be opened by Mr. Finlen.

August 23rd 1861 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Friday) will be: "Mr. Roebuck's speech at Sheffield" To be opened by Mr. Finlen.

September 19th 1861 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Thursday) will be: "Will the Reduction in the Price of Newspapers be injurious to the Public and the Cause of Literature" To be opened by Mr. Finlen. Strangers are invited to take part in the debate.

October 10th 1861 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Thursday) will be: "Were the American memorialists who demanded the expulsion from America of 'The Times' Correspondent (Mr. Russell) properly answered by Mr. Secretary Seward?" To be opened by Mr. Finlen.

1862

January 7th 1862 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Tuesday) will be: “Would the Government of the United States be justified in decreeing the Abolition of Negro Slavery?” To be opened by Mr. Finlen.

January 9th 1862 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Thursday) will be: “The surrender of Messrs. Mason and Slideli – England’s general conduct towards America” To be opened by Mr. J. Finlen.

January 21st 1862 *Morning Advertiser* Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street – G. Walter, proprietor. The Subject for Debate This evening (Tuesday) will be: “Can the present condition of America be taken as a proof of the failure of Republican Institutions?” To be opened by Mr. Finlen.

May 22nd 1862 *Daily News* (London) The National Reform Conference – The conference re-assembled yesterday morning at the Whittington Club, Arundel-street, Strand under the presidency of Mr. G. Wilson of Manchester. Many speeches – Mr. Finlen said he entertained extreme views, and was a Chartist. They had been told that the adoption of the original motion would not bring about the purpose required – he was of the opinion it would. He was ready to give up some of his crotchets and meet anyone half way. Then he hoped they would all be liberal and give up something – make compromises, and all come to some definite agreement before they separated.

May 24th 1862 *The Dial* - The National Reform Conference. The second day’s meeting on the Wednesday, has Finlen, of the North London Political Union saying: it was not for the conference to compromise the question – there would be plenty of compromises in another place.

September 13th 1862 *West London Observer* – Ancient Order of Foresters – A grand demonstration of the members of the North-West Division of the Ancient Order of Foresters, announced for some weeks past, took place at *Lord’s* Cricket-Ground, Marylebone by permission of J. H. Dark, Esq., on Monday in aid of the funds of St. Mary’s Hospital, Paddington, and the result was in the highest degree satisfying. Mr. Finlen noted as a member of the committee.

1863

March 5th 1863 *Morning Herald* (London) The Polish Insurrection - A meeting was held last evening at the British Institution, Cowper-street, Finsbury, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the Poles. Mr. Finlen - moved, "That the government of this country is bound by every consideration to use its influence for the suppression of the atrocities committed by the Russian officials [*plus ça change!*], and for the support of the recognised position of Poland as a nation." A memorial was sent to Queen Victoria to ask her to intervene with the Russian Emperor.

June 18th 1863 *Morning Herald* Opposition to the purchase of the International Exhibition Building – Yesterday a meeting was held in the minor rooms of St. James’s Hall, Piccadilly. Mr. Henrette moved an amendment to the effect that it was expedient that the building should be obtained for the use of the people. Mr. Finlen seconded the amendment. They were rejected by the overwhelming majority.

August 3rd 1863 *Morning Post* Sympathy with Poland. Yesterday afternoon a numerously attended public meeting was held on Blackheath to express sympathy with the struggle of the Poles for nationality and independence. Addresses were delivered by Finlen, and others.

1864

December 17th 1864 *Bee-Hive* - Meeting of Cab-Men - On Monday night a public meeting of the cabmen of London was held at the Bower Operetta House, Westminster. Captain Frederick Hodges presided. The Chairman explained that the meeting had been called for the purpose of submitting for their consideration certain propositions. He hoped that they were met together as one, and with one object in view - the improvement in the condition of the cab-drivers of the metropolis. They were not met there to alter the regulations and bye-laws that the Chief Commissioners had laid down, but simply to try to better the social position of the cab-drivers, and not the proprietors. (Hear, hear, and applause). Addresses were then delivered by Mr. Finlen, Mr. Offord and others suggestive of the plans which should be adopted to accomplish the objects sought to be attained by the promoters of the movement, after which a general discussion ensued.

1865

December 16th 1865 *Bee-hive* The Reform League Demonstration On Tuesday (12th) evening a public meeting was held under the auspices of the Executive Council of the Reform League in the large room of St. Martin's Hall in order to give the working men of the metropolis and surrounding districts an opportunity of expressing their views and demands on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. Mr. Edmund Beales the president of the league occupied the chair and in taking that position informed the densely-packed assemblage in the hall that large numbers had been excluded from the meeting for want of room, and that measures had been adopted for holding a supplementary open air meeting in a bye-street running at the back of the hall, over which Mr. Leno would preside and at which Mr. Finlen and others would speak.

December 23rd 1865 *Grantham Journal* The Reform League – The weekly meeting of the executive council of the above league was held at their rooms, 8, Adelphi Terrace, Strand on Friday evening. There was also a large meeting held in the lower Hall presided over by Mr. Finlen.

1866

January 17th 1866 *Sun* [London] Meeting in Marylebone. A meeting in furtherance of the Reform movement took place last evening at the Literary and Scientific Institute, Edwards Street, Portman Square. Finlen seconded a motion calling for extensive reform.

January 20th 1866 *British Miner and General Newsmen* On Tuesday (16th) a deputation from the Reform League waited on Earl Russell at his official residence, Downing Street, for the purpose of laying before him a statement of their opinions respecting the question of Reform. The deputation included Edmond Beales, Leno, Odgers, Bradlaugh, Henriette. Lucraft, Finlen and many others.

March 2nd 1866 *Morning Advertiser* National Reform Conference in Lower St. Martin's Hall Mr. James Finlen (Holloway) took part in the discussions. According to the *Weekly Advertiser* of the 4th he "protested against the hurried manner in which the resolutions had been put. So far as the proceedings had gone they were very different from the conferences he had been in the habit of attending. (Hear)

April 14th 1866 *North London News* Meeting on Clerkenwell Green. Upwards of three thousand men of Finsbury assembled on Monday (9th) evening to discuss the Government Reform Bill. Notwithstanding that rain had fallen all the day, and still continued to fall at intervals in slight showers, the men stood for upwards of two hours in the cold night air listening to the speeches addressed to them by the speakers, also working men, who stood in a waggon lent by a friendly butcher, and lighted up with torches. In the earlier part of the evening a brass band had been employed to draw the people together by a constant repetition of the appropriate and favourite airs of "Wait for the waggon," &c. Men bearing, sandwich fashion, huge placards pasted on boards

made their way through the throng, stopping ever and anon to afford time for the perusal of announcements of "Gladstone - This evening-Working Man's Friends" and others of similar character, some reflecting upon Messrs. Horsman, March, and Lowe, and Lords Elcho and Robert Montagu, declaring that while open enemies were to be respected, false Liberals were to be execrated and calling upon "illustrious industry to the rescue." The bulk of the meeting was clearly composed of artisans grimy from their workshops. The cheering was not vociferous, nor was there any tumultuous excitement. *Several speakers moved resolutions and made points.*

Mr. Finlon, supporting the petition said the meetings of the working men had been spurred on by the observations of men in high places - men who had as the medium of their thoughts the whole newspaper press of the country, and who had not scruples to use their power to traduce the working men of the nation.

April 16th 1866 *Clerkenwell News* - Working Men of Finsbury - A Great Reform Demonstration this evening (*Monday*). The Garibaldi Italian band will head the procession. Speakers: - Messrs. Finlen, Bligh, Creemer, Lucraft, Osborne, Henrette and Neal. Committee Rooms, Mr. Bliss', Robin Hood, Leather-lane. See also *Express* of the 17th where Finlen is called French polisher, when seconding a resolution. [*paper also includes important article on the National Sunday League*]

April 18th 1866 *Clerkenwell News* - The adjourned Reform meeting in favour of the Reform Bill held on Clerkenwell Green ... *repeated in Islington Gazette, next.*

April 20th 1866 *Islington Gazette* Reform Meeting in Clerkenwell – On Monday (*16th*) evening, the adjourned open air meeting in favour of the Reform Bill, introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone, was held on Clerkenwell-green. About 2,000 persons were present, and the speakers, as on the previous occasion, held forth from a van placed near the drinking fountain. Among those present were Mr. Lucraft, Mr. Finlen, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Bligh, Mr. Leno and others. Mr. Lucraft occupied the chair. The chairman having briefly opened the proceedings, Mr. Finlen said he had the honour of moving a resolution which he thought they would readily agree to, viz.,

“That this meeting receives with the greatest satisfaction the announcement of her Majesty’s Government that they will stand or fall by the measure of Reform introduced into the Commons House of Parliament, and we hereby pledge ourselves to give the Government our most earnest support.” He considered it no favour that they were asking at the hands of the representatives in the House of Commons, namely, to be put possession of that amount of political power which would make them felt in returning a representative to that political body at St. Stephens, but it was a right which they inherited as free men. Why should there be such a distinction made by the law in reference to voting? A man who paid £7 was no better than one who paid £6 19s 11½d., and yet the law said he was. (Cheers) If they wanted to find corrupt practices and disorderly proceedings where were they to look for them? Certainly not from the working classes, but from the £10 householders and others, for they had sent men to Parliament who had degraded the position they were sent to occupy and they had been sent there simply because they were educated and wealthy. It was only those educated and wealthy men that resorted to bribery and corruption, and he questioned if they would find among the working classes the equals in crime of some of the men who had occupied seats in the House of Commons. Many who belonged to the wealthy and educated class were thought fit and proper persons to have a vote and a voice in the election or representatives of the people, while the working classes were not thought worthy of a vote. It did not, however, follow that because some persons had turned out a disgrace to society and to the class to which they belonged that they were all necessarily so, as he before observed there were good and bad in all classes. At the same time it must be borne in mind that it, as was asserted, there were more bad among the working classes, the working class being more numerous, they must have a corresponding increase in the number of good. The upper classes could not do without the working classes; they could not live without their work and their presence; they were willing to leave the defence of this, the greatest empire in the world, in their hands, and left it to the working classes to defend their property, and yet while they were ready to acknowledge that working men were fit to be trusted with all that, they at the same time said they were not fit to have a vote and become electors. He trusted they would never cease to insist on having a reform bill from the House of Commons which would enable every man, unconvicted of crime, to have a vote in the election of a member of Parliament. He believed the Government could not have done a better thing than bring in a Bill pure and simple as they had done. It was true it did not go far, but it went as far the House of Commons seemed likely to let it, for he believed the House of Commons would have gone stark staring mad if any clause had been introduced into that bill for the re-distribution of seats, which would

have made it a little nearer perfection. It was, therefore, they wished to show the Government, that they were ready to support them in the bill they bill introduced, though the measure was only a small one. Messrs Lowe, Horsman, and Marsh — (Hisses and groans)—had done all they could against the bill, but they had received a sufficient dressing, and had become penitent, but where they had men who tried to promote their interests they could well understand the difficulties they would have to encounter. The Government, he believed, could not have taken a more prudent course than it had, but with even the present measure they wanted the ballot box. They wanted to be protected in the use of their vote from intimidation by employers and from other sources. They would then do away with all bribery and corruption, for it would be of no use for a candidate to bribe a man when he had no means of detecting how he voted. That would be the only way in which the true public feeling and opinion respecting candidates for the House of Commons could be felt. They also felt it to be desirable that arrangements should be made as speedily as possible for the admission of working men into Parliament, as representatives of their own class. There had been nothing so bold this session as the speech of Mr. John Stuart Mill, which would be like a wall of adamant for truth, virtue, and honesty, which they wanted at the hands of their law makers, and Mr. Mill spoke the truth when he said the House of Commons would be honoured if representatives of the working classes were allowed to sit there. It was not very probable, however, they would get there for some time, but still it might be a step towards that desideratum, and a step in the right direction. Let them be true to themselves, and stand up for the rights of all. If they were told by the wealthy classes that they were all unworthy to have a vote, he unhesitatingly said it told against the wealthy and educated classes themselves, their schools, their parsons, their churches, and their missionaries, and the sooner they were swept away the better. He trusted they would quietly and resolutely determine on having a voice in the representation of the people, and they could exercise a power that no government could withstand, but they must bear in mind that power mainly depended in its result on the way they used it, and if the House of Commons would not grant them what was set forth in the present bill, they would be able to demand and secure a great deal more. He would not further detain them but propose the resolution."

April 25th 1866 *Clerkenwell News* Reform Meeting on Clerkenwell Green - On Monday evening last (23rd) at 8 o'clock a few hundred persons collected round a waggon which served as a platform. The number gradually increased to about 2000 and Mr. Lucraft was called to the chair. Two resolutions were to be submitted and at 9 o'clock the Garibaldi Band would arrive and play them several airs. This was to be a weekly event until the fate of the Reform Bill was known. After the first resolution was proposed, James Finlen [Finlon] in support said;

"They had at present to recognise the efforts of a number of patriotic men who were doing all they could, earnestly and energetically, and in the face of an uncompromising opposition, to raise the working classes of England to that position which was theirs by inborn right, and by living industry, loyalty, and integrity. At the head of that gallant band was the right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a man who imparted grandeur to the cause which he had espoused —(cheers) —and in the train of that able leader they had the fearless and indefatigable statesman, John Bright— (renewed applause) —a man who, out of the House of Commons, and when occupying the public, had given utterance to thoughts which should be inscribed on the human heart wherever liberty was known or liberty was yearned after by the oppressed. With that great tribune who would open the debate on the bill that night in the House came the greatest philosopher of the age, Mr. James Stuart Mill, and thus had they three champions forming of themselves a trinity in unity embodying the essence of the one grand sentiment of the people—electoral freedom. And in reference to the last they would permit him to say that he was the idol of the unwashed, the venal, the impulsive, and the drunken of the great city of Westminster. Further, he would say that the miserable, uneducated, and worthless men of that renowned city worked for him because they esteemed him the greatest philanthropist of the day, because they admired his intellectual glory and his great moral worth, and because, notwithstanding all their shortcomings, they recognised in him a philosopher, an author, and a statesman. It would be impossible to give a more conclusive and overwhelming discomfiture than that simple fact to those supercilious Lowes, Marshes, and Horsmans who held places only to openly scorn and insult the people, and to traduce the characters of the noblest and best men in the highest council chamber of the world.

Mr. Finlon went on then to speak of the opponents of Reform and their tactics generally, and said it had been urged by them that the Parliament as at present constituted, had given them Catholic emancipation, a free, a cheap, an unfettered press—itsself the great censor of the age, and the ages greatest glory—but these, and all other like concessions that had been made had been wrung from unwilling legislatures by that very class whom it was now fashionable amongst certain gentlemen to regard with hauteur, contumely, and insult. The same men opposed them now that opposed them in former times, and the same arguments were used about the subversion of the constitution and the ruin of the country. How had these arguments been verified? Where were the fulfilments of the dreary croakings! Nowhere but in the jealous minds of the croakers, for it was too well known that to every political reform that had been conceded in answer to the peremptory demands of the people in past times, had succeeded increased national prosperity. If the gentlemen from whom these concessions were

absolutely forced, thought their work of generosity was then completed, that political emancipation was finished, and that all was done for the people that over could be done, why did they not shut up their shop and go home,—lock up their Parliament-house, and leave the people to the free dictates of their own honour, and their own sense of what was their just due. Would they do that? No, the people were not out of leading-strings yet; they were in the keep and guardianship of the big folk yet, and they only now asked to be barely permitted to leaven the great electoral body with a certain amount of stuff from their own ranks. But those big people did not desire that it should be so; the men who had hardened their hands and bronzed their brows in the creation of the wealth and prosperity of the country were not the sort of people whom their traducers cared about facing as the sturdy champions of right and liberty, of truth and justice, and as having been angered by the bitter sneers and gibes of those who wished them no good in past times. In conclusion, the speaker said that though a friend and an admirer of the late Feargus O'Connor and of Ernest Jones—though a thorough-going “six-point man”—he heartily accepted the bill now before Parliament, because it was an instalment of what he wanted: and more than that, because it was a sincere measure, a well-meant one, and as such far preferable to the venerated professions of a party which, whilst pretending to give more liberal concessions, really meant nothing at all at the bottom. The motion having been carried, the Garibaldi Band now arrived, and played several popular airs.

May 11th 1866 *Islington Gazette* Reform Meeting on Clerkenwell Green - on Monday evening last (7th) attended by Finlen.

June 2nd 1866 *North London Record* Reform Meeting on Clerkenwell Green - on Monday (May 28th) attended by Finlen.

June 23rd 1866 *Morning Advertiser* Meeting on Clerkenwell Green - a torch-light demonstration took place last evening on Clerkenwell Green for the purpose of protesting against the conduct of certain of the Liberal Party and the majority of the House of Commons generally in respect of the Reform Bill and of memorialising her Majesty the Queen to dissolve the present Parliament and appeal to the country. Finlen supported the resolutions.

June 28th 1866 *Sun* Reform Demonstration - Last evening (Wed. 27th) a demonstration in favour of Reform was made in Trafalgar Square, convened by the Holborn and Clerkenwell Branches of the Reform League. At 8 o'clock fully 1,000 people had assembled, filling the large square in which the fountains are situate, while the broad terrace in front of the National Gallery was also crowded. Soon after 8 o'clock a procession arrived from Clerkenwell Green headed by a brass band. The pedestal of Nelson's Pillar was used as a platform. *see next for more.*

June 30th 1866 *Illustrated Times* Reform demonstration - On Wednesday evening [28th - day the *Conservative Government* was formed] a demonstration in favour of reform was made in Trafalgar-square, convened by the Holborn and Clerkenwell branches of the Reform League...Ultimately there were probably from 10,000 to 15,000 persons present, the great bulk of whom appeared to be respectable working men. The pedestal of Nelson's pillar was used as a platform. ..Mr. Coffey moved, "That this meeting is of the opinion the Cabinet of Earl Russell are deserving of censure for not having advised her Majesty to dissolve the present anti-reform Parliament, and hereby declares that it will not in future support any measure of reform short of registered manhood suffrage." Mr. Bradlaugh seconded and Mr. Finlon supported the resolution which was carried amid loud cheering. *The crowd moved off to assemble and cheer outside the house of Mr. Gladstone, who was away, but his wife acknowledged their salutations.*

July 7th 1866 *Bee-Hive* The Reform Movement - The Demonstration in Trafalgar square. The Reform Demonstration announced by the Council of the Reform League came off last Monday (July 2nd) evening in Trafalgar Square and presented a most magnificent spectacle, there being fully 80,000 persons present including those in the square proper, in the open space of Charing Cross and the long broad terrace in front of the National Gallery, and the adjacent points and spots where a view could be obtained of the proceedings. During the speech of the Chairman the numbers of the crowd were considerably swelled by the arrival of the members of the Hoxton, Holborn and

Clerkenwell branches of the League, each procession being headed by flags and a brass band. *Speeches given and resolutions passed - Mr. Bradlaugh proposed that Lord Russell and Gladstone be supported and their retirement a national calamity - Mr. Finlan seconded the resolution.*

July 23rd 1866 *Hyde Park Demonstration 'Railings incident'. 200,000 people attended. [Times?]*

Jul 2th 1866 *Bee-Hive* Holborn Branch - A meeting of this branch was held on Tuesday evening. Mr. Johnson in the chair. Mr. Finlan moved the following resolution: - "That in the opinion of this meeting the Government is deserving the severest censure of the people of this country for sending detective spies into various branches of the Reform League. At the same time, should the Home Secretary deem it advisable to have an official report, they should be sent in their official uniform."

July 31st 1866 *London Evening Standard* "Reform Demonstrations" - *long account of the 'great demonstration' which took place at the Agricultural Hall, Islington on Saint Monday (30th July). Over 20,000 gathered - "the speakers were presented by Messrs. Mantle, Finlon, and Osborne, and the gist of the remarks of these gentlemen consisted in the usual stock abuse of the government and withering denunciations of the tyranny of the Tories, whom the speakers declared "must be got rid of at any price." John Bright and Gladstone were especial objects of admiration with the orators.*

August 11th 1866 *London City Press* Parliament Reform The Meeting at Guildhall – The much-talked-of Reform meeting in the Guildhall took place on Wednesday (8th) evening, and if numbers and unanimity may be taken as an index of success, then this was indeed a most unparalleled success, and such a demonstration as will not be very easily forgotten. *Full description of the hall and meeting given, attended by 5 – 6,000 people.* The Scene outside the Hall – (the overflow – with bands, banners, some 10,000 in all – Near to the side of the Guildhall Coffee House a cab was placed upon which Mr. John Richardson CC mounted as Chairman, and the proceedings commenced. Mr. Finlan [in an excellent speech – *Bee-Hive* August 11th] proposed the second resolution, the same as at the other meeting - presided over by the Lord Mayor. *See also Reynold's Newspaper* of August the 12th.

August 17th 1866 *Clerkenwell News* Reform Meeting in Poplar On Wednesday (15th) evening a large meeting was held at the gates of the East India Docks to pass resolutions in favour of Parliamentary Reform. Mr. Finlan, in a powerful speech, moved the first resolution, which demanded reform on the basis of residential and manhood suffrage and the ballot.

August 22nd 1866 *Clerkenwell News* The Reform Movement in Clerkenwell - On Monday (20th) evening last a large meeting of persons interested in the great question of political reform was held on Clerkenwell Green. In reference to the Hyde Park meeting on the 23rd Mr. Bright said it had been an honour to be there and moved the resolution [see next] and in his seconding the motion James Finlan gave the following speech;

He said these meetings proved, if any proof were wanting, that nothing short of manhood suffrage and the ballot would satisfy the people, together with the achievement of such a position as would make the Reform League a power and an institution in England. They were asked to-night by the resolution which had been moved, to consolidate themselves, and to display towards this movement something more than a mere expression of sympathy. They were asked to subscribe their names on the roll of the Reform League, to the end that their numerical strength should be made known, and so that the most fastidious and affected Adullamite or Tory would not dare to say that the people of England were indifferent as to the great subject of Reform. Unless they voluntarily came forth as men desirous of supporting those principles to which they subscribed, all their mere declarations in words would be of little avail, and the men who had determined to carry out this object would be obliged of themselves to fight the battle without being backed by the men for whom the battle was to be fought. They wanted none of their money—they had no personal interest in the balance. All they wanted was to find that the League had been enabled to marshal under the one banner such numbers of British subjects as would be proportionate to the demands which they made. He said he asked for manhood suffrage because he thought that manhood was of itself the best proof of a fitness to be admitted into a participation in those proceedings which

governed manhood; and because also he considered that manhood suffrage would be the best and strongest check upon the desires of the proud and the ambitious, who would always seek to amass power and to rule with an iron hand those whose misfortune it was to come within their control. A man might become suddenly 'reduced from affluence to poverty, and he would, according to existing law, become disqualified to vote; but would that man be more immoral, more ignorant, or more unpatriotic because of his misfortunes? Such a law added indignity to loss, insult to misfortune, and was altogether of that degrading and ignominious character that it ought to be abrogated at once, and swept away amongst that mass of obsolete rubbish which had crumbled to dust amidst the faded relics of the barbarous ages. But the people had been called ignorant, they had been taunted with the crime of ignorance. If they were ignorant, they were what the laws had made them, and what the law-makers desired to keep them. State church, state influences and considerations, state parsons, priests, and the whole of the appurtenant machinery—all combined to keep up a system of laws, the one sole object of which was to keep the noses of the great British people close down to the grindstone. Well, then, they asked that those laws should be improved and made equitable by the introduction of manhood suffrage. That would send men into the House of Commons who would find it to their own interest, and to the common interest of humanity, to promote the welfare of labour, to break down the barriers to the progress of civilization, and to remove the shackles from the broad shoulders of industry. What would become of those dainty aristocrats without the working men whom they affected so heartily to despise? Those fine, superior beings, who rolled in affluence and ease, would have to die of their own incompetency and their own inanition but for those same working men. The people of the soft-kid gloved hands, decorated and bedizened with the produce of the industrious swarms, whom they regarded as so many slaves, created for the sole purpose of toiling at the shrine of wealth, would have inevitably to go to the wall were the labours of those toilers withdrawn. That being so, then, the workers should be represented in the Commons House of Parliament. They had, it was true, a few men of the proper sort there—but they were, indeed, few and far between - and though those men might exert every effort of which they were capable to promote the popular cause, their number could only be increased to a material power by the acquisition of manhood suffrage for the people. That power, however, was to be procured only by proper legitimate means, and by no other means was it proposed to endeavour to obtain it. He had little faith, looking at the past, in petitions, but he thought they would in the ensuing winter be called upon to subscribe to such a petition as had not yet been seen at Westminster - a petition which would have to be carried down on the shoulders of some of the despised working men, in the midst of a great torch-light procession. That petition would be their last one. Let them resolve after that never to get up another, because if that were disregarded, any such further effort would be useless, and a waste of time and patience. After that, the rest must be left to the men who could only be prevailed upon by their fear of braving a people that honestly asked for justice—whose faces would be lighted with the flare of torches demonstrative of their intensity of purpose, and be under the full beam of that fire which would be illustrative of the patriotic and manly principles that lighted them as to the achievement of their purpose. The Queen of this country had demanded an amendment of the representation from her Government in five distinct speeches, whilst the Tories, instead of seeking loyally to comply with royal commands, had stood forth a libel, a scandal, and a menace to the nation. A libel because Lord Derby had said that it was his particular mission to stem the tide of democracy. Would he ever do it? What did his assertion mean? It means that a man in the xxx and yellow land sought to place his fragile body as a dam in the mighty flood of liberty, intelligence, and industry; but that overwhelming torrent would dash him aside, rise up in whirlpools about him, and sweep away him and his tenets for ever. He (Mr. Finlon) was a working man, from the spot on which he now stood, made memorable by the persistence, and peacefulness, and legal demands of an insulted and injured people, ventured to warn Lord Derby, and supercilious Mr. Disraeli, and the Adullamite Lowes, and Horsmans, and Marshes, and Doultons, that the people of this country would not be tampered with, or traduced, or menaced. The people had given those gentlemen a taste lately of their intention. They had broken through barriers contemptuously erected to prevent their exercise of a sacred right [*the Hyde Park railings incident*]: they had caused the police officers to be carried wounded from the scene of battle; and they had held their meeting in the Park notwithstanding the monstrous and unprecedented intentions of Mr. Walpole. In making these remarks he did not mean to say that he advocated or approved of physical force. On the contrary, he disclaimed it, because they ought to be able to acquire their rights without blood-shedding; but it remained with the Tories, and with those political pigmies, strong in brute force but weak in patriotism, to say now whether the constitutional demands of a great people should be justly conceded, or whether the effort to obtain those demands should be baptised in blood, and the petitioners bludgeoned back into that moral and political darkness against which they would protest throughout all times.

August 25th 1866 *Congleton & Macclesfield Mercury, and Cheshire General Advertiser* Another proposed deputation to the Queen. Another meeting convened by the Clerkenwell branch of the Reform League was held last Monday evening, on Clerkenwell-green, and presided over by Mr. Coffey, a member of the branch. Mr. Brighty moved and Mr. Finlen seconded the first resolution -

“That this meeting pledges itself to claim, demand, and insist upon the right of every person who is expected to defend the country, pay taxes, and obey the laws, to share in the government of the State.” This resolution which was supported by Mr. George Brooke of Newport Market, was carried.

September 1st 1866 *London City Press* Indignation meeting in Bartholomew-Close – The Clerkenwell Branch of the Reform League called upon “the men of London who sympathised with Mr. Gordon and the rest of his co-patriots of Jamaica, who were so brutally murdered by Ex-Governor Eyre and his subordinates, to meet on Clerkenwell Green on Thursday (August 30th) evening, and march in solemn procession to Bartholomew Close.” At a very early hour in the evening, Bartholomew close was besieged by a number of lads and roughs, who made no little noise. A van was drawn up close to the lamp in the centre of the close, headed by a black banner, on which was inscribed, “G. W. Gordon. Man’s inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn.” Clegg’s brass band followed, playing the “Dead March in Saul.” Mr. Rees the president of the branch of the Reform League convening the meeting, was unanimously called upon to preside, and in opening the proceedings of the evening, referred with great warmth to that which he called the disgusting exhibition of the Eyre banquet at Southampton. Mr. James Finlen moved the first resolution, as follows: “That this meeting expresses its deep indignation at the conduct of Ex-Governor Eyre and his subordinates, in the course they pursued for suppressing the riot in Jamaica, and pledges itself to use every effort to make the perpetrators of such atrocious crimes answer for their conduct before the legal tribunals of this country.” In an eloquent but somewhat excited speech, the speaker referred to what he called the “official murder of Mr. Gordon,” and spoke with unfeigned regret of the manner in which Ex-Governor Eyre was fêted at the “banquet of blood,” at Southampton. September 4 1866 *Globe*. The *Globe* adds that over 2,000 were present and gives a much fuller and more lively account – including the accidental burning of the effigy of Eyre; and Finlen condemning the Rev. Charles Kingsley for his speech in Southampton. Similar report in the *Daily News* September 4, *Express* September 4, and others.

September 5th 1866 *Clerkenwell News* The Jamaica Rebellion and Ex-Governor Eyre. On Monday (3rd) last a meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green for the purpose of protesting against the conduct of General Eyre, the late Governor of Jamaica, during the disturbances in that Island, and of asserting that, notwithstanding his recent reception in this country by one party, the people of England disapproved of his proceedings, and considered that he should be tried by a public tribunal for the perpetration of deeds which, it was alleged, were not short of murder.

In order that a stronger impression should be given to these sentiments than could be conveyed by words, it had been determined that an effigy of Mr. Eyre should be hanged to a gallows erected in a conspicuous part of the Green, and accordingly at eight o'clock, in the presence of some 4,000 persons, and amidst loud yells and execrations, a very genteel looking "model" of the obnoxious gentleman, attired in black coat and trousers, white vest, ditto chapeau, and patent leather boots, was strung up by the neck to a triangular gallows, extemporised in a cart which stood adjacent to another cart in which were gathered the leaders of the movement and those who were to be the speakers. Mr. Osborn presided, and there were present also **Mr. Finlon**, Mr. Pollard, Mr. Smith (of Hackney), Mr. Barnett (City Branch of the Reform League), and others interested. Over their heads was raised a banner, bearing this inscription:—"George. W. Gordon, Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." The chairman had just proceeded to open the business of the evening when an accident occurred, which made short work of the suspended effigy of the ex-Governor. A man stood near his effigyship with a lighted torch, so that the execution should be seen by all, it being then quite dark; but some of the burning pitch fell upon his excellency's coat, and he was soon in a blaze, the hay and straw which composed the "inner man" going up merrily, and consuming the unfortunate remains, notwithstanding the earnest solicitude of those who had contributed from their wardrobe towards the toilet of his excellency to save the devoted garments. When the uproar and merriment caused by this incident had subsided.

The Chairman briefly opened the proceedings, and alluded to the circumstances attendant upon the Jamaica insurrection. He said the people had been first goaded on to desperation by tyrannical governors, and when even negro flesh and blood could no longer bear the yoke, and burst out in a struggle for freedom, the strugglers were barbarously murdered, and inhumanities were resorted to which it was hard to believe possible in the midst of this enlightened nineteenth century. The hanging of Gordon would for ever be a stain upon the pages

of the history of English rule, and as an illustration of the way in which that unfortunate patriot was butchered, they had now hanged the effigy of ex-Governor Eyre. He then called upon,

Mr. Finlon to move the first resolution, which was as follows:—"That in the opinion of this meeting all Government officials, in the administration of public affairs, should be unscrupulously just, that ex-Governor Eyre's conduct, having been in violation of all law, he should be brought to trial, without which public morality is in danger." In moving this resolution Mr. Finlon took occasion to condemn every form of government that was not republican. He said he recognised only the might and sovereignty of the great wealth-producing people. Practically, in this country, they were already to a great extent republican. They had a lady on the throne who, by reason of her negative virtues, was the best sovereign seen since the days of Alfred the Great. She minded her own business, and that was the brightest gem in her regal diadem. Furthermore, it was known that she had no sympathy with General Eyre on his having been dismissed from office which he had blackened and disgraced. That royal Lady's heart was in the right place, and it was only the rich and haughty patricians on the one side, and the false flunkeyfied place-hunters on the other, coupled with crochety writers like Mr. Carlyle, who found their greatness in their eccentricity, that maintained the present oppressive and inequitable state of affairs. After condemning in the strongest language the conduct of Governor Eyres and his subordinates in Jamaica, and declaring their doings to be actuated by the same spirit which the existing Government recently exhibited against the people of London, and which they would again exhibit if the people were not united and powerful in their union, Mr. Finlon thanked the large assemblage for their presence that night, as it showed that they approved with their hearts of the proceedings, and corresponded with the sentiments which had led to the holding of the meeting. — When Mr. Finlon concluded he was loudly applauded.

The proposal was seconded and carried and after some amusing comments about the Governor's effigy becoming the model for Guy Fawkes a second resolution to prosecute Eyre was made and passed.

September 25th 1866 *Morning Journal* (Kingston – Jamaica) - EX-GOVERNOR EYRE. (From the "Birmingham Post.") The public, we think, has had quite enough of Mr. Eyre, the ex Governor of Jamaica. The sooner he and his doings in that island are allowed to drop quietly into the background, the better will it be for Mr. Eyre himself and for the credit of this country. But it is the misfortune of some people to be cursed with injudicious friends; and Mr. Eyre seems to be of the number. No sooner had he landed at Southampton, than certain fussy local personages thought to bring themselves into wider notoriety by converting Mr. Eyre into a hero, and holding on by the skirts of his garment. So they prepared an address, and got up a dinner; and invited Mr. Eyre to eat the one and to receive the other. - Considering the position in which he stands—dismissed by the Government, condemned by a Royal Commission of Enquiry, and threatened with a criminal prosecution— Mr. Eyre would have shown good sense and good taste by declining both the dinner and the address, and refusing to be held out to the world in the character of a martyr, at the bidding of silly partisans who are probably at heart desirous rather to gratify their own vanity than to do honour to their unhappy protégé. But Mr. Eyre had neither the good taste nor the good sense to refuse the equivocal compliment offered to his acceptance; and so, Tuesday night at Southampton there were two meetings—a very small one at which Mr. Eyre was made the object of unmerited praise; and a very large one, at which he was made the subject of unsparing censure. At the latter meeting there were, it is stated, two or three thousand people assembled: at the former, the number did not exceed one hundred and twenty.

Of the larger meeting we have, at present no report, beyond a very meagre summary. The proceedings at the smaller meeting, however, are pretty fully set forth in one of last night's evening papers—and so far as we can gather from the list of names, it seems to have been quite as much a Tory demonstration, as a mark of "sympathy" with Mr. Eyre. Three members of the House of Lords were present—the Earl of Hardwicke, the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Cardigan—all of them Tories of the most decided character; and Lord Royston, the only member of the House of Commons who attended, belongs to the same party. Not only were these the chief personages present; but, with one exception, they were also the principal speakers: the exception being the Rev. Charles Kingsley, who having, as somebody said of him, "run mad on muscle," adores Mr. Eyre as brilliant example of the muscular school. Though Mr. Kingsley came first in the speech making, yet, on the principle that peers take precedence even of clergymen, we give the foremost place to

Lord Hardwicke—a nobleman who is conspicuous mainly from having once been a member of Lord Derby's Cabinet, in which, however, he is not now thought strong enough to deserve a seat. Lord Hardwicke's opinion of Mr. Eyre may be summed up in one sentence. They had met, he said, "to uphold a great and distinguished man, to justify his conduct before the world, and to give him that support which free and independent Englishmen gave to one who had done his duty." From this it is to be presumed that Lord Hardwicke approved of the measures adopted by Mr. Eyre to put down the riot which he magnified into an insurrection, and punished with a ferocity almost unparalleled in modern history — by the savage enforcement of martial law, by the burning of houses, the flogging of women, the wholesale shooting and hanging of wretched negroes, and, lastly, by the utterly illegal execution of his chief political opponent. If this inference be correct—and, honestly, we see no reason to doubt it—Englishmen will do well to note with special attention the dictum of a Conservative peer, who believes that the person responsible for these atrocities is "a great and distinguished man;" and that his services will be remembered with gratitude by the British people. We do not say that Lord Hardwicke would counsel the application of similar measures in this country in case of popular commotion—such, for example, as the Hyde Park disturbances—but it is by no means an unfair supposition that, if sufficiently provoked and armed with sufficient power, the persons who are of Lord Hardwicke's way of thinking would make no great difference between white skins and black. The law is the same in Jamaica as in England; and if, as his advocates contend, Mr. Eyre acted legally, we are bound to suppose that on occasion, they would themselves adopt as well as approve his conduct.

Mr. Kingsley went, on the whole, a little further than Lord Hardwicke. Mr. Eyre, he said, was the embodiment of "pluck, enterprise, hardihood, temper, endurance, foresight, and skill." He possessed "in the highest degree that English spirit which had carried the Anglo-Saxon tongue round the world and would carry it back again—the spirit which had made us the fathers of the United States and the conquerors of India." As if this were not enough, Mr. Kingsley took a higher flight. "If," he exclaimed, "there had been a man in Southampton during the past twenty-five years who better represented the English virtues of indomitable perseverance, courage, and adventure, the English spirit of good nature, of temper, of understanding of human beings, he should like to see him, *and thank God there had been two such men!*" But even this was tame and flat as compared with what followed. Not content with exalting Mr. Eyre to the highest pitch of moral, intellectual, and physical excellence, with holding him up as a typical a kind of sublime representative of the English nation, Mr. Kingsley predicted for him, as his fittest reward, a place in the peerage—that institution which was "second in value and sacredness only to that most sacred of all institutions – monarchy itself." The power of the British aristocracy," said Mr. Kingsley, "consisted not in merely sticking to its ancient blood, but in adopting into its ranks all the genius, all the talent, all the virtue, and he was afraid, all the beauty. Hereafter he should not be surprised if Governor Eyre's name should be spoken of, not as it was now, but, taking into account his great services, as one whom the members of the ancient House of Lords might possibly have the honour of welcoming amongst their number." After this there is nothing to be said. The notion of Mr. Eyre in the House of Lords with the memory of the Jamaica massacres and the fate of Mr. Gordon fresh in the public mind, in a conceit so monstrous and so impudent that none but a novelist would have ventured to give expression to it. But we must not bear too hardly upon Mr. Kingsley; he is one of those persons who always leap before they look. With great ability it is his misfortune to combine unusual temerity. Twice lately has he signally displayed the latter characteristic—when he rushed into print as the assailant of Dr. Newman; and now that he overflows into speech as the apologist of Mr. Eyre.

As to the speeches delivered at Southampton by Mr. Eyre himself, we pass them over in silence. They are to be regarded simply as additional proof of the speaker's unfitness for the post he lately occupied, and as additional evidences of the habit of mind which led him into the excesses recorded in the report of the Royal Commission. Manifestly Mr. Eyre does not understand, and cannot be brought to understand, the offences of which he has been guilty against law and humanity. He offers no justification of his conduct because he cannot feel that he has anything to justify. Though wholly

unable to produce evidence to bear out his conclusions, he still believes in the existence of a universal conspiracy amongst the negroes; and in the teeth of evidence, he believes that nothing but the wholesale shooting and hanging of defenceless people, the burning of houses, and the illegal execution of their supposed leaders, could have saved Jamaica from absolute destruction. With such a man it is impossible to reason: His mind is occupied by a pre-conceived idea, and all the facts and arguments in the world pass by him unheeded. All that can be done with him is to let him sink into oblivion, For his own sake, as well as for that of the country, we hope he will have the wisdom to withdraw himself as fast as possible from public notice. The repetition of scenes and speeches like those at Southampton will prove too hazardous an experiment upon the forbearance of those who are jealous for the honour of England—stained, all too deeply by the lamentable excesses of which Englishmen were guilty in Jamaica.

INDIGNATION MEETING ON THE EYRE SOUTHAMPTON BANQUET.

Last evening an open meeting, convened by the First City branch of the Reform League, was held in Bartholomew-close, for the purpose of protesting against the fêting of Ex-Governor Eyre at Southampton, and to express indignation at the sentiments expressed on that occasion by Lords Hardwicke, Cardigan, and Shrewsbury and Talbot. Upwards of one thousand persons attended the meeting. Mr. Rees presided, and wore upon his arm a band of crepe, as did also several members of the branch. Surmounting the waggon from which the speakers addressed the meeting was a black flag, upon which was inscribed in white letters, the name of "G. W. Gordon," surrounded by wreaths of immortelles, Underneath was the quotation: "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."

About half-past seven o'clock this flag was brought to the Close by the Clerkenwell Reformers, who marched slowly to the Dead March in "Saul," played by a band. The Chairman said that as the working men could not make themselves heard in the House of Commons because unrepresented, the only way left them to show they took an interest in the affairs of the nation was to hold public meetings. They all knew that there had been a riot in Jamaica, caused by the grossest injustice to the blacks—that the soldiers had fired into a mob - that the most brutal atrocities had been committed by British soldiers and sailors - that they flogged women— (groans) — that they put hundreds of people to death without trial—and that they murdered George William Gordon. Groans and hisses.) They also knew that some people in Southampton, who did not represent the feelings of the people of that town— (hear, hear)—entertained Ex-Governor Eyre—(loud groaning)—and, joined by three British peers, bespattered the ex-governor with the most disgusting adulation, (Hisses.) Even a reverend gentleman said that he wished to see Mr. Eyre elevated to the House of the Lords. (Oh, oh.) but they also had the satisfaction of knowing that a large public meeting was held in Southampton which showed that the people of Southampton did not sympathise with the conduct of Ex-Governor Eyre. (Cheers.) It was therefore that it behoved the people of England to demonstrate by public meetings that they disapproved of the atrocities committed under the sanction of Mr. Eyre, and that they did not identify themselves with acts which had disgraced the British name. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Finlen moved the first resolution as follows:—

"That this meeting expresses its deep indignation at the conduct of Ex-Governor Eyre and his subordinates in suppressing the riot in Jamaica, and pledges itself to use every effort to make the perpetrators of such atrocious crimes answer for their conduct before the legal tribunals of this country." Mr. Finlen said he came forward to move that resolution because he wished to raise his voice against official murder —(cheers)—to denounce Ex-Governor Eyre, in whose name murder had been committed— and to utter an indignant protest against the atrocious brutalities which had been perpetrated under the sanction of Ex-Governor Eyre in the island of Jamaica. (Loud cheers.) He wanted those who heard him to say, by the resolution, that they were not men of blood, and that they did not give their countenance to the odious, cruel, wanton, and in-Christian policy of that ex-governor, who was feasted at what might be termed a banquet of blood last Tuesday week at Southampton— (Applause.) The praise of Mr. Eyre's conduct came badly from the man who at Balaklava immolated the devoted "Six-hundred." George William Gordon, they should recollect, was murdered without a trial, although the charges brought against him were inquired into by the foppish striplings of an odious and dangerous aristocracy. (Hisses) And need he say that the same aristocracy would treat John Bright - (Loud cheers) - and Edmund Beales - (Cheers) - in a similar manner to-morrow if they had the chance? (Cries of "They would if they dare,")

The People could not look upon the part played at the banquet by the Rev. Charles Kingsley with anything but unadulterated contempt; and he could not help feeling that it was a pity that one who stood so high among the *litterati* of this country should have gone down to Southampton to praise the deeds of the modern Haynau—the ex-governor of Jamaica. (Groans). He (Mr. Finlen) would advise the ex-governor, before he took his seat in the House of Lords, to visit the brewery of Messrs. Barclay and Perkins —(great cheering)—where he would be certain to receive “a stout—if not a warm —reception—(continued laughter) —where he would have more honours thrust upon him than he would be capable of throwing off— (cheers) —and where, perhaps like Haynau, the flogger of women, he would have to hide his head in a dust-bin, and be thus placed in his proper element. (laughter.) After commenting at some length on the atrocities committed in Jamaica, Mr. Finlen concluded by moving the resolution.

Mr. Coffey, in seconding the resolution, protested, as a working man, against the conduct of Mr. Eyre, and called on the meeting to support the Jamaica Committee in their endeavours to bring the ex-governor to trial before a jury of his countrymen at the Old Bailey. (Cheers)

The resolution was put and carried with acclamation. Mr. Mayhew moved “That this meeting expresses its deep regret and surprise that three members of the House of Lords—vis., the Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot, the Earl of Hardwicke, and the Earl of Cardigan—should have uttered sentiments utterly discordant with the feelings of all right-thinking men in this country.”

Mr. Osborne seconded the resolution, and said he was not surprised at the sentiments expressed by the three noble lords referred to in the resolution, because it had always happened that the aristocracy of England were opposed to the right and the liberties of the people. (Groans.)

Referring to the mock trial of Mr. Gordon, he asked the meeting to fancy one of them being taken out of Bartholomew-close, put in a chair in Scotland-yard Police Office, and tried by a jury of Hyde-park policemen. (Great laughter.) Would not that unfortunate man be brought to the Marble Arch and hanged for the riots, and would not the blessed aristocracy of the country subscribe to a testimonial to be presented to the Jury (Hisses) ’

The resolution was put and carried. The third resolution passed was as follows:— “That this meeting pledges itself to support the Jamaica Committee in its endeavours to remove the stain the conduct of ex-Governor Eyre has cast upon the fame of Great Britain.” A vote of thanks to the chairman closed the proceedings.

September 25th 1866 *Globe* Reform meeting in Marylebone. - Reform Meeting in Marylebone – An inaugural meeting of the Trinity district branch of the Reform League was held last evening (Monday) in the Cleveland Hall, Cleveland-street, Fitzroy-square; Mr. J. Cunnington in the chair. The hall was well filled. Mr. Picard proposed the first resolution, as follows; “That this assembly now met for the purpose of publicly inaugurating the formation of the Trinity Branch of the Reform League, views with feelings of the highest disapprobation the unworthy, although successful, schemes and subterfuges by which the really moderate measure of reform introduced by the late Government was overthrown, and especially reprobates the conduct of those false-hearted members of the House of Commons, who, in the course of the debate on the bill, so basely and calumniously traduced the industrial classes of this country. This meeting, therefore, pledges itself to demand—and, by enrolment as members of the league—by unceasing efforts, and by all other legal and constitutional means to obtain the extension of the elective franchise to every resident and registered adult male person of sound mind and unconvicted of crime, together with the protection of the ballot.” Mr. Ryle, and Mr. Finlen supported, the resolution, which passed. Mr. Henriette moved —“That this meeting is of opinion that a reform of the present House of Commons is imperatively needed; that whether regard be had to the intimidation practised in the counties, the corruption and undue influence practised in the boroughs, or the exclusion of the working classes from the franchise, the present state of the representation is alike unjust, pernicious, and unsatisfactory. It therefore resolves that its untiring energies shall be devoted to the attainment of a remedy for such gross and scandalous abuses.” Mr. G. Mantle seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. Bradlaugh, and carried. The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to Earl Russell and the supporters of reform in Parliament.

October 6th 1866 *London City Press* A torchlight meeting convened by the City Branch of the Reform League was held on Wednesday evening in Bartholomew-close, for the purpose of promoting parliamentary reform. Resolution seconded by Mr. Finlen.

October 6th 1866 *Bee-Hive* Holborn Branch of Reform League – The members of the Holborn Branch of the Reform League having taken a leading part in the recent great demonstrations, in consequence of which they have incurred great expense, and, as they are prepared to take active part again in all future movements of the people, they intend to take a ticket benefit, at the Raglan Music Hall, on Tuesday, October 9th. A host of talent will present, in addition to the talent of the house, including Mr. James Finlen, who will recite the “Merry Brown Hares.” “St. Antoine,” &c., &c., Mr. William Osborne (of the Clerkenwell-green meetings) will sing the Marsellaise Hymn.” Tickets only will benefit the branch, and may be obtained at the branches of the League, and at the Club-Rooms of the Holborn Branch, Mr. Woodward’s, Nag’s Head, Leather-lane.

Holborn Branch.—The above branch of the Reform League intend to take a ticket benefit at the Raglan Music-hall, on Wednesday next, October. 9th. to liquidate the debt they have incurred by the active part they took in the recent great demonstrations. We would particularly call your attention to the claims this branch have on the reformers of London and the country generally. It was this branch who carried on the meetings at Clerkenwell Green; who called the first meeting at Trafalgar-square, and carried out both that and the second Great meeting there. We believe that these two meetings were the forerunners (We might also say parents) of the glorious demonstrations of Hyde Park, Birmingham, Manchester, and the meetings throughout the country. This branch is nearly as old as the League itself, having been started as the Holborn Discussion Society before the League had made any name for itself. It was afterwards turned into a branch of the League. Tickets, which will only benefit the branch, for the benefit (price: area, 6d; balcony and stalls, 1s.) may be had of the secretary, Mr. F. Mayhew, 15, Edward-street, City-road, near the Eagle; Mr. Truelove, Temple Bar: at the place of meeting of the branch, Nag's Head, Leather-lane, and of the members, where a course of addresses by the “People’s Advocate,” Mr. James Finlen, are to be given every Sunday; subject for the next two Sundays, “Oliver Cromwell.”

October 12th 1866 *Express* (London) Reform Meeting at Stepney – An open air meeting in favour of parliamentary reform, and attended by upwards of 8,000 persons, was held last night on Stepney-green. The Poplar and Stratford branches of the Reform League, bearing numerous flags and accompanied by bands of music, arrived on the green about 8 o’clock.....In consequence of the large numbers presentdecided to hold three meetings at the same time. Mr. Finlen moved the first resolution as follows; “That this meeting protests most emphatically against the present system of class legislation, and firmly believes that the time has arrived when the whole of the adult male population, not morally or intellectually incapacitated, should have a voice in choosing their representatives in parliament. We therefore pledge ourselves to continue the present agitation, and render all the aid in our power to the National Reform League, until they have achieved the success of their patriotic undertaking.”

October 22nd 1866 *Morning Herald* (London) “Hand and Shears Cloth Fair, Smithfield, Proprietor Mr. Farrell. A Lead will take place at the above house on Monday 17th September 1866 at eight o’clock. In aid of funds of the First City Branch of the Reform League, in consequence of the great expenses incurred in convening the recent Open-air meetings. Mr. James Finlen will give the ‘St. Antoine’ and the ‘Merry Brown Hares;’.... [reads 17 September - mistake for 17 December? - repeat of Oct 9th. performance - possibly an *earlier* performance - the piece follows: *RE: JOHN BRIGHT AND CO.* To The Editor, Sir, - I beg to forward you a circular invitation issued by some of the friends of the above firm, and am, Sir, ONE DISGUSTED WITH TRADING ON THE CRY FOR REFORM.]

October 27th 1866 *London City Press* - Holborn Branch of the Reform League. The members of the Holborn Branch of the Reform League assembled, on Wednesday evening (24th) at their club-house, Leather-lane, for the purpose of presenting to Mr. James Finlen a testimonial, in appreciation of his twenty years' services as "an advocate of the rights of the peoples." Mr. Mayhew, the secretary, formally presented the testimonial. It consisted of a richly got-up scarf and a silver shield. The latter was elaborately inscribed. The principal inscriptions were, "The world is our country; to do good is religion." "Presented to Mr. J. Finlen by the members of the Holborn Branch of the Reform League."

October 27th 1866 *North London Record* – A great demonstration of the working men of the Tower Hamlets will take place on London Fields, Hackney, on Monday Evening, October. 29 1866. *Will be addressed by, among others:* Mr. J. Finlen. "Ernest Jones Esq., (Barrister-at-law) has been specially invited and is expected to attend." *Several branches of the Reform League will march to the demonstration – from Clerkenwell & Holborn, Cobden & Haggerstone and the Old Ford branch – by order of the Hackney Road branch.*

October 27th 1866 *Bee-Hive* The Reform League – Meeting of the General Council – The Council of the Reform League met on Tuesday (23rd) evening at their offices, Adelphi Terrace. Discussed; cost of Hyde Park demonstrations, invitation to Ernest Jones, release of prisoners from the house of correction, police brutality. Meeting of the branches: North London (Windsor Street) Branch. The subject discussed at the above branch on Monday evening was the "Inequalities of the Electoral Districts."

Mr. Harper jun. Commented on the flagrant inequalities of the present system, and stated that while the borough of Finsbury, with nearly four hundred thousand inhabitants, had but two representatives, 26 boroughs whose combined populations amounted to only 140,000 returned 50 members to the House of Commons. Taking some twenty boroughs in which the population had sensibly decreased between 1851 and 1861, Mr. Harper said that in every instance those boroughs returned members who hailed from the Carlton Club and included in their numbers several members of the present Government. Mr. Finlen, in a powerful speech, denounced the disgraceful manner in which the Commons' House was at present constituted, and pointed out the example of Westminster, Birmingham, South Lancashire and other constituencies where ability and scholarship, and philosophy, was returned to the House in contradiction to the insignificant boroughs, which, as a rule returned the nominees of the great landowners.

October 30th 1866 *London Evening Standard* Reform Demonstrations – London Fields - Last night there was a numerous gathering of Reformers at the London Fields, the name given to an extensive waste of land in the parish Hackney. It was what was described on the placards as a torchlight demonstration. The branches of the Reform League represented on this occasion were the Clerkenwell, the Holborn, Hackney-road, Haggerton, Old Ford and Cobden (Kingsland.) There were four platforms, and as many bands of music. The chairmen were Mr. B. Langley, Mr. Wanstell, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Coffey. Mr Langley made a long speech, in which he denounced the government for their interference in the matter of the Hyde Park demonstration. The Tories, he said, by the exercise of force kept the working men from the enjoyment of their rights. The British constitution he likened to a house divided against itself, and therefore, he argued, it could not stand unless the working, as well as the aristocratic classes, were permitted within its pale. ... The other speakers at one or other of the platforms were..Finlen. The resolutions were of the usual character. Much fuller report given in the *Launceston Weekly News and Cornwall & Devon Advertiser* of November 3rd and also the *Wells Journal* of the same date.

November 3rd 1866 *Bee-Hive* – THE REFORM MOVEMENT - REFORM NOTICES.

As the Bee-Hive is now recognised throughout the country as the London Weekly Organ of the Reform Movement, the Editor will feel obliged by Secretaries of the Reform League branches, or of any other Reform body, forwarding to him all information connected with the Movement which they may deem important. Notices of intended meetings and reports of meetings will also be thankfully received, as it is impossible for a weekly paper to send reporters to all the numerous meetings now taking place. By the secretaries, officers, or members of Reform Associations throughout the country adopting the above suggestion, the Bee-Hive will become the medium by which Reformers in all parts of the country may become aware of what Reformers in any other part are doing, and the intelligence of the movements in London spread largely over the country.

The Clerkenwell Branch of the Reform League meets every Thursday night at the Union Hall, St. John's square, Clerkenwell for the discussion of political subjects, lectures, &c November 1st, subject "Events of the week" opened by Mr. Finlen.

MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL – met on Friday night at their rooms, Adelphi Terrace – The council then proceeded to elect by ballot four paid lecturers. The candidates were Messrs Mantle, Cremer, Odger, Finlen,....The first four candidates were elected and each lecturer is to receive £2 per week salary and 10s for personal incidental expenses, with a commission at the rate of 20 per cent on all cards sold to non-members. Second-class railway fare for travelling to be paid by the League.

November 10th 1866 *Surrey Comet* – Reform Movement in Kingston – Last evening the Temperance Hall was crowded by skilled workmen of the locality, their object being to form a branch society in connection with the National Reform League. Mr. Finlen from London, spoke upon the question of manhood suffrage with an energy, skill and force which was much appreciated.

November 17th 1866 *Surrey Comet* - *the same paper expanded upon the meeting*: Mr. Finlen..some of his arguments as follows; "All are taxed to meet the wants of the state, but only 16 out of 100 men are allowed to have their opinions recorded by a vote. Education is defective, though the control of popular instruction has been under the care of this class legislation; drunkenness is charged against the people, though the power of controlling the drinking traffic is refused them; bribery, with other seductive means, are employed by the rich to gain a seat in the senate-house. The speaker went on to say that the introduction of manhood suffrage would destroy the injustice of the few governing the many; that it would add dignity to the people, and the result would be an extension of educational means, pauperism would diminish, and vice would wane, because the people having political power would enforce just laws. The ballot was enforced upon the principle of giving protection to the weak; and in concluding the speaker took the number of electors present by taking a show of hands; four hands represented that class, and the remainder the non-electors. A vote of thanks was given to Mr. Finlen.

November 24th 1866 *Bee-Hive* – Meeting of the General Council – on Wednesday evening – Most satisfactory reports had been received from the two lecturers Messrs. Mantle and Finlen. Mr. Finlen reported great success in Liverpool, where he had obtained a hearty support of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Robertson Gladstone.

November 29th 1866 *Liverpool Daily Post* – Reform Meeting at Seacombe – Last evening – in St. Joseph's Roman Catholic School-room, Seacombe under the auspices of a Reform League recently established in Wallasey. Mr. James Finlen (a deputation from the London League) next addressed the meeting. He condemned the property qualification clause as most pernicious and offensive, inasmuch as it gave the vote to the tenant of a large house used for immoral purposes, while it withheld the right from the honest moral man because he was poor. The property qualification was altogether contrary to what they (the working classes) considered to be political equity; and

therefore they sought to base their claim for the political liberation of the people upon the broad and generous foundation of manhood suffrage. That suffrage they claimed as a right. With regard to the ballot, it had been said it was un-English. At the present time there were in this country German Royal paupers, who were hanging upon the skirts of royalty, who were fattening upon the vitality of the Nation, who were living upon a people who had 1,200,000 paupers of its own to maintain, and which therefore, did not want any paupers from across the water (laughter.) That was un-English; but we were a very hospitable people, and therefore he did not declaim against those royal persons; but he would use that as an argument to show that those who said the ballot was un-English were the very people who dipped into the fob of the nation and filched the public purse in the interest of those Germans, and who patted those Germans upon the back while they set their faces against the efforts made to lift their own people from the political slough in which they had been wallowing for years and years. The ballot might be un-English, but was it not un-English to see members get into the House of Commons at a general election over beer barrels and gin bottles; and was it not un-English to see young men in that House who had no more brains in their heads than in their boots, who had long purses but short consciences? Was not bribery, intimidation, and corruption, which pervaded this country at a general election, so thoroughly and unmistakably un-English that it ought to be rectified, hindered, and put an end to? If the ballot box would alter, let the un-English ballot box be introduced and abided by to the end, that drunkenness, intimidation, and corruption might be superseded by an instrument in itself so simple, so concise, so necessary, and so proper (applause). If they had the franchise they would require the ballot box to protect their political wealth in the same fashion as the miser required the iron safe to protect his deeds, his jewels, and his gold. Having alluded to the operation of the ballot in America – where the people had, in a mighty struggle supported the Constitution – he contended that its introduction into this country would be productive of great good. After detailing the steps which had been taken and were being taken by the National Reform League, he called upon those present to show their anxiety for Reform by joining the local league. The resolution on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

[Pall Mall Gazette of December 5 lists the officers of the Reform League and includes J. Finlen among the lecturers.]

December 8th 1866 *Bee-Hive* Liverpool Reform League – On a Monday evening the burgesses of Lime-street and St. Anne’s Ward held a meeting at the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson-street in connection with the Liverpool Reform League. Mr. Jones and J. Finlen attended. [thanking Earl Russell, W. E. Gladstone, John Bright, and John Stuart Mill for working towards the causes of Reform.

December 19th 1866 *Leeds Mercury* – Bradford Branch of the Reform League – This branch has gradually increased its members until they now reach about 1,000. On Monday evening Mr. James Finlen, of London, lectured at the Teetotal-hall, Bower-street, on the “Political crisis,” but doubtless from the shortness of the notice given, the audience was small. [He], the lecturer, is a young man who, until quite lately, worked at the “bench,” and he has been sent into the country to advocate the views of the Reform League. He delivered an excellent address, couched in good language, and given in a telling manner. He advocated manhood suffrage and the vote by ballot, gave a sketch of the progress of the League, and sustained his arguments by illustrations drawn from various parts of the world where manhood suffrage prevails. In France, Prussia America, and even in our own colonies, he contended that an ample extension of the suffrage worked well, and ought to justify the Parliament of this country in enfranchising the six millions of people who were now without a voice in the Government. He denounced the aristocracy in strong terms, and extolled the efforts made by Mr. Bright, Mr. J. S. Mill, Mr. Gladstone, Tom Hughes and Prof. Fawcett to secure for the people an ample extension of the suffrage. He believed there were men in humble life quite as capable as the “young lordlings” to enter Parliament, and take their share in the government of the country. He contended that the representatives of the people ought to be their servants and not their masters, as they were at present. He would not advocate a factious opposition to a good Reform Bill, were such

a measure to be brought in by the present government, but (said he) who could for an instant suppose that they (the Tories) would bring forward a bill that would satisfy the working classes of this country? Mr. Finlen was several times interrupted in his discourse by parties at the lower end of the room, who seemed to disagree with his strong remarks on the aristocracy. *The chairman invited them to mount the stage and give their side of the argument, which they did.* Mr. Finlen gave a trenchant reply, demolishing the flimsy arguments of his opponents and warmly refuted the assertion that the present agitation had been promoted by those who wished to live out of the movement. He regretted the course Mr. Bright had taken on the Ten Hours Bill but contended that one act of a man's life ought not to condemn him in the eyes of his fellows. He would not descend to isolated cases that might be raked up, but on the broad principle of doing the greatest good to the greatest possible number, he thought that Mr. Bright and the gentlemen who were acting with him in the present movement would earn the thanks of posterity, and elicited loud demonstrations of approval from the auditory.

1867

January 12th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Holborn Branch (Nag's Head, Leather-lane) – On last Sunday evening Mr. Brittain opened the proceedings. On the four succeeding Sundays the following gentlemen will lecture – Mr. Finlen, Mr. Connolly, Mr. Cremer and Mr. Weston.

January 19th 1867 *British Miner and General Newsman* Reported meetings at Fulham, White Swan Inn Jan. 29th speakers Messrs. Conolly and Finlen.

January 22nd 1867 *Globe* – The “Threatened” Reform Demonstration – A meeting of the Reform League was held last night for the purpose of perfecting the organization for the demonstration to be held in London on the 11th of next month, the first Monday after the opening of Parliament. Mr. Finlen said, with respect to the question for the achievement of which they were banded together, there was a commission spoken of as about being issued – a commission to postpone *sine die* the just claims of the people. He trusted that, sternly and firmly, they would repudiate any such miserable attempt. The chairman [Lieut. Colonel Dickson] informed the meeting he had learned that the government intended to issue a proclamation to stop the procession. He hoped that was not true, as he intended to marshal the various bodies himself. [Fuller account in *Norfolk News* January 26th]

January 26th 1867 *British Miner and General Newsman* Report as last plus notice that at Kingston and West London - a meeting took place in connection with the organisation of the League in this large and aristocratic district on the evening of Tuesday last (22nd) Mr. Finlen attended as a deputation from the Council of the League. He was called upon to speak and did so for one hour and a half, which was very much applauded.

January 30th 1867 *Daily News* Reform meeting at Bayswater – Monday evening last (28th) at Westbourne Hall, Bayswater [Kensal Branch] – about 500 attended. Meeting addressed by Mr. Finlen ... Similar in *Bee-Hive* **February 2nd** 1867 *Bee-Hive* record of Finlen's meetings in Chesham and Kingston-on-Thames.

February 2nd 1867 *British Miner and General Newsman* records Finlen speaking on 2nd at St. Dunstan's, [Bow Common], Finsbury.

February 9th 1867 *British Miner and General Newsman* Torchlight Reform Demonstration. On the 29th January, starting from the Temperance Hall, Chesham and parading round the town with band, horsemen etc. and then back to the Hall which was too full then to accommodate everyone. Mr. Finlen then addressed those unable to obtain admission and gave his talk on Reform and the Reform League. After covering the usual points;

"He next alluded to the question of education, in doing which he observed, that the working classes had been told they were ignorant, venal, uneducated. The truth of this assertion he denied—he contended that the labourer, the sweep, the scavenger, the mechanic, and the artisan, the soldier and the sailor, are all well educated men. It was an insult to say they were not. They had all received an education which contributed to England's greatness. An education which enabled England to contend with the world. England could not exist as a nation without them. He considered a crossing-sweeper or a scavenger a more highly educated man than a prince or a peer. We could do without a prince or a peer, but not without a labourer or a mechanic. Was it not an insult to say that the very thew and sinew of England's greatness were uneducated? The crossing-sweeper and scavenger were sanitary reformers. The labourers, skilled artisans, and mechanics of this country were all highly educated, more useful to society than men who had graduated at either of the universities. It was the men who had connected the United Kingdom by railway and the two hemispheres by electricity that were highly educated. The men who navigated our ships across the mighty deep to furnish us with necessaries and luxuries that were shut out from the franchise by the property qualifications and the borough and county rentals. In addition to the education he had referred to, the masses required a scholastic education. They

"Could do without an Elcho,
They could do without a Lowe."

A Robert Lowe, the main libeller of his countrymen—the scribe to the *Times* newspaper—the main libeller of Printing-house Square. They did not want such men. They could be dispensed with. Society would go on without them. They were not necessary, even to the present imperfect state of society. The working men were over-worked and so were their wives and families, the children were sent to work when they ought to be at school, the wives when they ought to be attending to their household duties, which tended to make home untidy and cheerless, on the return of the working man, [*Finlen looking at his own experiences?*] when his energies had been overtaxed by a hard day's work; and what, he would ask, was too often the consequence; the husband, unwisely, but frequently, flew in small towns to the taproom, in large ones to the bar of the gin palace. It was to remedy this state of things the League had pledged itself to raise the working man from his present painful and degraded position to something more lofty in the social scale.

He (the speaker) had during his literary career been brought in contact with the ruling classes and could speak from experience, he was certain that it was not the ignorance but the enlightenment of the working man that was feared by our class legislators. The Norwich weaver boy—Mr. Fox, the member for Oldham, was a particular friend of his. He (Mr. Fox) had annually brought before the House of Commons a bill for the secular education of this country to be yearly cast aside; he had continually advocated the same course as a political writer, under the well known name of "Publicola" in the *Weekly Dispatch* newspaper; but his efforts had been continually met with pious horror at which the legislature were struck aghast. He (the speaker) would repeat, it was not ignorance which the aristocracy of this country feared. but education. In addition to manhood suffrage, the League would not be contented till it obtained vote by ballot. This would be the means of counteracting bribery and corruption to which the voters, who were human, in too many instances succumbed. He rejoiced to see them make such a glorious stand in this county, as it was in the hotbed of Toryism, almost within the influence of the magic wand of that great political conjurer, one of the members for the county of Bucks, the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thought it would be injudicious on his part, considering the unfavourable state of the weather, the state of his own health and that of those who were listening, to detain them any longer outside, and in conclusion, he would assure them the gauntlet of Right had been thrown down against Might; whatever difficulties they might have to encounter they would continue to fight till the battle had been won, or in the words of the poet :—

"Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, 'tis ever won."

The speaker then entered the hall where he addressed those assembled.

February 9th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Meeting on Clerkenwell Green on Tuesday evening last (5th), taking into consideration the Queen's speech in so far as it had reference to political reform. Finlen spoke against the lack of progress in the speech.

Chelsea – meeting held at the Vestry Hall last Wednesday. Speakers included Mr. Finlen.

February 13th 1867 *Croydon Times* The Croydon Branch of the National Reform League marched in procession with flags and banners through the town, starting from the old church soon after 7 o'clock on Friday evening last (8th) headed by the very excellent Croydon Victoria Band, and followed by a large crowd of persons. After marching through the principal streets they adjourned to the Town-hall, where a meeting was held in the Criminal Court. The hall was crowded to excess.

Mr. Finlen, a lecturer and agent of the Reform League said he had come to Croydon to say something about the Reform League.....*he elaborated on his usual themes, adding his comment on the clause inserted into the Queen's speech indicating that the government would keep things as they are and stated "if the government would not give us manhood suffrage, let them put the matter into their own hands, and take it."* He ended with describing how the dummy MP's voted in the lobbies according to how the whips told them to vote. "It was high time that such men were turned out, and others sent who would look after the interest of the country." Despite being crammed in, 'a more quiet and orderly meeting was never held in the hall.' Another meeting was then held in the open air, by torch-light in Catherine-street on land belonging to Mr. Robinson.

February 16th 1867 *British Miner and General Newsman* Bethnal Green - No. 2 Branch held its weekly meeting on Tuesday last (12th) at the Norfolk Arms, Harts Lane when Mr. Finlen gave a very able lecture on the demonstration of Democracy, which was received with applause by the members.

February 16th 1867 *Bee-Hive* The North London Branch of the Reform League Mr. Finlen will lecture next Monday (18th) evening on the Government treatment of Reform.

February 23rd 1867 *Bee-Hive Reform League* - Meeting of the General Council On Wednesday evening (20th) at 8, Adelphi Terrace, Strand. The business of the evening was to elect a new Executive Committee the term for which the present Executive was elected, having expired. Mr. Finlon moved the following amendment "That the election of the Executive committee be postponed until the 25th of March, the present committee to remain in office until that time." His object in postponing the election was to give the whole of the membership of the branches, both in town and country, the right of suffrage as to who could conduct the business of the League. In other words he wanted the League to put in practice what it was asking others to do to the people generally. (Hear) He was defeated. The ballot was taken with 70 people voting. The result was that Mr. B. Lanley got 64 votes followed by another 15 candidates and were elected for six months. Four unsuccessful candidates included Finlen.

March 2nd 1867 *Shoreditch Observer* – Cobden Branch of the Reform League At the Britannia Tavern, Kingsland-road on Thursday evening the 21st February a very elegant and stirring address on the "Present Political Crisis" was delivered by Mr. J. Finlen, and received with the greatest applause.

- Finlen was to have started a tour of the North and should have lectured at Bradford on the 28th Feb but was replaced by a Mr. Parsons.

March 9th 1867 *British Miner and General Newsman* reported that Finlen offered to give a future talk entitled "The Philosophy of Shakespeare in his play Hamlet" to the Bloomsbury Branch.

March 16 1867 *Huddersfield Chronicle*

Paddock – On Monday (11th) night in the Methodist New Connexion schoolroom Mr. Finlen delivered a speech.

Branch Reform League Meeting.- "A public meeting, under the auspices of the Huddersfield branch of the Reform League, was held, in the Wellington Hall, Queen-street, on Tuesday night (12th). Mr. Robert Skilbeck, the constable, presided. The room, the dimensions of which are rather limited, was well filled; and amongst those present were not a few members of the Working Men's Conservative Association. Notwithstanding the opposing element, the proceedings were conducted in a most orderly manner, and the usual display of enthusiasm. Mr. R. Croft moved:- That this meeting believing that the House of Commons, elected as it is by one fifth of the male population of the United Kingdom, is a mockery of representation.The motion was seconded by Mr. F. Curzon,

and supported by Mr. Joseph Woodhead, Mr. James Finlen, lecturer to the Reform League, London, in a fervent speech, also supported the motion.

They were, he said, banded together and were working for the success of a great cause; and, they might rely upon it, the men who had set the ball rolling would impart to it more velocity than it had ever yet possessed and would keep it going until until it should make itself known on the threshold of the House of Commons itself. This could be done only by organisation, and by men registering themselves members of constitutional associations. There was no association more constitutional than the Reform League. (Hear, hear.) He exhorted them not to listen to men who called themselves Working men Conservatives. They said all men were entitled to the franchise, save those undergoing punishment for crime and those of insane mind. He thought those who joined the Working Men's Conservative Association would come under the category of insane minds. (Cheers and laughter.) He was not disposed to admit that the people were so thoroughly ignorant or degraded as had been represented. He knew we had too much ignorance. but it was not the fault of the people. (Hear, hear.) They wanted a House of Commons prepared to vote money upon the education of the people rather than upon armaments, a large standing army in time of peace, and upon a cumbrous navy, which in time of war would be altogether of the uttermost inutility. After speaking in favour of national schools, founded independent of religious bias or sect, he referred to the crime, destitution, and prostitution in London, and hoped all men would assist in promoting or bringing about such a change in the fundamental principles of government as should remedy a state of things so abominable, so deadly, and so disastrous. The House of Commons did not meet the requirements of the time, and it was high time that room was made for the representatives of the people, who were not now represented in the House of Commons. There were "whippers-in" in Parliament; and he hoped "whippers-out" would soon be provided. Men went to Parliament now to dominate, not to serve; to aggrandise, not to diffuse benefits and advantages; and to represent their own counting houses. They would never have, better men until they obtained manhood suffrage (household suffrage would not do), protected by the ballot – Mr. Parish asked several questions relative to the misrule in Ireland, Mr. Bright, Lord Derby, and the Lancashire distress, &c, which Mr. Finlen briefly answered. The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried, Mr. Parrish only holding up his hand in opposition. Thanks to Mr. Finlen and the chairman closed the proceedings.

Berry Brow – James Finlen spoke at a crowded public meeting in Berry Brow old schoolroom last Wednesday evening (13th). [*Huddersfield Chronicle* 16th]

March 16th 1867 *Bee-Hive* The Borough of Finsbury and the Reform League Meetings arranged from March 19 – March 28 to be addressed by speakers including J. Finlen.

Mr. James Finlen's Tour in Yorkshire – During the ensuing week Mr. Finlen will address meetings as follows; "Holmfirth, Monday March 18th, Huddersfield Tuesday March 19th, Lockwood Wednesday March 20th, Longwood Thursday March 21st, Honley Friday March 22nd, Meltham Saturday March 23rd.

March 16th 1867 *British Miner and General Newsman* - MR. FINLEN IN THE NORTH -

Paddock, Yorkshire. Mr. James Finlen addressed a large public meeting in the New Connexion School Room here on the evening of Monday, March 11th, Mr. Quorm presided. A resolution embracing the principles of the Reform League was carried with unanimity and enthusiasm. In addition to Mr. Finlen's speech, addresses were delivered by Messrs. Glaiszer, Blackburn, White, Revell, and Hodgson. Several members were enrolled.

Huddersfield Branch. Last Tuesday night a public meeting convened by the Huddersfield branch of the Reform League was held in the Wellington Hall. There was a very large attendance. Robert Skillbeck, Esq., president of the branch and chief constable of Huddersfield, occupied the chair. Mr. W. R. Croft moved, and Mr. Frank Curzos seconded a resolution pledging the meeting to demand manhood suffrage and the ballot. The resolution was supported by Joseph Woodhead, Esq., editor of the *Huddersfield Examiner*, and Mr. James Finlen of London, and carried amidst immense cheering. The greatest unanimity and earnestness prevailed throughout the proceedings, which terminated with a vote of thanks to the chairman, and tremendous cheering for Mr. Finlen and the London reformers generally. About forty members were enrolled before the members dispersed. We may as well state here that this branch of the league has secured the services of Mr. Finlen for one month, and that during that time he will be busily engaged in organising the whole of the Huddersfield districts.—See announcements.

Netherton, Yorkshire.—On Friday night (15th) a public meeting under the auspices of the Huddersfield branch of the Reform League, took place in the Odd Fellows' Hall, belonging to this township. Considering the very inclement state 'of the weather, the attendance was good. Mr. Joseph Thornton, of Huddersfield, ably presided. A thorough-going manhood suffrage and ballot resolution was proposed by Mr. Hamilton of Horley,

seconded by Mr. Armitage of Crossland, and supported by Mr. Finlen of London. Upon being put to the meeting, it was carried amidst cheers. Members were enrolled.

Mr. Finlen will speak as follows during the ensuing week: Holmfirth, Monday, March 18; Huddersfield, Tuesday, March 19; Lockwood, Wednesday, Loywood, Thursday, March 21; Honley, Friday, March 22; Meltham, Saturday, March 23. During the next three weeks letters for Mr. Finlen are to be sent to Mr. Thornton's, Temperance Hotel, Huddersfield, Yorkshire.

March 21st 1867 *Leeds Mercury* Report on the Huddersfield meeting on the Tuesday (19th) rejecting the governments Reform Bill. Finlen one of the four speakers. *See next.*

March 23rd 1867 *Huddersfield Chronicle* Reform League meeting, Tuesday night in Wellington Hall, Queen-street attended by about 300 persons. More account of Finlen's speech – He;

“opposed the household suffrage as proposed by Mr. Disraeli, because two years and eight months would elapse before a working man could exercise a vote. It was only another sample of Jesuitical trickery, and of the paltry cunning of the “Israelitish” Chancellor of the Exchequer (!), who recognised virtue in property. He (Mr. Finlen) would say give votes to men because they were men, because they were amenable directly to the laws, and because they had devolving upon them heavy responsibilities. One special fear seemed to possess Whigs, Tories, and Adullamites – namely, that the ignorance of the country would swamp education, intelligence and wealth. The people of this country, he said had been swamped by so-called education, by arrogated intelligence, as well as by wealth for ages past. They did not want to swamp any interest but to readjust all interests and place all men upon one equal platform. Mr. Finlen made some strong remarks respecting the American war and the outbreak in Jamaica, which excited the ire of several persons who exclaimed, “It's not true,” amid cheers, counter cheers and cries of “Shame.” He advised working men to become members of the Reform League, and work as men who desired to leave the country in a better state than they found it.

Golcar – Reform Meeting – on Friday evening (22nd) at a meeting held in the lower schoolroom, resolutions on manhood suffrage and holding the ballot were defeated and James Finlen's remarks supporting the motion and references to Mr. Lowe and Mr. Bright were not in favour. [See page 8 of the paper - the audience were largely Tory supporters!]. The paper also reported on the Holmfirth meeting.

March 23 1867 *Bee-Hive* The forthcoming Yorkshire meetings under the auspices of the Huddersfield Branch will be addressed by Mr. Finlen during the ensuing week; Monday March 25 Slaithwaite; Tuesday March 26 Milnsbridge; Wednesday March 27 Lockwood; Thursday March 28 Golcar; Friday March 29 Kirkheaton; Saturday March 30 Meltham; Letters for Mr. Finlen are to be sent to the care of Mr. Thornton, Temperance Hotel, Huddersfield, Yorkshire.

Mr. James Finlen in Yorkshire – Mr. Finlen has addressed great and enthusiastic meetings during the last week at Berry Brow, Sheepridge, Golcar, Marsden, Holmfirth, and Huddersfield, at all of which members have been added to the Reform League. Resolutions condemnatory of the Tory Reform Bill and in favour of Manhood suffrage and the Ballot, have been carried with great and enthusiastic majorities. Extensive preparations are being made for a monster West Riding demonstration, to take place on Woodhouse Moor, next Easter Tuesday, April 23rd.

March 30th 1867 *Huddersfield Chronicle* Kirkburton branch of the Reform League held on Wednesday evening at the Wesleyan Schoolroom – James Finlen supported the motions (as previous) which were passed unanimously.

March 30th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Meetings of Branches - Bloomsbury Branch (Windsor Castle Tavern 152, High Holborn) - At a very crowded meeting last Sunday evening, Mr. Geo. Davis opened a discussion; subject, "The Reform Bill" - followed by other speakers including the chairman, Mr. John Thompson. The following lectures are promised:- "Oliver Cromwell", Mr. George Howell; "Town and Country Life," Mr. John Bedford Leno; "Why I want a vote." Mr. Toddlekin; "Philosophy of Shakespeare in the Play of Hamlet," Mr. Finlin, "Poetry of Burns." Mr. John Blackman. Secretary, W. S. Grayson.

April 6th 1867 *Huddersfield Chronicle* Moldgreen Reform meeting – on Wednesday (3rd) at Malhamplace schoolroom – “The resolution was seconded by Mr. James Finlen in a very intemperate harangue. The resolution was carried.

April 13th 1867 *Huddersfield Chronicle* A second meeting at Golcar, also as previously, attended by members of the Huddersfield Working men’s Conservative Association, who disrupted James Finlen’s speech when seconding the motion. The vote seems to have been undecided.

April 13th 1867 *Bee-Hive* York On Tuesday evening a public meeting was held in the Festival Concert Room at York, under the auspices of the Branch of the Reform League. The audience, though a charge was made, was exceedingly numerous and Mr. Councillor Guy occupied the chair. The resolution supporting Gladstone was seconded by Mr. Finlen (of London).

April 29th 1867 *Daily News* (London) The Reform League at Church. Having held many Sunday evening meetings upon Clerkenwell Green the Holborn Branch 'had laid themselves open to the imputation of being indifferent to the dictates of Religion.' So they held a 'special camp meeting of the Radical Reformers of Finsbury and it met at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday the 28th and after hearing addresses [including from Finlen] they would go in procession to St. Alban's the Martyr, Baldwin's Gardens, Holborn to attend divine service. The procession was led by a band and after the service they all marched back to Clerkenwell Green. [*This was much reported in the Press*]

May 4th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Holborn Branch – meetings to be held on Clerkenwell Green on May 5th, 6th and 9th - Mr. James Finlen will address each of the meetings. There will be marches, bands and plans to join a march into Hyde Park.

May 11th 1867 *British Miner and General Newsman* Hyde Park Demonstration May 6th attended by James Finlen.

May 11th 1867 *Oxford University and City Herald* The Late Meeting of the Reform League in Hyde Park. Mr. Neate asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department who were the persons on whom notice was served that they would be proceeded against as trespassers or otherwise if they held a meeting in Hyde Park, what would be the nature of such proceedings, and whether instructions had been given to the law officers to institute, and that without delay, such proceedings against the persons served with such notices. Mr. Walpole answered that On May 1st the persons upon whom it were served were Mr. Beales, Colonel Dickson, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Mantle, Mr. Merriman, and Mr. Howell. On the 6th May notice was served on Mr. Lucraft, Mr. Odger, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Conolly, Mr. Parfitt, Mr. Langley, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Osborne, Mr. Owen and **Mr. Finlen**. The matter of proceedings was under consideration.

June 1st 1867 *British Miner and General Newsman* The Convict Burke - a deputation from the Holborn Branch of the Reform League, consisting of Messrs. Finlen, Owen, Coffey, Culley, Doald, Truscott, Gallagher, Hobbs sen., Hobbs jun., Higginbottom, Brighty, Welch, Osborn, Woodward, Reynolds, Jacobs, Bartlett, Fuzzen, Hooper, Gleeg, and E. Burnham, secretary waited upon Mr. Gathorne Hardy, at the Home Office yesterday afternoon, to urge upon the Government the propriety of respiting the condemned Fenian Burke. Mr. Hardy informed the deputation of the results of the deliberations of the Government as already given in our columns.

June 2nd 1867 *Reynold's Newspaper* A public meeting was held on Monday at the Albion Hall, London-wall to oppose the “obnoxious measure of Mr. T. Hughes” in reference to Sunday Trading. Mr. Finlen attended and supported the motions.

June 15th 1867 *South London Press* On Monday evening a meeting convened by the Reform League took place on Blackheath, to take into consideration the present position of the Reform Question. An immense multitude assembled from many branches in the metropolis and were split into three meetings. Mr. Finlen seconded the resolutions which were passed and it was further resolved "That this meeting claims in every respect the same reform for Ireland that it claims for England and Scotland.'

June 15th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Meeting on Blackheath. Three large meetings held simultaneously on the Common at Blackheath on Monday evening (10th) - "The next resolution, adopted on the motion of the Rev. J. H. Bonner, and seconded by Mr. Finlon, was; "That this meeting claims in every respect the same reform for Ireland that it claims for England and Scotland, and cordially desires a real union between the people of Great Britain and Ireland upon the basis of mutual interests and equal laws and rights, civil, political, and religious."

On Tuesday evening a meeting was held in the London Fields, Hackney. Two platforms were erected on the large open space called the "Fields." The Clerkenwell and Holborn Branches of the Reform League, having assembled on Clerkenwell-green at 5 o'clock and arranged preliminaries, formed a procession, which, headed by Glegg's "Hyde Parke" band, started in the direction of Hackney. On the way the procession was joined by the Bethnal-green branch, and another branch. Over 6,000 people. Among the speakers was James Finlen whose resolution was adopted.

Holborn Branch – after a report on their successful meetings etc. "On Sunday next, at half-past two we have an excursion to Epping Forest, to hold a meeting to protest against any further enclosures. In the morning Mr. James Finlen will give an address on Clerkenwell Green at 11.

June 22nd 1867 *British Miner and General Newsman* The Battle of the League Standard at St. James's Hall. July 17th. An amusing account of the Metropolitan Working Men's Association (Tory) versus the Reform Leaguers. James Finlin (sic!) attended amongst the latter.

June 29th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Holborn Branch – On Sunday morning (23rd) Mr. James Finlen delivered an address on Clerkenwell Green on the sham meeting of Conservative Working men at St. James's Hall. Mr. James Finlen will give an address on Clerkenwell Green at eleven on Sunday Morning.

July 6th 1867 *Bee-Hive* The usual Sunday morning meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green on Sunday last (30th) ...Mr. Finlen spoke – on the coming Sunday (7th) Mr. Finlen will deliver a speech on the Fate of Maximilian, at the Branch-house.

July 13th 1867 *North London Record* - records Finlen's attendance and moving a resolution at a meeting on Clerkenwell Green on 'Monday last.' - (8th)

July 19th 1867 *Clerkenwell News* 'Maximilian: His Life and Death' A warning and an example, by James Finlen, Price one penny, 147, Fleet Street and all booksellers.

"A warning and an example! Dedicated to the dynasties of Christendom: Maximilian! His life and death describing the horrid scene of carnage and blood perpetrated during the Mexican War and portraying the last moments of some of the Mexican martyrs to which is added an answer to the oft-repeated question "Who is Napoleon and what is his mission?" London - privately printed 1867.

July 27th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Holborn Branch – The above branch held another of their monster meetings on Clerkenwell Green on Sunday last, at 11 o'clock in the morning, being the commencement of a series of eight lectures be delivered by Mr. Ike (! error) Finlen on the proposition of the old National Reform League (the principle held by Bronterre O'Brien) on the land and currency question, the whole of the lectures to be wound up with a general survey of the present position and progress of reform. Last Sunday opened with the poor laws; next Sunday morning's lecture will be upon the rates, pauperism, and surplus population.

August 3rd 1867 *Bee-Hive* Holborn Branch – Nag’s Head, Leather Lane. On Sunday a camp meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green presided over by Mr. Meldrum, who expatiated on the sinister Hyde Park Bill, now under discussion in the House of Commons. Mr. Finlen then delivered a very able lecture, being the second of a series of eight to be delivered on Sunday mornings on the Green, commencing at eleven o'clock each morning. The subject dealt with on Sunday last by the lecturer was rates, pauperism, and surplus population. After Mr. Finlen had handled the question in a most eloquent manner, the following resolution was submitted to the meeting “That, seeing the incapacity of the now governing classes to legislate for the labour population of this great and glorious people, we protest against fresh aggression to curtail the people’s undoubted rights, namely, the right of the people to use the parks in and around London for all constitutional purposes, and if such a base and treacherous course be persisted in, we the men of Clerkenwell, are determined to go again to Hyde Park, to raise our voices in protestation against such an unconstitutional means to rob the people of their just and undoubted right.” ditto *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper* August 4th.

August 10th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Bloomsbury Branch – Mr. James Finlen has promised his three lectures on “Oliver Cromwell.”

August 14th 1867 *Sun* (London) The Parks Regulation Bill

Last night a meeting of the secretaries and delegates from the whole of the metropolitan branches of the Reform League and other Reform associations, and delegates from trades, friendly, temperance, and other societies, was held in the Sussex Hotel, Bouverie-street, to consider the action of the Government with respect to the Parks Regulation Bill, and the proper course to be adopted for expressing under the circumstances the feelings of the inhabitants of the metropolitan districts.

Mr. Beales, the chairman of the League, was loudly cheered on taking the chair, in which he was supported by Col. Dickson and Mr. Baxter Langley. He said he had a mingled report to make to them. The Parks Regulation Bill was not abandoned, but as yet no division had taken place on it. Their friends in the House of Commons had that day spoken from two o'clock to seven in the most admirable and argumentative manner. (Cheers.) The only speaker on the Ministerial benches was Mr. Gathorne Hardy. [*the bane of Finlen much later*] The other demonstrations on that side were cries of "Question" and "Divide." Two members on the Liberal side spoke in a manner which was most disgraceful to them—Lord Elcho and Mr. Neate. (Oh, oh, and "The Poor Man's Friend.") There had been on the part of the Government nothing shown but a determined obstinacy to pass a bill which they themselves knew to be wrong. If the Government really believed that the meetings in the park were illegal, would they not long ago have arrested him and tried the question at law? He had again and again asserted the right of the people to meet in the park, and was it not common sense to say that if the Government believed they were in the right, they would not have asked Parliament to pass an act to make that legal which was now according to them illegal? (Hear, hear.) Mr. Taylor had spoken admirably on the question that the Speaker leave the chair, and he was followed by Lord Elcho, who said that the bill was no infringement of the right of public meeting. (Oh, and laughter.) Why, Hyde Park was the only place fit for a public meeting in London, and yet Lord Elcho said the bill was no interference with the right of public meeting. (Oh, oh.) Further, Lord Elcho said that when he (Mr. Beales) first went to the park and endeavoured to enter it, but retired when refused admission, that he had given up the right. Why, he went there to assert the right, and he had done so often, having repeatedly held the most numerous and orderly public meetings in that very park, and had thereby no doubt mainly contributed to the passing of the Reform Bill. Lord Elcho went further, and said not only that the League did not care about the bill, but that he had been informed by a member of the League that he (Mr. Beales) did not represent the feelings of the working men of London on this subject. (Oh, oh.) If that was the case he would at once retire from the position he occupied. (No, no, cheers, and “He’s a liar.”) If that member of the League were present he challenged him to come forward and make that assertion in public. Lord Elcho ought to be asked to give up his name, in order that he might be dealt with accordingly. (Cheers.) Mr. Beales went on to enumerate the speakers against the bill, all of whom he highly eulogised, including Mr. Whalley, who, he said, spoke admirably. It was brought out clearly that the middle and trading classes were not opposed to these meetings, because they said if the people were deprived of the parks they must be driven into the streets. In fact, however, the whole discussion in the house that day had turned upon his character and the character of the League. Lord Elcho read passage after passage from his speeches and those of Colonel Dickson, and other members of the League. Now, the people had their character and reputation to uphold, as well as the Government and the House of Commons, and he pledged himself to maintain their character and honour against both to the uttermost. Mr. Gathorne Hardy, in his speech, quoted from a letter which he had sent to him, embodying the opinion of a special pleader on the subject, and while admitting that he had been perfectly frank throughout in

the matter, said that he could not be looked upon as a lawyer, but as the President of the League, with a strong one-sided opinion, and that therefore he was misleading the people on the subject. In that letter he had asserted their right in as distinct terms as he did at the meeting at Radley's Hotel early in the year. Mr. Mill said that the Home Secretary had done himself no good by using that letter. The result was their friends in Parliament strongly urged the impolicy of forcing the bill this year at the end of the session, when members were out of town, and whether it would not be the best course to suspend further proceedings, and appoint a committee to inquire into the matter. In coming away from the house after thanking as many of their friends as he could, he was advised by them not to counsel any decided or hostile proceedings at that meeting, but to call upon the Government to accept the proposal of a committee. By taking that course they would place themselves in a stronger position ultimately to carry their views, and that was the course he advised them to take. (Cheers.)

Mr. Whalley, M.P., said the question at issue appeared to him to be of even more importance than the Reform Bill itself. (Cheers.) The use of the park had largely contributed to the passing of that Bill, and now that the people of the metropolis were about to have a larger amount of political power placed in their hands, it was more essential than ever that they should have every facility for consulting each other, and of demonstrating their opinions on public questions. Mr. Beales' character and discretion in times of great emergency had been amply vindicated in Parliament that day, and though he (Mr. Whalley) had not hitherto been much associated with the League, he now wished to be allowed to throw in his energies into the cause, satisfied that his honour and character would be safe in the keeping of their president. (Cheers.)

Mr. Mantle moved—"That this meeting having heard the statement made by the president of the League, and others, of the discussion and proceedings to-day in the House of Commons in the attempt to re-commit the Parks Regulation Bill, resolves to suspend further proceedings, in the earnest hope that the Government will yet withdraw a bill so opposed to the wishes of the great bulk of the people, and so inconsistent with the spirit of the general legislation of the session, and respectfully but earnestly urges the suspension by Government of all further legislation as to the right of public meeting in Hyde-park until, if necessary, a committee has been appointed and reported upon the subject." In supporting that resolution, he said they were acting upon the advice of their best friends in the House of Commons, and in accordance with a sound principle of action. They could have no desire to humiliate the Government, but rather, on broad and permanent grounds, to come to an amicable agreement with them upon a question of great public importance. If the Government at this late period of the session accepted the compromise, the question would be referred to a committee of the house next year, when the passions of the present moment would have passed away, and when the point at issue could be calmly considered and wisely settled. They would do right in offering that compromise in any event. If it was accepted, they would virtually triumph; if rejected there must be open warfare between them and the Government, and they must never desist from their efforts until they had placed upon a broad and indisputable ground the right of public meeting in the parks. He hoped they would act in a statesmanlike and judicial spirit in dealing with this matter.

Mr. Guedella seconded the resolution, and concurred in the eulogium passed by the chairman on their friends in the house for the manner in which they had acted that afternoon. He believed that, looking to the short time that must elapse before the prorogation, the Bill could be thrown out by merely parliamentary tactics. But at the same time he thought it would be wise to yield to the advice of Mr. Peter Taylor, and offer this compromise. They had not a stauncher friend in the house, and he said if they were to hold another meeting in the park at present it would ruin the chance of the opposition in the house. (Oh, oh.) It would be quite time enough to declare open war against the Government if they persisted in their course.

Colonel Dickson supported the resolution, which he hoped would be passed as soon as possible, in order that he and Mr. Beales might at once take it down to the House of Commons, as a proof that the League adopted the policy which their Parliamentary friends recommended.

Mr. Richardson said the Government had thrown the gauntlet down to them, and they would be cowards if they did not take it up. He therefore proposed as an amendment that they hold a meeting in Hyde-park on Sunday afternoon at five o'clock. (Cries of No, no," and "Monday.") Well, people could not leave their work on Monday without expense to themselves, whereas it would be easy to hold one on Sunday,

Mr. Charles Warren seconded the amendment amidst considerable interruption, on the ground that if the League proposed the appointment of a committee, they would in fact surrender the right they contended for. (No, no.)

Mr. Beales said that pending the inquiry of that committee the people would have a perfect right to meet until the committee made its report, if they ever did so. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Merriman deprecated a hasty decision on this question, and though he intended to vote for the resolution he regretted to see the impatience shown by the meeting while speakers who took an opposite view of the matter were addressing it. It was of more importance that their deliberations should be mature and calm than that the chairman and Col. Dickson should be at the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Perfitt earnestly urged the immediate adoption of the resolution, which did not in the slightest degree abandon the right of meeting in Hyde park. The resolution had been drawn with no less blood by the

executive than that meeting had, but it had been drawn with discretion, with a full view of all the circumstances, and with a decided conviction that its acceptance must in any case secure them a victory. (Cheers.)

After some remarks from Mr. Nieass,

Mr. Baxter Langley said that he was in favour of the resolution, as suitable to present circumstances. But at the same time he could foresee that circumstances might arise which would make a demonstration in Hyde-park absolutely necessary, and if that necessity did arise not all the Guards nor all the policemen in London would prevent that demonstration being made. (Loud cheers.)

There were loud cries for the withdrawal of the amendment, with which Mr. Richardson at length complied, and several speakers attempted to address the meeting, amidst tremendous cries of "Vote, vote," "Question, question," and "Order." Special objection was made to **Mr. Finlon** addressing the meeting on the ground that he was not in the room when the resolution was moved. Mr. Finlon however, persisted amidst a scene of great confusion, saying that he wanted to move an amendment. The chairman repeatedly called him to order, and there was a general rush of members of the League to Mr. Finlon to counsel him to obey the chairman who put the question to the meeting whether they would hear Mr. Finlon, which was met by a decided negative, and the resolution was then put, and carried with two dissentients.

Col. Dickson then moved a vote of thanks to P. A. Taylor, Esq., and other members of Parliament who have perseveringly resisted the progress of the Parks Bill.

Mr. Cunnington seconded the resolution, which was unanimously agreed to, and the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

August 14th 1867 *Morning Advertiser* Holborn Branch of the Reform League To the Editor of the Morning Advertiser – Sir, After the meeting of the Reform League held this evening at the Sussex Hotel, Bouverie Street, an extraordinary meeting of the committee of the above branch was held at the "Nag's Head," Leather-lane, when the following resolution was passed unanimously: - "Resolved – that the delegates of this branch having been present and seen the disgraceful and tyrannical manner in which Mr. James Finlen, our representative, was treated, that we have no further intercourse with the Reform League, and that the functions of our delegates cease from this date." And it was further resolved – "That copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the secretary of the League, and also the London newspapers." Signed on behalf of the committee, J. Gilbraith, Chairman, E. Burnham, Secretary – August 13 1867.

August 17th 1867 *Bee-Hive* – The Reform League – The Parks Regulation Bill – On Tuesday night a meeting of secretaries and delegates of the metropolitan branches of the Reform League and other reform associations was held at the Sussex Hotel, Bouverie-street, to consider the action of the Government respecting the Parks Regulation Bill. *The general mood was against the government's bill and one proposal was for a public meeting to be held in Hyde Park the coming Sunday. This was not so popular, except as a last resort, and that a more conciliatory approach should be taken.* "Mr. Finlen, of the Holborn Branch, then, amidst much uproar, endeavoured to address the meeting, but was unable to obtain a hearing, owing to the clamour which prevailed.

August 31st 1867 *Bee-Hive* – Holborn Branch – A numerously attended meeting on Clerkenwell Green, on Sunday morning last, was addressed by Mr. Perks in an opening speech, as chairman, upon the passing of the Reform Bill. After further addresses from Messrs. Finlen, Weston and others, Mr. Osborne announced that a monster camp meeting would be held on the Green on that day fortnight in the morning at eleven, and in the evening at six, being the last open air meeting during the present season; but they would still continue to agitate indoors and meet in their branch house, the Nag's Head.. every Sunday evening at eight o'clock. The meeting then adjourned until eight o'clock in the evening to the branch-house, when the subject brought under discussion was upon the secession from the Reform League. A deputation waited form the second time upon the branch from the Executive of the League to request them not to adhere to their former resolution, viz., of secession, but to reconsider it, as they assured the committee that no offence was intended to Mr. Finlen or the other delegates, who attended their delegate meeting at the Sussex Hotel. *After some discussion and compromise the secession was rescinded and Mr. Finlen restored.*

THE NATIONAL REFORM BANQUET TO CELEBRATE THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL of 1867 will take place at the Crystal Palace on Monday September 30th. Listed on the acting committee is J. Finlen, Polisher – August 29th.

September 7th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Bryanston Branch – (The Wargrave, John-street, Edgware-road) – At a meeting of this branch held on Monday 2nd inst. *Future policy to be adopted by the whole body of the Reformers throughout the UK – the working men in every borough to unite in the purpose of returning members to the next and all future Parliaments.* Mr. Finlen spoke on the matter.

Holborn Branch – On Sunday evening last the members of the above branch, in a crowded room, held a discussion on “Capital Punishment and the Alton Murderer.” The discussion was to have been opened by Mr. Finlen, but owing to that gentleman’s illness, it was opened by Mr. Perks. The Holborn Branch discontinued for a time their open-air meetings and being desirous of expressing their appreciation of the untiring and gratuitous services of Mr. Finlen, which he has rendered the branch and the cause of Reform, propose to get up a supper and invite Mr. Finlen, on Wednesday evening next, September 6th after which the room will be thrown open to the public free for a convivial meeting and song. Tickets for the supper, 2s to be had at the Branch House.

September 14th 1867 *Bee-Hive* – National Reform Banquet programme given – acting committee includes J. Finlen, Nag’s Head, Leather-lane.

September 21st 1867 *Bee-Hive* – Reform Fete and Banquet - at a meeting on Tuesday (17th) at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, James Finlen named as one of the stewards.

September 28th 1867 *Bee-Hive* – Holborn Branch – the discussion for next Sunday evening will be “The events of the Week,” to be opened by Mr. J. Finlen

October 1st 1867 *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* – The Working Men’s Reform Banquet at the Crystal Palace – This *jête* came off yesterday (?Monday 30th). Among the speakers were Mr. Finlen (Reform League)....

October 19th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Holborn Branch of the Reform League – An interesting discussion took place at the meeting house of this branch, the Nag’s Head, Leather-lane, Holborn, on Sunday evening last, Mr. Parks in the chair, on the Abyssinian question. Mr. Finlen opened the discussion with a strong condemnation of the expedition, as likely to prove as unsatisfactory as vexatious. [*The British conquest of Ethiopia was carried out in 1868 to release missionary hostages and punish the king*]

October 26th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Holborn Branch A large and enthusiastic meeting was held at the above branch House on Sunday evening last against the obnoxious rate-paying clauses; ...Mr. Finlen, seconded the motion. and addressed the meeting.

November 2nd 1867 *Express* (London) - THE REFORM LEAGUE AND FENIANISM.

The adjourned meeting of the committee of the Reform League was held last night at the offices, Adelphi-terrace, Mr. Merriman in the chair, There was a very large attendance.

The Secretary (Mr. Howell) said that after the public announcement in the daily papers of that morning relative to the retirement of Mr. Thos Hughes, M.P. for Lambeth, from the office of vice president of the League, it was his duty to inform the council that when such resignation was sent to the League, Mr. Hughes desired to retire quietly. The reasons given were, first, because the hon. Gentleman was not in favour of the ballot, and, secondly, because he was opposed to the League on the question of the three-cornered constituencies. The debate on the resolutions and amendment introduced last Wednesday was then resumed by Mr. Acland, who commenced by referring in

strong and denunciatory terms to an article which appeared in a daily paper, charging the League with being the avowed champion of assassination and rebellion.

Mr. Finlen said that,

"until he had seen in the papers the remarks made by Messrs Cooper, Lucraft, and Odger, he did not believe the council was composed of such "pure and bright metal." The down-trodden Irish people were told that they should not have attempted physical force until every other means had been tried, but he thought that they had used almost every other means, and certainly they could not be expected to have faith in any moral movement after the failure of O'Connell's agitation. Adopting the words attributed to a speaker at the meeting on Wednesday week, he would say, "Let Fenianism go on and prosper." They, as English radicals, ought not to be the men to throw themselves in the way of Irishmen who would be free men. They ought to be the last to throw obstacles in the progress of Irishmen, and to throw water on their hot enthusiasm. They sympathised with the Poles, they loved and honoured the names of Kosciusko and Kossuth, and therefore let their words to the Fenians be words of cheer, and let them give that benediction which they, as members of a plodding race, might be able to afford. (Cheers);

Mr. Acland protested against the illegality of Mr. Finlen's speech.

Mr. Mottershed said Fenianism was a bastard movement of American birth. The mission of the American Irish in this country was to commit meaningless murders, and they were therefore deserving of universal reprobation. He believed that the Fenians to a man would go against Garibaldi, and in favour of the temporal power of the Papacy, and as proof of his assertion he pointed to the conduct of the Irish at Hyde-park during Garibaldian riots.

Mr. Davis protested against the League becoming a mere debating society. He believed the object of the vote given on the occasion of the reading of Mr. Beale's letter was to oppose the introduction of extraneous matters into the council. Their conduct had been wilfully misconstrued, and they had been maligned and traduced for party purposes. He hoped that with the view of preserving the unity of the League, they would put an end to this discussion, and adhere to their platform of manhood suffrage and the ballot, (Hear, hear.)

Upon the proposition that Mr. Guedalla's amendment should be withdrawn, and that it should, with certain emendations, be submitted as a resolution, a long and stormy discussion ensued. An effort on the part of the chairman, and those immediately behind him, to restore order, was impeded by the violent opposition of Mr. Golding, who insisted that the course proposed to be taken was a piece of cowardice on the part of the League. Eventually the chairman succeeded in putting the motion as follows:—"That this council emphatically and indignantly repudiates any sympathy with assassination or secret organization for political objects, and in proof of such assertion, refers with confidence to its past career and its official manifestos," Mr. Odger, on the part of Mr. Mantle, withdrew the resolution proposed at the last meeting by that gentleman. The resolution was then put and carried almost unanimously.

The Chairman was exceedingly glad that the League had thus vindicated its position, and that its friends outside were spared the humiliation of being dragged through the mud of one of the most questionable movements of modern times. The proceedings terminated with a cordial vote of thanks to the chairman.

November 2nd 1867 *Bee-Hive* Bethnal Green Branch – Mr. James Finlen will lecture on Tuesday evening November 5th subject "Manhood suffrage *versus* household suffrage."

Cobden Branch A crowded meeting of the members and friends of this branch took place on Monday evening last, in the large room of the Britannia Tavern, Kingsland-road, for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr. Jas. Finlen on "Manhood suffrage *v.* household suffrage." The speaker's very eloquent vindication of the more popular principles was received with hearty applause, and the meeting afterwards unanimously expressed its entire approval of the policy of the League in continuing the agitation for a fuller enfranchisement of the people than has yet been obtained.

November 7th 1867 *Weymouth Telegram* p. 2, col. 6 – The want of a public prosecutor, which tends more than anything else, perhaps, to give impunity to such sedition-mongers as Mr. Finlen, is a great grievance in ordinary criminal trials (!)

November 7th 1867 *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* - “*The first Fenian trial at Manchester ended in the conviction of Allen and the four men tried with him. Before passing sentence of death on them the Judge inquired in the usual form if they had aught to say, when they each, with the exception of Maguire, made a political speech about the wrongs of Ireland and the tyranny of Great Britain. Maguire, who is in the Marines, earnestly contended that his was a case of mistaken identity...*” in next column, is a report of ‘the Reform League and Fenianism’ meeting and ending: It may be worthy of notice that one speaker, a Mr. Finlen, who avowed a strong sympathy with Fenianism and expressed a hearty wish it might go on and prosper, was warmly cheered at the close of his speech.

November 9th 1867 *Bee-Hive* The Holborn Branch – At a meeting held on Sunday evening last (3rd), it was moved by Mr. Finlen, seconded by Mr. Trussen, and resolved “That being of the opinion that the Irish people have done much in behalf of the emancipation of their country by the employment of, perhaps, all moral means at their command, we cannot subscribe to the wholesale condemnation indulged in by the English press towards the men of Ireland because they now become Fenians. We therefore accept with gratitude the opinions expressed in their favour at the recent meetings of the Council of the Reform League.” Carried unanimously. *Many other branches sympathised with the downtrodden Irish in their attempts to find redress but turned against James Finlen for expressing his support for Fenianism and ‘bringing the League into disrepute’.* This is a huge turning point and splits the movement – the right-wing press using the ‘Fenian outrage’ to garner support for the Tories and weaken the Whigs and Reform parties.

November 13th 1867 *Eddowes’s Shrewsbury Journal* p. 2 – The vulgar agitators of the Reform League, with their repentant President, mistook English feeling when they professed sympathy with Fenian treason and murder, as grossly as they miscalculated on Irish prejudice when they gratuitously took part with Garibaldi. // and a Mr. Finlen was found to out-Lucraft Lucraft in his own peculiar line. This Finlen said “that until he had read the remarks made by Cooper, Lucraft, and Odger, he did not believe that the Council was composed of such pure and bright metal.” “For his part he would repeat, let Fenianism go on and prosper;” *The paper goes on* “they must disavow the treasonable language of Lucraft and Cooper, Odger and Finlan; so long as these people remain on the Council the League is infected. The Executive must be purged at least of those who, not in the heat of talk, but deliberately, repeat the offensive and extravagant sedition of which they have been guilty.

November 18th 1867 *Glasgow Herald* THE CONDEMNED FENIANS,
Yesterday (Sunday morning) a meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green, London, for the purpose of adopting a memorial for presentation to the Home Secretary, on behalf of the four Fenian prisoners who are at present lying under sentence of death at Manchester. The assembly was convened by bill which bore the signatures of Messrs Finlen, Campbell, Murray, and Cully. At eleven o'clock a large waggon was placed in front of the Sessions House to serve as a platform, and shortly afterwards Mr. William Colegate was requested to take the chair. There were from 1500 to 2000 people present. The proceedings throughout were very orderly and it was evident that the majority of the listeners had great sympathy for the condemned men. The Chairman said that if they took away the evidence of the ten witnesses who convicted Maguire, and who could not now be relied upon, there was nothing to convict the other four. He saw in the *Law Journal* that there was a rumour that three of them— Larkin, Gould, and Shore—were to have their sentences committed to penal servitude for life, while the *Manchester Guardian* said that they were to be executed next Saturday.

Mr Finlen moved — “That this meeting is of opinion that the four men now awaiting execution in the City of Manchester, under the sentence of death passed upon them by one of the Judges presiding at the Special Commission recently held in that town, ought to be regarded more as political offenders than criminal malefactors.” He might flatter himself, but he did not think Government would send these four men into eternity. What those men did they did as political enthusiasts. (Cheer) The Government that employed the hangman upon such men would be a Calcraft Government — (cheers) — a Government which would incur the greatest reprobation and dishonour; one which would betray, weakness, fear, want of dignity and a sense of common justice.

Mr Bradlaugh, in seconding the proposition, expressed his belief that any memorial which might be adopted by them would not have the slightest effect on the Government, yet he considered it his duty to attend the meeting upon so solemn an occasion. He regarded this as a patriotic question. He submitted that upon the evidence which was adduced there was a question whether these men were criminals at all (Loud cheers,) He proceeded to say that according to the evidence at the trial Deasey and Kelly were illegally arrested. (Cheer) He had yet to learn that an illegal arrest was sufficient ground to detain any of the citizens of any country in the prisons of this one. If he were illegally held he was justified in using enough force to procure his release. (Cheers) In executing these men they would throw the gauntlet for terrible reprisals. It was a grave and solemn question. It had been said that they were prepared to go to any lengths. They were not. He wished they were. If the men of England, from one end to the other, were prepared to say these men shall not be executed they would not be. He was afraid they had not pluck enough for that. He only feared what they said upon the subject might do the poor men more harm than good. If it were not so he would coin words that should speak in words of fire. (Cheers)

Mr. John Richardson, of Lambeth, made a very violent speech respecting the tyrannous conduct of the Government of this country towards Ireland. They were driving the people out of the country like rats out of a stack, who would rise up one day against the bloody tyranny of this country. (Cheers.) These men did not deserve death more than they did. They never knew a bad man to be a political man. (Loud cheers) He never did. What must they do? (A voice – “Fight.”) He urged them to support them in their present endeavours. Mr. Lucraft then read a memorial to the Secretary of State for the Home Department; and the meeting dispersed shortly before one o’clock.

November 19th 1867 *London Evening Standard* THE CONDEMNED FENIANS.

OUTRAGEOUS CONDUCT OF A DEPUTATION TO THE HOME OFFICE,

Pursuant to a resolution passed at the meeting held on Clerkenwell-green on Sunday, a deputation, headed by Mr. Finlen, attended at the Home Office yesterday afternoon, for the purpose of presenting a memorial, praying for a commutation of the sentence of death upon the four men now awaiting their execution at the New Bailey, Manchester. The deputation were met on the staircase by the office keeper, who handed Mr. Finlen a letter. Mr. Finlen stood on the stairs and read the document to himself, and then, after some little cogitation upon its contents, forced his way against the will of the office keeper into an ante-room, and said somewhat imperatively “Show the deputation up.” The deputation, one after the other, accordingly made for the room, and congregation round the table, Mr. Finlen, with an air of much dignity, said, “I am sorry the Home Secretary will not give us an interview, but I will read you his letter, gentlemen.” He then read as follows: -

“November. 18, 1867. “Sir, - I am directed by Mr. Secretary Hardy to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, acquainting him that a deputation had been appointed at a meeting held yesterday at Clerkenwell-green to wait upon him in reference to the Fenian convicts under sentence of death at Manchester, and expressing the hope that he would receive them this afternoon.

“Mr. Hardy desires me to inform you in reply that he has already declined to receive deputations on that subject, and must equally decline to do so in this instance, though prepared to receive any memorial that may be sent for his consideration. - I am, Sir, your obedient servant, “E. A. Percival.”

Mr. Finlen, hesitating over the signature of the letter, said – I cannot make out the signature on this letter.

A Voice. - Oh, that will be known after the men's death (Cries of “Shame!” and “Don’t forget Saturday”)

Mr. Finlen - That, gentlemen, is Mr. Secretary Hardy's reply to our efforts to save the lives of these unfortunate men (Cries of “Oh, oh”) Our efforts, I hope, will be acknowledged to be animated with humane desires (cheers). Now we have no political sympathies. We simply desire that England shall not be disgraced by handing these poor fellows over to the tender mercies of Calcraft on next Saturday (cheers). I declared here in the Home Office that I will move heaven and earth rather than to submit to this monstrous determination (cheers). Raising his voice to a very high pitch, he continued – We will go to Manchester, to Liverpool, to Birmingham, and will arouse the blood of the Irishmen to the rescue of the brave Fenians whose lives the Home Secretary refuses to save, and the blood shed will be upon the head of Mr. Hardy (cries of “Bravo,” hear, hear”). That spirit will be responded to in Ireland and in America, and the government will bring blood on its head if it dares to take the lives of these men. Mr. Hardy has committed an egregious blunder in thus acting, but it is like the Tories; as John Stuart Mill says, “They are all stupid” (laughter and cheers).

Mr. Clegg said that, as the Home Secretary had declined to receive the memorial, he supposed he must take it back with him; but as Mr. Finlen had said, they would go to Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham, and very likely to Glasgow to ask help. They were working men, and they had lost a day’s work in a good cause, and he was sorry their mission had failed (cries of “No, no; it has not failed, never fear”).

Mr. Osborne said – This is not the place for these discussions, which go for nothing, and I therefore move that a great torchlight meeting should be called on Clerkenwell-green tonight, and that we at once adjourn to some place for the organisation of the meeting. If they held the meeting that night they would have 5000 present, but if they called it for Thursday they would have 30,000 (cries of “Let’s have it to-night; to-night”).

Mr. M^cSweeney said – I wish to second the motion, and I wish to show how differently the law works in certain cases. At the Six Mill Bridge riots in Ireland, arising out of an election, a number of persons were killed by the soldiery. It was ruled by the judge on that occasion, that they could not convict unless they found the parties who had actually killed the people. But in this case it is the Crown against the people, and the people are made responsible, although the parties were not traced who committed the deed (hear, hear). This is a disgraceful thing, when we consider that one is the interests of the Crown and the other the interests of the people (cheers). The Crown, it is thought, must always be right, whatever the circumstances may be, and no respect is shown to the people. This is supposed to be an extraordinary case, and the government think they have a right to deal with these poor men just as they like; but I consider that if they are executed the blood of the unhappy men will be upon the head of the Home Secretary (loud cheers). The Home Secretary, in this case is the arbiter of life and death, and the blood of these men will never be washed off his hands.

Mr. Connolly said he did not think the deputation had adopted the proper course in attending in the way in which they had without going through the usual form of obtaining an interview with the Home Secretary, but he nevertheless thought it would be a great and serious mistake to execute these men. If the government did execute them they would be dignified into martyrs and excite a spirit of rebellion. At this moment the office keeper entered the room, and said that Mr. Secretary Harding requested the “gentlemen would at once leave the place.” This announcement was received with groans and hisses, whereupon Mr. Finlen continued – This is a very outrageous proceeding on the part of Mr. Hardy. I am not to be intimidated by the officials of this place. Go away, sir – you are not a member of this deputation – you are only a servant - you are not a servant of Mr. Hardy, but a servant of the public. I say, that so far as this government is concerned - and I say it publicly in this Home Office, under the roof of authority, that the government is incurring a disgrace that will, perhaps, prove indelible, by refusing to meet a body of working men who cannot afford to lose

another day's work (loud and continued cheers). The men are to be executed next Saturday (cries of "No, no, they shall not be"). I move a vote of censure against Mr. Hardy.

A Voice – No, no: respect, respect; this is not the place.

A Voice – It is not Hardy. It is Lord Derby who has done this.

The office keeper again came forward and said – I must remind you, Mr. Finlen, of the message I conveyed to you from the Home Secretary, that you must leave this place.

Mr. Finlen (to the official) – "We are going, Sir; stand back;" and addressing himself to the meeting, he said – We will use every effort, thew, and muscle to save. These men's lives shall not be sacrificed (cheers). I would turn all the Tory governments into the sea rather than see these brave, plucky, and glorious Fenians immolated in the way it is intended to (loud cheers). Mr. Hardy is in that room, and he and his colleagues must know that it shall be proclaimed far and wide that if these men's lives are sacrificed, their own lives would not be held sacred, or their position as advisers of a good and gracious Queen maintained in the face of such paltry, bloody, and miserable conduct (loud cheers). The motion was carried.

Mr. Finlen then said that they would hold torchlight meetings every night during the week.

While this was going on inside a detachment of police had been ordered over from Scotland-yard, and were drawn up outside the Home Office. Sir Richard Mayne and Captain Harris came over, afterwards, and a police-officer was at once sent into the room where the deputation were yet speaking, and peremptorily cleared it of intruders.

After leaving the Home Office, the deputation, numbering around 50 people retired to the club-room of a tavern in Bedford Street, Strand to re-group and consider their next steps. Some spoke about the insult they had received by the Home Secretary sending in the police making it appear as though the deputation had contemplated using violence to obtain their object of mercy. They agree to hold weekly meetings from then on at the Nag's Head and to hold a torchlight meeting on Clerkenwell Green the coming Thursday to which Irishmen and members of the other Reform branches would be invited. If numbers were great enough it could be transferred to Trafalgar Square and they could send a memo to Queen Victoria asking her to intervene on the condemned men's behalf asking for their sentences to be commuted. Telegrams were also sent to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Glasgow urging them to call similar open air meetings. On the Saturday morning the convicted men, John Carroll, Charles Moorhouse, Daniel Reddan, Thomas Scalley, William Murphy, John Brennan and Timothy Featherstone were transferred from New Bailey Manchester to Millbank Prison under a strong escort of warders and constabulary, all armed with revolvers. The Catholic clergy in Manchester held masses for the men, who were all Catholics, and warned all poor Irishmen to keep away the next Saturday from the scene of execution.

November 19th 1867 *Sheffield Independent* further account of the last – Hardy stated through Mr. Percival, his private secretary that he would accept their memorial letter but would not meet any delegations. Their refusal and Finlen's impassioned speech caused great consternation amongst the clerks and other officials who had 'by this time congregated in large numbers to witness this unusual scene.' Hardy then sent for the police [Scotland Yard was just 300 yards away] and 50 constables ran to the scene, but the delegation had already left the anteroom and was back on the street, where large numbers of spectators had gathered. To avoid confrontation the leaders of the deputation asked their members to quietly walk away, which they did. Other reporters said on their leaving the building that "They then descended the staircase, *threatening to exterminate* the government. The authorities at the Home Office were *much terrified at the violence which they displayed.*" [Many other varied reports of the incident can be found in; *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, [Finlen - made himself unpleasantly conspicuous by shouting seditious nonsense], *Glasgow Herald*, *Bury and Norwich Post*, *The Scotsman*, *Daily Review*, *London Evening Standard* [introduced the word treason], *Shields Daily News*, *Manchester Courier*, *Western Morning News*, *Liverpool Daily Post*, *Yorkshire Post*, *Morning Herald* and many others, all dated the 19th November. Some offered more colourful versions;

November 19th 1867 *Express* (London) Mr. Finlen, addressing those present, said he hoped their endeavour would be regarded as a work of humanity. They had no political sympathies in this matter – they simply desired that England should not be disgraced by handing over four political offenders like those on Manchester to Calcraft. (Cheers). In that Home Office and before the Queen, he would say that they would move heaven and earth to defeat Mr. Hardy. (Loud cheers.) They would go to Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham, and arouse the Irish spirit’ and that spirit would be responded to by the Irish in America, and the government would bring blood upon its head if it did not receive the overtures for mercy which were being made to it, (Applause) Mr. Hardy committed a disgraceful and egregious blunder, but nothing better could be expected from a member of the party which was designated as “the stupid party.” [The *Nottingham Journal* ends the sentence rather: "but it is like the Tories, as John Stuart Mill says:- ‘They are all stupid.’”]

November 20th 1867 *Glasgow Herald* – The recent appearances of the London Reform League in connection with Fenianism, and the impudent exhibition which took place in the ante-rooms of the Home Office the other day, have excited in the country a feeling of surprise and disgust. Finlen and his followers may be sincerely desirous to save the lives of the condemned prisoners at Manchester, but they are taking the worst possible way of attaining the end in view. They are defying the Government to execute the law, and threatening to raise disturbances in the great centres of population if their demands are not complied with. The Government is therefore placed in a very awkward position by the conduct of this Finlen or Fenian deputation. If the Home Secretary decides upon saving any of the convicts the commutation of punishment will immediately be set down to fear, and with every show of probability. But no considerations of this kind should be allowed, in present circumstances, to interfere with the course of justice, or the law will come to be regarded in certain quarters as a sham instead of reality. These restless demagogues in London are doing their best to raise a feeling of distrust in the country regarding the maintenance of public order, and to perpetuate the panic which the Manchester outrage, and the assassinations in London and Dublin, had created in the public mind.

In England, more especially, the ‘Fenian scare’ has spread from place to place, and rumours of the most alarming description have been put in circulation, and have found hosts of believers. There was doubtless some reason for all this agitation; but the Fenian panic, in common with other panics of a different nature; has grown to a great extent by what if fed on... It has been propagated in a great measure by false reports, and magnified by apprehension. It has come to be regarded as a national plague, imported from Ireland and America, and in active operation wherever Irishmen are to be found. As usual in such cases the public does not reason very clearly or logically upon the subject, and the result too frequently is a confusion of ideas. A great bank, for example, becomes insolvent, and immediately there is a run upon all the other banks in the district. The affairs of an important railway company are mismanaged, and railway stock in general becomes depressed in the public market. In like manner, we find Irishmen regarded with general suspicion, on the simple ground that Fenianism is of Irish extraction. It seems to be supposed by many people that an Irishman and a Fenian are the same in substance because they happen to profess the same religion and belong to the same country, but this is a very great mistake. The upper and middle classes in Ireland are thoroughly loyal and opposed to the use of force in the rectification of national grievances. The priesthood and the peasantry may be discontented with the Established Church and the land-tenure, but there is a great difference between discontent and disloyalty. Men may agitate for the redress of grievances, and stand up for their rights and privileges, without entertaining the least idea of plunging their country into the miseries of insurrection or revolution.

November 20th 1867 *Glasgow Evening Citizen* Writing last night, the London correspondent of the *Daily Review* says: It is understood that Mr. Hardy means to prosecute Mr. Finlen and the other intruders upon the Home Office in the strange scene of yesterday. A shorthand writer has been

engaged who can swear to his notes of their speeches, and it is said that some action will be taken upon the subject tomorrow. [next article cover the invasion of Abyssinia!]

November 20th 1867 *Express* (London) A large meeting was held at the Lambeth Baths last night (The Rev. G. M. Murphy in the chair), at which a memorial was unanimously adopted for presentation to the Home Secretary, which, while repudiating all sympathy with Fenianism, and discountenancing the proceedings at the Home Office on Monday, prays for a commutation of the sentence of the prisoners.

Yesterday evening a meeting was held on Clerkenwell-green to take into consideration the circumstances connected with the refusal of the Home Secretary to receive a deputation the previous day. There were about 1,500 or 1,600 present. Mr. Clegg, who presided, said that on Thursday night, however, there would be a great aggregate meeting on Clerkenwell-green, when a memorial would be adopted that would be taken to Windsor on Friday. He would not pretend to say what would be the result if that memorial were refused. He had to impress upon the meeting that Mr. Campbell had gone to Manchester to organise deputations. Mr. Richardson from Lambeth, said he had just read the Queen's speech, and he did not see in it anything which was matter for encouragement. It was stated in that speech to be the intention of the government to put down Fenianism with the strong hand of the law. (Never) The only way in which the government could successfully put down Fenianism was by doing justice to Irishmen. It would never put down Fenianism by Calcraftism. Mr. Finlen was received with rapturous applause. In the course of a long speech he said he appeared before them that night under very special circumstances. He did not know that he should have another opportunity for some time of addressing a public meeting in this country. Only half an hour since he had received a letter from a friend of his and of the people, offering him not only hospitality but concealment, as he had heard that he was about to be arrested for what he had stated at the Home Office. (Hisses and groans) He should make no defiant statement; he did not court, on the contrary, he shrunk from the inside of a gaol, but he could not shrink from the performance of a plain duty, when he considered that by doing so he could serve the interests of his country from being sacrificed, or could help to save the lives of the four unfortunate men at Manchester. He impressed upon all who felt the importance of the present crisis to be orderly, to recognise the law, to make no assault upon authority. Their first step in carrying out a great constitutional movement on Monday was defeated because the Home Secretary, the representative of an aristocratic, and perhaps most callous government, refused to receive their memorial. (Shame) On some occasions in the past moral force had not been wanting in its effect upon the government, and if they wanted to be successful now they must swell that force. This was only one of a series of meetings to be held on that green, and, as he was told throughout the country. No doubt the culminating importance of what they could do there would take place next Thursday night, when Irishmen and Englishmen would march together with one fraternal resolve from all quarters of the metropolis, headed by their bands. He complained that the *Daily Telegraph* had misrepresented their case, but he did not care for the opinion of that paper, which was the first to hound on the government to issue the special commission by which the unfortunate men at Manchester were convicted, and it was that paper which said of the poor men while they were on their trial that they looked so hopeless and that they had evidently given themselves up already to the hands of the hangman. (Tremendous groans, and cries of "Judas.") Those unhappy men had only followed in the footsteps of Robert Emmett, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Smith O'Brien.

Messrs. Thomas, Osborne, O'Callaghan, and others addressed the meeting recommending that the most determined exertions should be made to get thousands of men to the mass meeting on Thursday night, so that the government would not be able to treat with contempt the memorial they would on the following day endeavour to present, and the meeting then quietly separated.

The Home Office incident was reported in a great many papers throughout the United Kingdom, often copies taken from one source but with added editorial bias. Other papers on the 21st, such as the Bristol Daily Post, indulged in a mire of misreporting and publishing hoax 'letters' purporting

to come from the Fenians etc. to stir up the people against any movement that was anti-government. The following from the Fifeshire Journal; “There are people other than convicted Fenians who greatly want executing. The parcel of ruffians, for example, who, headed by the person Finlen, mounted the stump at the Home Office on Monday, should be, if not hung exactly, then transported. We want not only an example to deter from murder, but one also to caution knaves of the Fenian type, whose courage ceases when their hides get in danger. Finlen is but a new development of Beales.” The Newcastle Journal wrote “We are glad to notice a remarkable unanimity among all sections of the London press regarding the Fenian invasion (!) of the Home Office. A Liberal evening contemporary, remarking on the language of the Fenian orator, Finlen, to the effect – that he would sooner overthrow twenty Tory governments than see the Fenians “immolated;” that if they were executed the lives of the Ministers would not be safe, and that he and others would in that event “rouse the Irish element” in all the large towns, in England expresses a conviction that hardly any words could be more seditious than threats to assassinate Ministers who refused to advise her Majesty to pardon given criminals. If this is true, and if the words said to have been spoken by Finlen can be proved, is it wise, asks our contemporary, to leave his offence unpunished? He has at all events been the ringleader in a grossly indecent and disorderly act; and if in doing so he has brought himself within in the reach of the criminal law, would it not be as well to make an example of him? For ourselves, we answer the query in the affirmative.

November 20th 1867 Birmingham Daily Post [A Fenian tract and a slightly different version of the Hardy meeting];

THE FENIAN EXECUTIONS,

A paper, says the *Daily News*, has been left at our office, purporting to be a circular addressed to the agents and friends of the Irish Revolutionary Government residing abroad. It is dated Dublin, November 16, and of course bears no recognisable signature, but is subscribed in cipher by a person styling himself the Secretary of External Relations. It begins by giving the views of the body to which the writer is attached respecting the trials at Manchester arising out of the rescue of Kelly and Deasy. The purpose and character of that outrage are thus described:

“In September last two Irish officers, Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasy, while on secret and special service in Manchester, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the civil authorities of that city. As it was of the utmost importance that those officers should regain their liberty at any cost, a plan of rescue was decided upon, and a party of men detailed for the duty. On the 18th of the same month that party attacked a police van which was conveying prisoners to gaol, and successfully rescued therefrom the prisoners in question. In forcing open the van it was found necessary to discharge a pistol into the lock, and it happened that the shot killed a police officer who was on duty inside the van. This man's death was not essential to the success of the rescue, and was, therefore, not specially sought. In fact, the slaying was accidental, and primarily owing to his own honourable fidelity, for he had refused to pass out the key of the door, which would have rendered it unnecessary to resort to the (for him) fatal expedient of firing into the lock. This act of rescue and all its accompanying circumstances was of course an offence against the laws of England, although one inseparable from political motives and a political object. Disregard for the laws by which an oppressor seeks to protect himself is, however, the first and necessary principle in a rebellion against that oppressor. The insurgent breaks the law at his peril, the oppressor enforces the law on the same condition. Humanity has stepped in to mitigate the evils which would result from the extreme application of this rule, and in every civilised country insurgents who refrain from all wanton and unnecessary acts of violence are, when captured, treated differently from common law breakers, who act from no political motive. Hitherto the Irish insurgents against England have honourably fulfilled their share of this moral obligation, and neither in Ireland, England, nor Canada have they been guilty of any acts with which they can be reproached, although both enemy's life and property have frequently been, and still are, at their mercy. England has not acted with corresponding moderation, but she has hitherto refrained from deliberately putting to death any of her Irish political prisoners.

“In the case of certain Irishmen condemned to death for the attack upon the van she seems disposed to depart from that practice, and it is not impossible that some of them may be executed on Saturday next at Manchester. She has an undoubted right to do so, but the exercise of that right will leave this Government free to exercise the right and power of retaliation, which it amply possesses,”

The attack on the police van, the writer alleges, was successful; ‘its probable cost was estimated beforehand, and the actual cost was less than estimated.’ The writer next proceeds to attack, in language which we need not repeat, and which is strangely at variance with the admissions of the prisoners’ counsel, the fairness

of the trial, and the impartiality of the Judges. Coming then to what seems the actual business of the circular, he continues:—

"As yet, however, England has not resorted to the open slaughter of Irish political prisoners, but should she do so, I am instructed to say that for every judicial assassination she is guilty of, the life of a prominent Englishman will be exacted by this Government, and you will point out that upon England must rest the odium of having first inaugurated the policy of assassination in her present struggle with Ireland. Whether the persons to be put to death by England on account of the van incident belong to the Fenian organisation or not, a full measure of retaliation shall be exacted on their behalf, in recognition of their claims as Irishmen."

This extract no doubt contains the pith of the circular. In the belief that the Queen's Government is too strong to be deterred from doing its duty by threats, and too generous to allow its consideration of the care of the convicts to be prejudiced by the acts of anonymous and irresponsible persons outside their prison walls, we give it publicity.

EXTRAORDINARY PROCEEDINGS AT THE HOME OFFICE,

At the meeting which was held at Clerkenwell Green on Sunday morning, respecting the fate of the condemned Fenian prisoners at Manchester, it was agreed that a deputation should wait upon the Home Secretary on Monday, and present a memorial on the subject. Mr. Finlen, one of the speakers at the meeting, called at the Home Office during the morning, and asked whether Mr. Hardy would see the deputation. A reply was sent by one of the messengers that if Mr. Finlen would call at two o'clock he would be informed whether the Home Secretary would consent to do so or not. Shortly before two o'clock Col. Dickson and several members of the Reform League arrived at the Home Office, but at that time neither Mr. Finlen nor any of those who had taken part in the meeting were present. The former gentlemen, acting in their private capacity and not as representatives of the Reform League, said that they had seen the report of the meeting, and had come to support the memorial. After waiting until a quarter past two o'clock, and Mr. Finlen not appearing, a message was sent down to the hall in which they had been kept waiting that Mr. Hardy declined to receive a deputation, and that a letter had been written, which would be given to Mr. Finlen, as he was the one who had solicited the interview. Colonel Dickson and the others then left. Soon afterwards Mr. Finlen and a numerous body of men who appeared to belong to the working class went to the Home Office, and enquired whether Mr. Hardy would see them. Mr. Finlen was told that the Home Secretary declined to do so, but that a letter would be given him upstairs. He went upstairs, and the reporters were invited by the deputation to hear the communication read. At first only a few of the deputation went upstairs into the waiting room, which adjoins the reception room; but Mr. Finlen called out that it was a most important deputation, and that he should read the answer to them all. The result was that the small room was instantly filled.

Mr. Finlen, taking the chair, said: I am very sorry to say that the Home Secretary will not grant an interview. He has written this letter—(hisses):—

"Sir, am directed by Mr. Secretary Hardy to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, acquainting him that a deputation has been appointed by a meeting held yesterday at Clerkenwell Green to wait upon him in reference to the Fenian convicts under sentence of death at Manchester, and expressing the hope that he would receive them this afternoon. Mr. Hardy desires me to inform you, in reply, that he has already declined to receive deputations on the subject——" (Hisses, and cries of "Shame.")

Mr. Finlen: It is disgraceful. That is the right word,

The Office keeper: He quiet.

Several voices: Silence, man,

Mr. Finlen (reading): "—— and must equally decline this one ——"

Voices: That's because we are working men. (Loud hisses, and cries of "Order, order,")

Mr. Finlen (reading): "—— though prepared to receive any memorial that may be sent to him,—I am, your obedient servant"—name—somebody or other. (Hisses.)

Cries of "They will be dead by Saturday night."

Mr. Finlen: This is the issue of our endeavours to save these four men at Manchester, I have not the slightest sympathy in this matter, I am simply desirous of saving life—(Bravo)—anxious that England shall not be disgraced by political offenders like those being handed over to Mr. Calcraft next Saturday. (Cheers.) We do not want that. I say here what I would say before the Queen. I will move, if possible, heaven and earth to secure that which we ask for. We will not submit to this, Hardy. I will go to Manchester, Birmingham; I will go to Liverpool, I will rouse the spirit of the Irish people residing there. (Loud cheers)

The Office-keeper again interposed, and called out, "Silence, silence," (Hisses)

Mr. Finlen (speaking at the top of his voice): Silence, man. It shall go forth to the people of America—(cheers)—that this Government—(Ah! ah!)—will have blood—(groans)—that this Government will bring blood upon its head if they dare to refuse the overtures, if they take away the lives of men who are as good as any member of this Government, (Loud cheers.) Such are my opinions, Hardy has committed an ignominious and ignorant blunder. The Tories are a stupid party —(hear, hear)—as John Stuart Mill has said, and this is one of the most significant instances.

Mr. Clegg, the chairman of the meeting at Clerkenwell Green, said that no stone must be left unturned to effect their object. Not only Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester, but the men of Glasgow must be roused. (Cheers) Those who are here are working men, and they can't afford to lose a day's work.

Mr. Finlen; They have lost a day's work in coming here, and they can't afford to lose another.

Mr. Clegg: We look upon each of these men (the prisoners) as a brother. We regard them as men. (Cheers)

Mr. Finlen: It is simply disgraceful.

Mr. Clegg: With these few remarks —

Mr. Osborne: Let us adjourn as early as possible to make arrangements for a great torchlight meeting on Clerkenwell Green on Thursday evening. (Cheers.) The spirit is abroad, and you only want to rouse it. Instead of 5,000 we can get 20,000 men. If Clerkenwell Green should be too small we can go to Trafalgar Square. (Cheers.) Mr. M'Sweeney next spoke but with a volubility which rendered his remarks almost incomprehensible. As far as his passionate utterances could be understood, he said that the conduct of the Home Secretary was simply disgraceful.

Mr. Connolly thought that in a matter of this importance they should have sought for the aid of a member of Parliament, (Loud cries of "No, no," interruption, and disorder.) He did not sympathise with violence. Any grievance in this country could be arrested by peaceable justice. (No, no.) It would be a very great mistake to hang these men. (Loud cheers.) They passed sentence of death upon Burke, but it was remitted (Cheers.) If he had been put to death, would he not occupy a more dignified position in the opinion of the Irish people than he did? (Question.) He would have been regarded as a martyr. Let these men at Manchester be dealt with as if theirs were ordinary cases. (Cheers.)

Mr. Finlen, Mr. Clegg, and others, speaking at the same time, said that the Clerkenwell Reformers were not in the habit of depending upon M.P.'s they relied upon themselves.

Mr. Campbell thought that if they had been Eyre of Jamaica - (groans)—or somebody of title, the Home Secretary would have received them; but because they were only hard-working men of Clerkenwell he would not. (Hisses.) It was the profits of their labour that enabled the aristocracy to ride in their chariots. (Hear, hear.) He loved his country (Ireland). Why should he not love her? He was glad that he had them to sympathise with her. (We do.)

A Member of the Deputation interposed, and pointed out that the office keeper had said that they had been requested to leave, and, as there were certain duties at all places, he thought they should not infringe upon the conduct of this office. (Interruption.)

Mr. Osborne: We are bound to adjourn to a day and place. (Cheers)

Mr. M'Sweeney and three or four others were speaking, when

Mr. Osborne said that if a gentleman would speak, they had better leave him there to deliver it to himself.

Mr. Murray: I came here to perform a public duty. (Cheers.) I beg leave to second the resolution that we adjourn until Thursday night. They must hold a great public demonstration, (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and declared to be carried, amidst a great deal of noise.

Mr. Finlen; I am sure that Mr. Osborne will agree with me that we must have a meeting every night upon Clerkenwell Green. We will have the town paraded. (Cheers.) We will rouse our friends and agents throughout the metropolis. They may be sure that we will make this question too hot for any obdurate Tory Government. (Loud cheers,) They should be burked. They will be deposed. They will lose their status. They will bring a crime and a disgrace upon this country.

The Office-keeper, who had several times vainly endeavoured to obtain order, again said: I am here from Mr. Hardy, and he desires that you will leave the Home Office. (Interruption and noise.)

Mr. Finlen, in a very excited manner, to the office-keeper: Silence, silence! Leave the room! You are only a servant.

A Member of the Deputation: I move a vote of censure upon Mr. Hardy, (Interruption.)

Mr. Finlen: This is a most outrageous proceeding—(cheers)—upon the part of the Home Secretary, I do not desire to intimidate the officials of this place. Of course, they have to do their work. I recognise their functions. I say as far as this Government is concerned—and I say it here in this Home Office, under this roof of authority—(hisses and laughter)—as far as this Government is concerned, it is dishonourable and disgraceful—(applause)—to refuse to meet a body of men who come to perform a sacred duty. (Bravo.) We will use our utmost energies, our thews and muscles, to the end that these men's lives shall not be sacrificed. We will turn out all the Tory Governments that live or ever have lived— (great cheering)—to save the lives of these brave and plucky Fenians, who threw away their liberties to rescue Deasy and Kelly. (Applause.)

The Office-keeper: Do you understand—

Mr. Finlen (authoritatively): You be quiet! Silence! Mr. Hardy is there (pointing to the reception room—raising his voice): I am not to be arrested in the course of my remarks. The blood of these men is not to be sacrificed. If the blood of these men be shed the lives of the members of the Government will not be held sacred,

nor their position as advisers of our good Queen. They will bring disgrace upon us by their paltry, bloody, and miserable conduct, (Laughter and cheers.)

A vote of thanks was then given to Mr. Finlen, and the deputation left the apartment.

The attendants and office-keepers, during the progress of this extraordinary meeting, had grouped themselves outside the room at the top of the staircase, looking utterly bewildered at the conduct of the speakers, and the language in which they indulged. Finding that no regard was paid to the office-keeper, who said that Mr. Hardy desired them to leave, a messenger was despatched to Scotland Yard to summon the police. In a few minutes, a detachment, accompanied by several officers, dashed across the road. They arrived just as the deputation was leaving, and their services, consequently, were not required. Sir Richard Mayne and Captain Harris also came across in command. Considerable excitement was occasioned in Whitehall by the sight of the police.

At eight o'clock the members of the deputation held a meeting at the Nag's Head public-house, Leather Lane, to report to those by whom they had been appointed, the result of their attempt to seek an interview with Mr. Hardy. Mr. Clegg took the chair.

Mr. Finlen addressed those present in a long speech, in which he vigorously denounced the conduct of the Home Secretary and of the Government in general. Mr. Hardy treated them in a callous, cruel, and gross manner. The letter sent them in reply was a miserable piece of jargon, and was an arrant affront to the working men of England. They held a meeting in the Home Office. (Cheers.) They did not profess Fenianism, but they had strong sympathy with the men of Ireland who called themselves Fenians, because Fenianism in their sense is patriotism. They are men who are dedicated to their country's cause. They are men as glorious as Cromwell and Washington were—(cheers)—and who erected the great and glorious Republic. Perhaps the Tory newspapers will say that the meeting which they held in the Home Office was a Fenian meeting. Well, it was a Fenian meeting. (Cheers) He know, upon the most reliable authority, that the Home Secretary had his ear to the keyhole of the door listening to the speeches they made. (laughter.) He cared for no man nor party. He dedicated his life to the liberties of his fellows. They came out of the Home Office with the same glorious order that Garibaldi retired after the battle of Mentana. They wanted no riot, no disorder. All they wanted was that justice should be done and practised by their rulers, (Cheers.)

The Chairman said that if the people of Ireland were conspirators, then he was one. He gloried in them, Those who rescued Deasy and Kelly succeeded, and it was a glorious victory. Every man ought to be proud of them, and that irrespective of creed, country, or religion.

Mr. Perks regretted the conduct at the Home Office that afternoon. If they had left the office in silence it would have had a much better effect. Coolness, calmness, and moral force would bring them all they wanted. (No.)

Several other speakers addressed the meeting, a large majority being decidedly in favour of the course which had been pursued by the deputation. The remarks of Mr. Finlen and the Chairman were loudly applauded. A deputation was to leave London yesterday morning for Birmingham and the other places mentioned, to hold meetings upon the subject.

November 22nd 1867 *Morning Herald* MEETING OF FENIAN SYMPATHISERS.

A meeting was held last evening on Clerkenwell green under the auspices of the deputation which waited upon the Secretary of State for the Home Department on Monday last, for the purpose of taking measures with a view to obtain a commutation of the sentence under which the condemned Fenians at Manchester are now lying.

In order to add to the attractions of the proceedings it had been announced that they would take place by torch-light. The programme in this respect, however, was not carried out, not a single torch being visible, the inducement, however, served its purpose, by collecting a very large crowd, composed of the usual heterogeneous nature of a metropolitan outdoor meeting. The numbers present might be probably by estimated at from four to five thousand, who were simultaneously harangued from two wagons drawn up in opposite parts of the square, both being lighted by two naphtha lamps.

Mr. Clegg, who presided at the principal meeting, opened the proceedings by stating that they wanted to show to the world that if the condemned Fenians were put to death they had no part in the matter, They had a gentleman from Liverpool and one or two from America present, who would take part in the proceedings (Bravo). A difference of opinion existed with regard to the doings at the Home Office on Monday last; but he wanted to know whether the Home Office did not belong to the working classes ("It does") Well, then, the proceedings were solely caused by the Home Secretary, who had not the good taste to receive them because they were a deputation of working

men. (“Shame,” “That’s it”) There were about 80 of them, and they could ill afford to lose a day's work in the present times, when work was so scarce (hear, hear), and they felt, under the circumstances, that they ought to hold an indignation meeting in this the greatest metropolis in the world (cheers).

Mr, Finlen, who was received with cheers, proposed the first resolution as follows:—“That this meeting earnestly hopes that the convicted Fenians in Manchester will not be executed (hear, hear) It is also very disappointed and annoyed that the Home Secretary refused to receive the deputation on Monday last (hear, hear). Nothing can bring our country into greater disgrace than the sacrifice of the lives of four men in consequence of the accidental and most unfortunate loss of the life of one man” (hear, hear). He said that they were present as friends of humanity who wanted to save the lives of four of their fellow creatures (cheers). Having a motive so humane, generous, and disinterested, let them not transgress any law, violate order, or give the government any excuse to interfere with their proceedings (hear, hear). He had been told that soldiers had been placed all over the metropolis, and that some of them were at that moment located in the House of Detention (groans, and “let them stop there”). The Tory government who were now making this demonstration of military force employed the same agent in Hyde Park when the people asserted their rights in order to obtain a reform bill. They had met to consider the case of the reckless young men who were unfortunately doomed to the tender offices of Mr. Calcraft (groans). Those men who had been arraigned and convicted on a charge of murder were however only political offenders guilty of the crime of Fenianism, and Fenianism was only another name for patriotism (loud cheers). All honour and glory, then, to the sons of Ireland (renewed cheers) who, believing—nay, not believing — who knowing the wrongs that their country had experienced at the hands of a callous, brutal, bloody, and alien aristocracy (bravo, bravo)—knowing that that aristocracy has committed outrages to which no nationality ought to be exposed – were prepared to do their parts as men to elevate their country into a condition of liberty, peace, and satisfaction (loud cheers). *The Times*, in a leading article, commenting on the deputation of Monday last, had declared that Mr. Finlen’s conduct on that occasion was as outrageous as the conduct of the Fenians now under sentence of death (“You did no more than your duty”). In reply to that he informed the *Times* that he would accept the situation; but they could not hang him for what he did at the Home Office, and therefore if crime came within the same category as that of the men at Manchester, why, if they could not hang him (Mr, Finlen), should they hang those men? (hurrah! “That's it!) He was not there to quarrel with newspapers, or with the *Morning Star* because a censorious and senseless writer, under the heading of “Readings by Starlight,” had suggested that he should be prosecuted for trespass. He held that the Home Office was a public place, and that the people paid Mr. Hardy and all his subordinates. That kind of fighting only showed what sort of stuff our rulers were made of when a man like himself, caring for no power and fearing no bane, used his best efforts to gain mercy for his fellow-creatures. Should their present efforts prove unavailing, which they would shortly ascertain, they would do their best to reach the ears of Queen Victoria; and a deputation would be sent down to Windsor of men prompted only by the most generous impulses, and they would endeavour to disabuse her Majesty’s mind of the bad and rash counsels of her ministerial advisers (bravo) In the event of their efforts altogether failing – in the event of life being taken by the hangman at Manchester on Saturday (We will have revenge!)” No, not revenge, there was a moral power in this country, a force of public opinion, which if a deed so rash, so unnecessary, and sanguine was consummated, would demand satisfaction for it. He should propose, if the sentence was carried into effect, that a funeral procession should march through London next Sunday, having black crape banners bearing the harp, shamrock, and the names of the en who had become the victims of the government, to the West-end, headed by a brass band playing “The Dead March from Saul” (bravo)’ and afterward assembling in Hyde Park, where funeral orations would he delivered on their murder. He had been intimidated and exposed to persecution, and in consequence of his efforts on behalf of these men **had been dismissed from his employment and the bread taken out of his month.*** He should, however, not waver in his course, and next Sunday the funeral procession would be headed by

James Finlen (uproarious cheering). [*The **Sheffield Independent of 26th** stated; he (Finlen) had received from a gentleman an offer of a sum of money sufficient to take him out to America]

A "Stranger from Liverpool," who declined giving his name, contended that the crime of which the condemned Fenians were convicted was an accident, and that if they were executed it would be a judicial murder.

Mr. Owen, in seconding the resolution, stated that he was altogether opposed to capital punishment. He considered the strangling of men, and even women (!), was a disgrace to civilisation. He was one of the deputation on Monday last and believed in giving the devil his due. He believed they could afford to be magnanimous. Let them consider the circumstances of the case—by the instrumentality of the condemned Fenians two of their leaders escaped; they got clear off to America and received an ovation. Her Majesty's government naturally felt humiliated, and out of sheer revenge would take away the lives of these misguided men (groans). The deputation had been grossly abused by the press, but if the Home Secretary had acted like a gentleman Mr. Finlen would not have said what he did. If Mr. Finlen, in the heat of the moment, had said anything of a threatening character he was sure that he would be very sorry for it afterwards. He had as good an opinion of the aristocracy as Mr. Finlen, but preferred showing it in a different way. On one occasion, in a court of justice at the Old Bailey, he told the judge that he had scruples in taking part in a prosecution because the laws were vindictive, brutal and monstrous. The judge insulted him, but before he left the court he made him beg his pardon. It was Judge Willes to whom he alluded. That circumstance showed that even a judge could be thrown off his guard. They would endeavour to obtain mercy for these men from her Majesty, and he hoped that the deputation which would be appointed to wait upon her would be enabled to obtain an audience. He should like to hear the cry go through the length and breadth of the land, "Up with the Queen and the People, and Down with the Bloody Aristocracy" (uproarious cheering and loud cries of "Bravo!") In conclusion he called upon them for three cheers for the Queen, which were given with hearty goodwill.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Meldrum hoped that the government would altogether ignore the policy of taking life for any political offence. One of the offenders (Allen) was a boy of 19 years of age, an infant in the eye of the law; and therefore, he contended, was not amenable for the crime of which he was convicted. If these men had suffered from unjust laws they had great cause to rebel against the rule of the Crown. When the government entered upon a war they caused a panic in Ireland which threw great numbers out of employment, and enabled them the more readily to recruit the army. If these men had been misled they were nevertheless patriots to their country's cause. He trusted that this movement would have the effect of uniting the working classes together in an iron band, and if these men were executed on Saturday, if the government endeavoured to trample on the working classes they would for ever rise against that power. In conclusion, he moved a formal resolution for presenting a memorial to her Most Gracious Majesty, praying her to exercise her prerogative by commuting the sentence of the four condemned Fenians. Mr. Thomas seconded the motion, and urged that Kelly and Deasey were illegally in custody at the time the rescue was effected, and that the crime of the Fenians was not murder, but manslaughter. If the Tory government refused to listen to their petition they would make London too hot to hold them for more than another week.

Mr. Brallaugh supported the resolution in a characteristic speech, in the course of which he said he was anxious that no words of his should tend to prevent mercy being extended to these men. He spoke with a sense of deep responsibility – not out of respect for the laws of the country, for throughout the whole of his life he had never cared for them – but because he thought it depended very much upon what was said on that occasion as to whether the lives of the convicts would be saved. They were the weak pleading to the strong and he felt convinced that if the sentence were carried out it would provoke a great mass of the Irish people to acts of retaliation—in fact would tend to precipitate the worst kind of civil war. After a few remarks from Mr. Osborn, the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the chairman, and the crowd gradually dispersed in a peaceable manner. [The *Bee-hive* adds that a resolution was also passed that a deputation should at

once proceed to Mr. Gladstone, as the leader of the Liberal Party, and request that he would give them a formal introduction to the Queen.]

November 23rd 1867 *London Evening Standard* THE DEPUTATION TO THE QUEEN. Yesterday the deputation (appointed at the mass meeting on Clerkenwell-green on Thursday night) to present a memorial to her Majesty the Queen on behalf of the Fenian convicts at Manchester, proceeded to Windsor for that purpose. The deputation consisted of Mr. Clegg (chairman), and Messrs. Coffee and Canham. Mr. Finlen not being present. [The *Birmingham Daily Post* states that two of the delegation could not afford the train fare, Finlen being one of them. he set out at midnight with a volunteer to WALK the 21 mile trip from London, but ‘broke down’ when some miles short of Windsor and his companion had to leave him on the road]. *The trio left from Paddington to Windsor by GWR – eventually they came to the Castle but only Mr. Clegg was admitted to the waiting room. The memorial, in a conciliatory tone, was handed over and an answer awaited. Letters were brought in answer one to two hours later and the group returned to the railway station, now followed by a jeering mob, but protected by a small group of policemen and Serjeant Clarke. The two letters stated that the memorial would not be handed to the Queen but should be handed to the Secretary of State or other of her responsible ministers. By now the mob outside the waiting room numbered around 1,000 and a subterfuge was used by backing a special train into the station and taking the trio to Slough where they could catch the London train from Windsor a short while later.* “On the return of the deputation to town a meeting of the committee was held, and on hearing the report of its proceedings and General Grey’s letter,

Mr. Finlen moved, - That the execution of the condemned Fenians at Manchester, being now inevitable, it should be resolved that a funeral procession should be formed on Sunday morning at Clerkenwell-green, and that it should proceed with black banners and bands playing the “Dead March,” through Belgravia and all the aristocratic quarters at the West-end and then to Hyde Park where funeral orations should be delivered in honour of the men who had been slain, not because they were malefactors, but because they had acted in defence of a political cause, and had defended it with their lives (hear, hear). It should be a solemn, a silent, and a peaceable funeral procession. (hear, hear) The object would be to protest against the possibility of its being supposed that the working men of England had anything to do with the crime of Saturday morning (hear, hear).

Mr. Pollard seconded the resolution.

Mr. Woodward said that he was the landlord of the house, and if he thought it had been intended to make such a proposition he would not have allowed the meeting to take place. It should be stated that two detectives had just previously entered the committee-room. The Chairman said that the demonstration could not bring the men back to life, and it would do no good (Hear, hear, and hisses).

Mr. Finlen withdrew his resolution sooner than jeopardise the interests of the landlord.

Mr. Osborne moved that the committee be dissolved, and said that the Tory government would sacrifice every man of them (Oh, oh, and confusion). If the demonstration were held 100,000 men would certainly come to it; and who would answer for the consequences? (Hear, hear, and hisses.)

Mr. Finlen said that he had withdrawn his resolution, so as not to compromise any one who did not want to act, but he would certainly carry out the intention with another committee (cries of “We will act with you,” Oh, oh and confusion).

Mr. Osborne said that they had wives and children, and he would not be party to taking men from their families (Oh, oh, and hear, hear). He was not afraid, but he did not want bloodshed (hear, hear). The demonstration could do no good to the men who were hanged (hissed). It was shameful to interrupt him in that way when people’s lives would be sacrificed (hear hear, and confusion). They might go on their own road to destruction, but he was ----- if they would drag him with them.

The resolution dissolving the committee having been seconded, the Chairman said that he would decidedly oppose the demonstration. It could not bring back the Fenians that would be hanged tomorrow to life, and it might lead to mischief (no, no, and hear hear). It would be better to petition

for the redress of the wrongs of Ireland (hear, hear, and laughter). He thought it was not fair to denounce the Tory government, for the Whigs would have done the same, as was proved by Mr. Gladstone's speech, stifling the discussion on the fate of the condemned men (hear, hear, and cries of "The Tory government is the same as the Whig"). They had got reform, and let them use it to redress Irish wrongs (ironical cheers, and cries of hear, hear"). The resolution was carried, and the meeting broke up. Several of the committee volunteered to form a new committee to carry out the demonstration on Sunday next, and it was stated that the organisation of it would be at once proceeded with.

Related – following on from last: From our own correspondent – Manchester November. 22nd – The work of creating barriers for the double purpose of breaking the pressure of the crowd and preventing the people crowding in too close proximity to the gallows, is nearly complete. In addition to which the open space immediately facing the entrance to the gaol has been enclosed by a large timber hoarding 20 feet high, behind which are to be placed pieces of artillery, and an efficient working staff in the event of emergency. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the excitement that at present exists in this locality, and, forming as it must, a prelude of what is to follow by-and-bye, it is a fair assumption that the scene during tonight will be of a character never before witnessed in Manchester. I am informed upon authority that the three doomed men are perfectly resigned to meet their fate, and that neither of them has expressed the least desire to evade it. Their demeanour is in every respect becoming their awful situation. After the service this morning the Rev. Mr. Gadd informed the convicts that the Dowager Marchioness of Queensberry has sent an order for £100 for the benefit of their wives and children; and read to each of them the following letter from that lady:- My dear friends, - It may be that these few lines may minister some consolation to you on your approaching departure from this world. I send you by the hands of a faithful messenger some help for your wife, or wives, and children in their approaching irreparable loss, and with the assurance that as long as I live they shall be cared for to the utmost of my power. Mr. M'Donnell, the bearer of this for me will bring me their address and the address of the priest that attends you. It will also be a comfort for your precious souls to know that we remember you here at the altar of God, where the daily remembrance of that all-glorious sacrifice on Calvary for you all is not neglected. We have daily mass for you here, and if it be so that it pleases the good God to permit you thus to be called to himself on Saturday morning, the precious body and blood of our Lord and saviour, and our Friend, will be presented for you before God at eight o'clock on that day – that blood so precious which cleanses from all sin. May your last words and thoughts be Jesus. Rest on Him who is faithful and willing, and all powerful to save. Rest on him and on his sacrifice on that cross for you – instead of you – and hear Him say, 'To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.' Yet will we remember your souls constantly at the altar of God, after your departure, as well as those whom you leave in life. "Farewell; and may Jesus Christ, the Saviour of sinners save us all, and give you His last blessing upon earth, and an eternal continuance of it in Heaven. Caroline Queensberry, Ventnor, Isle of Wight.

The convicts expressed the warmest gratitude to the marchioness for her consoling letter and the accompanying gift. The Rev. Mr. Gadd administered to them the Holy Communion this morning, and he will remain with them all the night.

This morning the mother of the prisoner Allen, his sister, his sweetheart, and two or three relations, went to the New Bailey Prison to see him, but were refused admission. The crowd recognised them, and they were immediately surrounded by some hundreds of people. Mr. Superintendent Gee took them under his care, and for a time sheltered them in the Albert-street station. At last a message was sent up that Allen's mother would be admitted to see her son, and she went down, accompanied by a friend, the other relations following at such distances after her that the whole party escaped observation on the way. On arriving at the prison they were told that only Mrs. Allen could be admitted and a sister and cousin, who had come from Ireland for the express purpose of seeing Allen, had to go back, along with his sweetheart, without having been able, as they had hoped, to pay him a farewell visit. It was some time before Mrs. Allen could obtain admission to the interior

of the prison, and her solitary companion in the corridor was Mrs. Larkin, who carried a young child in her arms. Companions in misfortune as they were, an ordinary spectator would have failed from their calm demeanour to suspect the painful position in which they were placed. They were afterwards admitted to the convict's cell, and a most heart-rending scene took place between Larkin and his wife.

Manchester – Midnight

Great crowds have all day defiled in front of the prison, where the construction of the gallows has been proceeding. It was finished at dusk, and all the preparations are complete. The barriers in front to the prison are all ready. The military are excellently disposed. A company of the 72nd Regiment and two pieces of artillery are in the courtyard of the gaol. A company of the 54th is stationed on the railway bridge commanding the scaffold and street, and two squadrons of cavalry are placed in reserve in rear of the prison, with a clear road to sweep to the front if necessary. Other troops are held in readiness. The space in front of the gallows is to be occupied by special constables, and the barriers are to be held by the regular police, who are armed with revolvers and cutlasses. To-night everything is quiet, except where people still circulate in front of the prison, and they are comparatively few. No disturbance is expected in consequence of the thoroughly efficient character of the precautions. MANCHESTER November. 23 One A.M. - When the space in front of the prison was cleared the people moved away very quietly. Soon after midnight the special constables were placed on duty within the enclosure. At this hour there are not 400 people at each end of New Bailey-street. All is quiet.

BIRMINGHAM November. 22, Night – Two mobs, English and Irish, have been marching through the streets since nightfall; the English noisy, but harmless; the Irish quiet, and not attacking anybody, but are armed with sticks, stones, hatchets, hammers, knives and pokers. The English mob have again visited St. Alban's Church – but were kept off by the police – and the Roman Catholic places of worship, which were guarded by the police and the Irish. The town is in ferment; but no serious damage has been done to-night.

November 25th 1867 Shields Daily Gazette - Full account of the hanging of Allen, Larkin and Gould. THE FENIANS. THE EXECUTION AT MANCHESTER.

The following is a fuller report of the execution of the three Fenians, Allen, Larkin and Gould at Manchester, than we were able to give in our Saturday's impression:-

THE SPECTATORS.

The spectators began to assemble as early as five o'clock on Friday afternoon, and by ten o'clock Albert Bridge was crowded. From that hour, however til midnight there was a gradual diminution, and by one o'clock on Saturday morning all had left the scene excepting those who intended staying throughout the night. Within, the barriers to which the public were not admitted there were more than 2,000 special and ordinary constables. Until after eleven o'clock there was no attempts on the part of the police to prevent a free passage through the barriers and multitudes of both sexes, young and old, jostled each other in endeavouring to force their way to and from in front of the gaol. On the outskirts of the crowd knots of eager bystanders were busy discussing the probability of a reprieve. On passing through the large barrier, about 14ft, high, which prevented access to Stanley Street, and which forms the front of the gaol, one could not but be struck with the stillness which formed a strong contrast with the vociferous crowd beyond; a stillness which was only broken by the measured tramp of the policemen and the echo of the half-hour signal, "All's well," which was repeated by the cordon of police who kept armed guard round the prison. The solitary watchfire on the inside of the barrier reflected strongly on the inky water of the Irwell, over which the river police kept guard, moving up and down the river in boats all the night, to prevent any "stranger craft" passing the prison. The detachments of special constables, many of them youths, whiled away the long hours of the night by smoking, and looked literally and figuratively "marking time" as it passed slowly by. The "captains of companies," some smoking, others chatting, and the remainder lounging on the barriers, seemed wistfully waiting for the morning. Up to two o'clock the number of spectators was extremely small, especially at the Manchester end, where they only mustered about three deep, and kept themselves alive by singing occasional snatches of songs; whilst at the Salford end the protection of the railway arch afforded a shelter for more loungers, who mustered by the watch fires, improvising meetings, and chaffing the less fortunate occupants of the enclosure. Toward two o'clock the crowd, which was sensibly increased, was removed back over the Albert Bridge. An additional significance is given to this from the fact that Calcraft had received the following anonymous communication from sympathising Fenians: "If you hang any of the gentlemen, condemned to death, at the New Bailey Prison, it will be the worse for you; you will

not survive afterwards." Calcraft sent the following note to the visiting justices:—"I have received the enclosed letter. It seems a serious job. I hope you will look after it that I shall get home safe again." The constables formed a motley group of all sizes, all kinds of dresses, but yet exhibiting a stern desire to assist the authorities. They were recognised by the ordinary white sleeve badge and short truncheon, and many of them evidently performed their duty with no little gusto. The few thousands who constituted the mob increased very slowly throughout the early hours of the morning, and till after six o'clock there was no difficulty in securing what they would term a good position. At three o'clock not more than 3,000 had settled into their places to wait through the remainder of the cold and dreary night. The composition of this crowd was certainly no credit to the place or places whence the people came. Deansgate and its bye streets contributed largely to the mob. Some of the spectators were evidently pitmen, others were mill hands, and there were a few factory girls and women. All were dirty. The keen, pallid faces, and spare and ragged clothing of some exhibited deep traces of hard working or hard drinking. There were sharp precocious lads of the criminal class, whose language and behaviour showed an acquaintance with some of the sternest realities of early life; and there were girls and women, whose habits form the darkest chapters of our social history. But with all these elements there was no ruffianism. There were a few spasmodic efforts to perform a little horse-play; and to relieve the tedium of waiting, the singing of "John Brown's Soul," "Champagne Charley," and other popular airs contributed to the night's amusement. One of the choicest forms of entertainment was to "chaff the bobbies." The specials came in for a large share of this kind of comment, and when they were being drilled—marched and countermarched from barrier to barrier - in order to keep themselves warm, the crowd enjoyed the performance immensely. One of the mob, who was evidently familiar with the treadmill, threatened to report them to the governor if they did not do their task. The smallest circumstance was seized upon to afford a diversion and relieve the monotony of killing time.

The crowd at the city side of the prison became very noisy at three o'clock. Not more than two hundred persons were assembled, but they sang and shouted, and created such an uproar, that the police received orders to drive them back to the foot of Bridge Street, where their cries could not disturb the convicts, who were passing the night in religious exercises.

At six o'clock the crowd began to increase rapidly; one continuous stream of men principally, but also including women, boys, and girls, poured from all parts of the city towards the neighbourhood of the prison. The vicinity of Albert Bridge, from which the best view of the horrid spectacle could be obtained, was the principal centre towards which all were wending. The flaring gin palaces in Deansgate and the neighbourhood of the bridge supplied an early stimulant to the eager throng; and the army of street coffee sellers, who seemed to have come from their old squatting grounds in all parts of the city offered a safer beverage. The crowd was evidently much more English than Irish; in fact there were very few countrymen of the convicts present. There was also a marked absence of sympathy for the convicts; a few regrets were expressed that the gallows had to be resorted to; but there was nothing whatever to show that any present sympathised with the movement in which the three men about to meet their doom had been concerned. There was a lack, too, of that moral literature and street preaching which so often form incongruous elements of execution crowds; but advisers were not wanted to keep the crowd in order. Their demeanour, as the morning advanced, was as peaceable as a large crowd could well be. There was excitement; but no mischief, no terrorism, and no attempt to annoy the police or those whose duties required them to be present.

As the day dawned, soon after seven o'clock, a slight mist, which had begun to set in about two hours before, began to thicken into a yellow murky fog. The crowd rapidly increased in number, but as eight o'clock approached it became evident that very few indeed would be able to see the spectacle. Standing upon Albert Bridge the massive dimensions of the prison loomed through the fog, which magnified it into the dimensions and appearance of a huge fortress. The bartisans, or turrets, at the angles were occupied by soldiers, and increased the force of the fancy. Half-way up New Bailey Street could be seen the dim outline of the scaffold, and the street below was occupied by a dense mass of special constables and police officers. To the spectators at the Manchester side of Albert Bridge nothing was visible. Even the prison walls could not be seen and when the cry of "hats" was raised by those in front, the excitement among the many who were unable to witness the proceedings was intense. There was a universal straining of necks and eyes, but it was of no avail, and of the 10,000 or 12,000 who were on the bridge and on the Manchester side of the water, not half the number could see what took place. Considered as a whole, the conduct of the crowd was most exemplary; there was even less excitement than when Burrows was executed in August last year, and the number of spectators was also fewer.

THE EXECUTION.

As soon as the bell commenced to strike the hour, a subdued cry of "Hush" fell upon the air, and a dead silence at once prevailed. Every eye was fixed upon the door high up in the prison wall, and attention was strained to the utmost. The minutes passed and there was no sign of the condemned men, and the cracking of a fog signal on the railway, and the passage of a crowded train along the viaduct jarred strangely on men's tense nerves. At length, the black door opened, and two warders made their appearance; immediately after them came Allen, whose smooth, beardless face excited general pity as he walked with Canon Cantwell to the front of the drop. The hard features and grizzled hair of Calcraft could be seen between the two, and the hangman lost not a moment in placing Allen in position, pinioning his feet, and placing the end rope on the right of the beam round

his neck. The wretched, young man appeared tolerably firm when he first appeared on the scaffold, but he shrunk and changed colour frightfully at the touch of Calcraft, and trembled all over as the rope was put round his neck. Canon Cantwell still continued to recite the Litany, and Allen grew a little more collected, and repeated the responses in a voice audible a considerable distance from the drop. The second of the condemned men to appear was Larkin, attended by the Rev. Mr Quick, but as Gould was to hang from the centre rope, he was put to aside, and the latter was brought forward and placed beneath the noose. This little incident seemed to have upset the firmness of Larkin, for he entirely lost his self-possession and commenced to speak rapidly to those about him and to shake very much. In the meantime Gould, whose bearing was firm and undaunted, was placed in the hands of Calcraft, but before the noose was placed round his neck, he turned round to Allen. The poor, fellow was trembling, and ashy pale, and Gould stepped up to him, took him by the hands, and kissed him affectionately on the right cheek. He then submitted himself to Calcraft, had his feet pinioned, the noose put round his neck, the cap over his head, but the material of which it was composed was so thin that his face (and the same was the case with Gould) could easily be distinguished. Larkin was brought forward last, and it was evident that his firmness had completely deserted him. He trembled in every limb, and apparently talked continually. Neither did Calcraft appear so firm and when the miserable wretches feet were pinioned, he was not in the right position, and had to be pushed into it; his countenance betrayed great emotion, and he almost immediately fell to the floor of the scaffold. The warders lifted him up and placed him in the proper place, where Calcraft soon fitted him with the rope and cap, but his legs appeared to be bending under him, and the warder who was stationed on the edge of the scaffold at his left hand had to rest his hand on his shoulder to keep him up.

Several minutes were occupied in these horrible arrangements, and during the whole time the priests never left the side of their charges. Their voices could be heard solemnly repeating the "Litany of Jesus," but the responses of the wretched men were much more audible. When everything had been put in course for "the last scene of all," Calcraft 'disappeared behind the scaffold, the priests retired into the open doorway behind, and the two warders took their places at each end of the scaffold. The scene was one of unutterable horror, and a scandal to any nation having a claim to civilisation. The poor immature, hot-headed youth of nineteen, passionately kissed the crucifix held in his clasped hands, and in trembling accents cried out "Jesus, have mercy on us," "Jesus, have mercy on my soul," so that he could be heard fifty or sixty yards away. On the brink of eternity, Gould was still wonderfully firm, but his deep-toned appeal to his Redeemer for that mercy to his soul which men below had denied to his body, were not less awful. Larkin also prayed audibly, but his voice was broken, and he appeared to be hysterical. The sound of the rapidly repeated cries for mercy, and the sight of the quivering wretches awaiting the inevitable second which should launch them into eternity had not the smallest visible effect upon those in front of the scaffold. Except the universal uncovering of the head, as at a burial service, when they appeared, there was not the smallest manifestation; no groans of sympathy or desired revenge were uttered; a dead silence prevailed. A few seconds after the disappearance of Calcraft, Gould ceased his rapid prayer, turned towards Larkin, and apparently commenced to speak to him. Before he could have well pronounced two words, a dull, heavy clash was heard, the flap-board flew open beneath them, and all three disappeared from view. Allen appeared to have most rope, and the unmistakable sound which attended his fall gave evidence that his sufferings were short. The tense ropes all vibrated violently at first, but in about a minute Allen's was still. Gould's rope vibrated and twisted with great force for about two minutes more, but the frightful appearance of that from which Larkin was suspended attracted the attention of all in front of the gallows, and elicited expressions of horror. The rope swayed backwards and forwards fearfully, and it was evident that the miserable being was dying slowly from strangulation. Some minutes even after Gould's rope had ceased to vibrate, the cord from which Larkin hung swung and jerked violently. No sound from the mob followed the falling of the drop, it is just possible that the fog and the distance from the scaffold at which the spectators were kept prevented even the best placed of them from having a distinct view of what was going on beneath the fatal beam. Be that as it may, no cries greeted the disappearance of the condemned men from view, and in a few minutes afterwards the crowd began to melt away in the most quiet and orderly manner. A slight hitch occurred in the dispersal of the closely-packed people at the end of the Albert Bridge. A rush backward was made by some of the rearmost of the crowd, and for a few minutes matters looked serious; the barricade, however, stood firm, and as the numbers of the mob was not great a passage was soon obtained, and the people left the scene with all haste, so that in less than twenty minutes very few remained. The specials, police, and soldiers, however, were all kept on duty until after the bodies were cut down; this was done after the criminals had hung the usual time, and it was understood that they would be interred within the prison.

The Manchester Examiner says—During the time the culprits were on the drop, and nearly to the time of the cutting down of the bodies, the three priests remained reciting the prayers enjoined by their Church. We are assured that the three condemned men, although apparently resigned to their fate, were up to the moment in expectation of a reprieve. They had wished to address a few words from the scaffold to those below, but at the earnest solicitation of their priests they refrained from doing so. In taking leave of their warders, they said: "We are political martyrs." The reverend gentlemen, especially Father Gadd, have been most earnest and assiduous in their attendance upon and ministrations to the unfortunate men. Considerable curiosity has existed to know if the convicts left behind them any statement in writing. Nothing of the kind has been handed to the gaol officials

and anything which the men's confessions may have received from them will probably not be made public. The Rev. Mr Gadd is so prostrated by the scene in which he took part that he is compelled to exclude himself from every one but his most intimate friends. The condemned men had been able to hear from their cells the noise of the preparations outside during the last few days, and if they had not slept well during Friday night it must have required the thickness of many more walls than those which enclosed them to have shut out from their ears the suggestive sounds which arose from the hundreds of people waiting so near for the execution.

THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE CONVICTS.

As none of the convicts had lived long in Manchester, or had many acquaintances there, circumstances relating to their antecedents are not easily obtained. Allen was a native of Bandon, in the county of Cork, and, as has been already reported, his father was for some time a turnkey in an Irish prison. He had a few relations living in Manchester or the neighbourhood, and he came there in search of work as a joiner about the end of the year 1864. He obtained employment in the yard of one of the principal builders in the city, and for a time his habits were those of an ordinarily industrious working man. He made several acquaintances among his fellow-countrymen, and secured the affections of a young woman of a respectable family; and there was every prospect that, but for his unfortunate connection with the Fenian movement, he would have ultimately married the girl. When or where he was enrolled a Fenian is not known, but for a considerable time he has done very little work, and during that time he has been considered one of the active agents of the movement in Manchester. When the meeting took place at which it was decided that an attempt should be made to rescue Kelly and Deasey, Allen was not present. He had gone a short time before on a mission to Dublin, and he returned from that city in time to take part in the attack upon the van.

O'Brien alias Gould, was the most active and intelligent man engaged in the outrage, He was well built, fairly educated, and by birth and sympathy an Irish American. It is believed that he had no relations in this country, and few friends. The only person who attempted to visit him whilst in prison was the witness Miss Flannagan, who was called to prove an alibi for him. It will be remembered that in her cross-examination Miss Flannagan denied having any acquaintance with Gould; her subsequent conduct, however, leads to the supposition that she knew him very well, for when she was refused admission to the prison, as not being related to the convict, she expressed her disappointment very keenly. O'Brien had had some military experience as a sergeant in the same regiment as Colonel Kelly in the United States army, and he was best known among the Fenians as Captain O'Brien. He is known to have been, last autumn, in Dublin and at Liverpool where he associated with Fenians; and at the last winter assizes in Liverpool he was tried, with two or three others, on a charge of having in his possession a number of rifles belonging to the Government. The rifles had been found in a cellar, with three boxes of phosphorus, one of the principal constituents of Greek or Fenian fire. Gould and his companions were, on that occasion, acquitted. Since that time he had frequently travelled between England and Ireland on Fenian business, and from the information that can now be gathered of him, he is supposed to have been a very active organiser of Fenian circles.

As to Larkin, there can be little doubt that he was the victim of such men as O'Brien. Of the five who were convicted he was the only married man, and till the last year or two there is reason to believe that he behaved like a respectable working man. He had a wife and four children, and for three or four years he lived in one street in Manchester, carrying on the business of an operative tailor. Recently he became an active Fenian, and in one of the Manchester circles he acted as a collector of subscriptions. He has not done much work for several months, and a few weeks ago, just before his apprehension, he was on the out-door relief list of the Chorlton Guardians.

The man Condon, alias Shore, who was reprieved, excelled all the other convicts in his endeavours to promote the Fenian cause; and we can only suppose that it was the circumstances that he had not been proved to have had a revolver in his hands that led the Government to listen to the intercessions which we hear Mr. Adams presented to the British Government in his behalf. Like O'Brien, he was an Irish American, and had no friends in this country. Like O'Brien, too, he served in the United States army during the recent war, when he held a commission as a captain. It has for a long time been supposed that he was a Fenian organiser; he has frequently been seen in Manchester, Liverpool, and Dublin; and when the raid was made upon Chester he took a number of men to Manchester to assist in the enterprise. It is also believed that he and another of those who were acquitted were the actual organisers of the attack upon the van. Condon has occupied himself since his conviction in writing an analysis of the evidence given on the trial against himself, It is a shrewd, skilful presentation of his own case. The principal Paragraph in it is the following:—It was not fair to bring me up for trial in the first batch, Allen having over 30 witnesses, Larkin 20, Gould 15, and M'Guire 10 against him; while there were but five against me, and while others (Nugent and Wm. Martin) had 10 or 12 against them (each), and others had as many against them as I had. There can be no doubt, but that, in the absence of sufficient proof against me, the prosecution brought me up for trial with those who I have named, in order that the overwhelming testimony against them would prejudice the minds of the jury against me, who was brought in their company. And I believe that, had I not been an American citizen, this would not have been done." After remarking upon the evidence, he concludes:— "Therefore, by every principle of fair play and justice, I too should be discharged from custody." A copy of this statement was, we believe, forwarded to London.

FUNERAL DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON.

The fog which on Saturday hung like a pall over the scaffold at Manchester, yesterday wrapped the streets of London in funeral gloom. So dense was it in the west, central, and eastern districts that locomotion was difficult, and in every house the gas had to be burned. Through this thick vapour, which imparted to everything that dismal aspect which none but the Londoner is familiar with, there marched, about noon, some five thousand Irishmen of the lower classes bent upon paying a tribute of respect to the memory of the three men who perished at the hands of Calcraft on Saturday. That the "demonstration" was an imposing one none will venture to deny, and that there was about it and its surroundings something singularly mournful and in keeping with the event which had called it forth, is equally beyond question. Whatever may have been the characters and the crimes of Allen, Larkin, and Gould, their memory has yesterday received at the of their compatriots honours such as are seldom bestowed upon the dead.

It will be known to our readers that the prime mover in Saturday's proceedings is the man Finlen, whose conduct at the Home Office was so outrageous. Of this man, personally, it is impossible to speak with respect. Of his discretion the country had an example in the speech which he delivered at Whitehall, and of his disinterestedness those who know him best have formed the lowest estimate. Nevertheless, he has made himself the leader of the agitation amongst the lower class of Irish and English labourers on behalf of the Fenian convicts. He it was who conducted the meetings held nightly last week on Clerkenwell Green, and it was at his instigation that the deputation visited Windsor on Friday to wait upon the Queen. Previous to that deputation setting forth on its errand Finlen announced that in the event of the Fenians being hanged he would organise a funeral demonstration to take place on Saturday. The announcement was received with no favour by his more respectable colleagues, who denounced the proposal as one likely to result in a breach of the peace. The convicts having been hanged, however, Finlen has carried out his purpose with considerable success. About eleven o'clock yesterday morning those who intended to take part in the funeral procession began to gather upon Clerkenwell Green, surrounded by the dwellings of the poorest inhabitants of London. By half-past eleven several thousands of men and women had congregated, about three-fourths of whom were of unmistakably Irish birth. Their conduct was quite orderly, and nothing was said or done likely to provoke any disturbance. Many of the men had bands of crape upon their arm, and others wore similar badges of the national colour, but no stick were carried, and the only banner borne was a black one, bearing in white letters the inscription: -

"Man's inhumanity to man /Makes countless thousands mourn."

Shortly before twelve o'clock the procession started from the Green headed by this banner, beneath which walked Mr. Finlen himself. A little distance to the rear was a miserably weak band, consisting of some four or five flutes and a single drum, by which a feeble imitation of the Dead March in "Saul" was given at intervals. This, however, was the only weak point in the demonstration. Its strength lay in the five or six thousand men and women who marched four deep in solemn silence, and at a funeral pace, behind the banner. The route taken by the procession was down Farringdon Street, along Fleet Street. Under Temple Bar, along the Strand, past Charing Cross, and by way of Pall Mall, St. James's Street and Piccadilly to the Park. All the way the road was lined with spectators, of whom there must have been many thousands, and we are bound to say that, though a large proportion of those belonged to the class of roughs, the procession was everywhere received in respectful silence. The park was not reached till after two o'clock. It had been anticipated that some resistance to the entrance of the procession might have been offered; but instead of this being so, the gates were as usual wide open, and the crowd entered it without let or hindrance of any kind. Indeed, a couple of policemen were the only representatives of the civil power to be seen, though there were, as usual, plenty of Life-Guardsmen wandering about with their sweethearts. A large number of spectators had already congregated in the Park, amongst whom the Hon. W. E. Cowper, M.P., and Mr. Thomas Hughes were especially noticeable. The procession was, however, received on its arrival with no demonstration either of sympathy or disapprobation. Finlen very soon reached a tree which has become famous as the site of the reform meetings of last year, and mounting upon a bench at its foot, he waited until the vast crowd had gathered around him, and then proceeded to deliver the "funeral oration" which he had promised. It is quite unnecessary that I should repeat his

observations. [see next newspaper report for the speech – this author being anti-Finlen, and despite his negative attitude having to compliment the handling of the event, obviously didn't want to be too positive] The substance of them was that the men who were hanged yesterday had died as heroes, not felons; that had they not been buried within the limits of the gaol thousands of their countrymen would have surrounded their open graves' but as that was impossible the "men of London" had done their best to testify their admiration for their memory. That day's movement would "consolidate the hearts" of all Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotsmen who sought the regeneration of these islands, now afflicted and dishonoured by class despotism, and in the future those who had perished on the scaffold would be regarded in the same light as the other deliverers of the past. The most remarkable feature of the proceedings was the stolid apathy manifested by most present, who neither applauded nor resented the remarks of the speakers. *The reporter left before the meeting ended. The Times* reported that the procession was conducted with great propriety but that some of the speakers turned a religious ceremony into a parade of political hatred (!).

November 25th 1867 *London Evening Standard*

The Sunday demonstration in Hyde Park – At eleven o'clock on Sunday a meeting was held on Clerkenwell-green for the purpose of forming a funeral procession to Hyde Park in honour of Allen, Larkin, and Gould: Mr. Waite presided. Mr. Finlen stated that the Irish working men were at that hour for the most part in their chapels, where they were praying for Allen and his two comrades; they, therefore, could not take part in the funeral procession if it took place in the forenoon. He put it to the meeting whether those present would proceed at once with the demonstration, or wait until three o'clock in the afternoon, when the Irish working men could take part in it. The meeting by show of hands decided in favour of proceeding with the demonstration without delay.

Mr. O'Callaghan - an individual who stated to those around the chairman that he had prepared a hearse and four horses to head the procession, but that he had on Saturday evening received a telegram from some friends of liberty in Dublin, telling him not to have any demonstration if possible - addressing the meeting, and said that the Roman Catholic clergymen who had attended Allen and the others had communicated the wish of the families that no procession should take place. As Catholics they would look upon it as a desecration to have a demonstration over the bodies of men who had died in peace with God (cries of "You are out of order!"). He begged that there might be no procession, but that they would get up a subscription for the families of the sufferers instead (cries of "Both, both!")

Mr. Campbell said that the working men of England, Scotland, and Ireland would be knit together by the events which were taking place. The prayers of the poor were as acceptable to God as those of the rich; but the prayers of the poor for mercy in the case of Allen and the other two men were disregarded by the aristocracy (groans). He denied that the Catholic Church had any intention of condemning the expression of sympathy for those who died as they lived moral men (cheers). Was there a hundred men in that meeting who believe they were murderers? (No, No.)

Mr. Hennessey said that the hanging at Manchester proved that the oligarchy had no other way of dealing with the Irish people than that old one of the gallows and rope (Hear, hear). That meeting was a proof that the English people had no sympathy with the brutality of their rulers, and that they desired to terminate a system that had wrought so much misery for 700 years (cheers).

The Chairman then called upon the meeting to form into a procession. He asked all present to act as special constables to keep the peace (hear, hear).

At Half-past twelve o'clock a procession was formed. A black banner, bearing the inscription -

"Man's inhumanity to man / Makes countless thousands mourn."

was carried at what was intended to be the head of the procession, but so many moved on in advance of it that it was really in the middle. A band of fifers and drummers played the "Dead March" in *Saul*. Many of the men wore black crape on the left arm. Some few wore green rosettes. The men were for the most part of the same class as those that formed the bulk of the reform procession of last year. The *cortège* moved slowly and was quite orderly. It was expected that the

route of Oxford-street would have been taken, and some thousands of persons were in waiting there to take part in the demonstration, but at the last moment the committee directed that the line of Fleet-street and the Strand should be taken.

At a quarter to two o'clock the procession reached Hyde Park, and the committee having taken up a position beneath an elm tree, Mr. Waite called upon those present to take off their hats, and not to express approval or disapproval while Mr. Finlen delivered the "funeral ovation." The meeting uncovered accordingly.

Mr. Finlen then said that the three Irishmen who were executed on Saturday sacrificed their lives through the belief that they were serving a glorious just cause. They were not criminals; they were heroes, and they were followed to their graves by all who had hearts to feel and intellects to appreciate what was noble and beautiful in life. They were buried in the prison, and therefore they had no funeral; but the working men of London had formed a funeral procession to mark their sense of the act which had deprived them of life. Their blood, wantonly and unnecessarily shed, would cement the English, the Irish, and the Scotch people into an invincible band which would free these islands forever from class despotism and class slavery. The memory of Allen, Gould, and Larkin would in future times be regarded as that of past deliverers were looked upon for the present day. He did not forget that Policeman Brett had been also snatched from his family. He and they all sympathised with Brett's family, and they did so sincerely as humanitarians for the same reason as they sympathised with the children, the wives, and the mothers of the men who were so needlessly executed.

[Sergeant Brett had refused to open the prison van to release the prisoners Kelly and Deasy so one of the Fenians fired a shot into the keyhole to break the lock. Unfortunately Brett chose that moment to look through the keyhole to see what was happening!]

By their sympathy they showed that they were not as callous as the aristocracy (groans, which were repressed by those around the chairman). He hoped that they would go on walking in constitutional paths to vindicate their rights as freemen, so that the welfare of all the people should become the basis of the nation's prosperity. He thanked those present for their orderly conduct, and called upon them to disperse quietly.

An Artizan said that the Catholics of London desired that as no public high mass had been said for the slain men, the "De Profundis" should be sung. He then gave out the Psalm, "Out of the depths I cry unto Thee, O Lord," but it was not taken up, owing no doubt, to the fact that the Catholic element would not understand the Psalm unless recited in Latin.

The meeting broke up with three cheers, which the chairman vainly attempted to repress.

During the time that Mr. Finlen was pronouncing his "funeral oration" a meeting assembled at a short distance in the direction of the Marble Arch. Mr. Mote moved the following resolution:- "That this meeting condemns the execution of Messrs. Allen, Larkin and Gould, at Manchester, yesterday morning, as a judicial murder by her Majesty's government (great cheering), and we express our sympathy with the relatives of the murdered." (cheers) He asked what could be said to Theodore of Abyssinia if he murdered his captives after the murder which had been perpetrated in Manchester on Saturday. In all future time England must hold her peace as to political executions, for these three would always be thrown in her teeth. These men were not guilty of murder, and the disbelief in the evidence on which Maguire was convicted and the doubt thrown over that adduced against Shore should have made the Government pause ere they sacrificed Allen, Larkin and Gould (cheers). He had left no stone unturned to save the lives of these men, and he addressed a letter on the subject to Lord Derby on Friday, and left it with his lordship's servant, who promised to give it to him. Not only Roman Catholics but members of every religious denomination, not only one nationality but all nationalities - not only the lower and middle classes, but many of the "upper ten thousand" were against the execution, but all to no purpose, as the government were intent upon hanging (groans, and cries of "Shame"). It was a shame, and he believed that the news of the execution had been cabled across the Atlantic to their Irish brethren on America (great cheering). What would the effect of the news be there? (loud cheers, and cries of "We know".) England was now the only country, he might say, that killed for political offences. This shameful act had been that of a Tory government and of a Whig party as well (groans). How was it that Mr. Gladstone, the professed friend of the people and of liberty, did not speak out against this execution when he rose in his place in the House of Commons? Had he done so the execution might not have taken place; and thus Mr. Gladstone, Earl Russell, and the Whig party were just as responsible for this murder as the Tory government were. (A Voice: "They are all aristocrats.") They could not expect anything good from either a Whig or a Tory government (cries of "We know that"). Allen and his comrades were justified in trying to rescue the prisoners who were in illegal custody, and yet they were tried manacled before British judges (shame). There could have been no intention to kill anyone, because the shot which struck Brett might have killed either Kelly or Deasey (hear). Had Brett given up the key of the van he would not have been killed; but he was in the van acting the part of a

spy for the purpose of listening to the conversation between Kelly and Deasey, and reporting it when the men were again before the magistrates (groans). There was a good reason to believe that the man who fired the shot which killed Brett was still at large, and in conclusion he expressed his belief that the tragedy enacted at Manchester was a judicial murder by the government (prolonged cheering). He had a solemn pleasure in proposing the resolution. *The resolution was passed and further speeches made.*

November 25th 1867 *Sheffield Independent* - a brief report on the Hyde Park meeting followed by notice of a further meeting in Clerkenwell Green in the evening at eight o'clock. Some 1200 - 1500 attended and it was declared that the Tories were stupid and cruel and that the union of English and Irish workmen would be accelerated by the deaths of the Fenian martyrs. *The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette* reported further thus; " Mr. Finlen having been loudly called for by the meeting then came forward, and was received with great cheering. He congratulated the meeting on the great and significant spectacle that had been seen in London that day, and upon the orderly way in which the proceedings had been conducted. He called it significant, because such a large mass of people had been collected together at a few hours' notice, without one penny having been spent in advertising or printing bills. *The Morning Advertiser* added; Mr. Finlen who was the principal speaker, congratulated the working men of London on the procession of the morning. He said he had for twenty years past been connected with political agitations of various kinds, and had never seen anything like it before. It was composed of Englishmen, Scotchmen, Welshmen, Irishmen, Americans and even Frenchmen - Frenchmen, too, who had fought on the barricades for the destruction of a bloody *regime*. He believed that the sacrifice of the Manchester martyrs would bring about a union of the working classes of this country which would enable them to free themselves from the bondage of a brutal aristocracy. He spoke in glowing terms of Meagher, Mitchell, Smith O'Brien, and others, and of the "glorious Republic of America."

November 29th 1867 *Western Gazette* STREET Why could not "A looker-on" have given his name? Without some such guarantee, how are we to know whether his statements are true or false? **Finlen**, the man who, last week, presided over an indignation meeting on the subject of the Manchester Fenians, in the Home Secretary's ante-room, is well known in this neighbourhood. Twelve or thirteen years ago [1854/5], he resided in the neighbouring village of Butleigh for a considerable time, being engaged there on the decorations at **Butleigh Court**, then newly built or restored. He addressed several meetings at Street on political subjects, causing considerable sensation among those whose stomachs were not strong enough to stand extreme Radicalism. He is (or rather was at the time to which we refer) an exceedingly fluent speaker, and was very far above the average of his fellow working men in intelligence and education. Judging from his doings at Mr. Hardy's office, his Radicalism has degenerated (or, as a Tory would perhaps say, ripened) into something not far removed from sedition. Re-printed in *Shepton Mallet Journal* December 6th 1867

November 30th 1867 *Glasgow Free Press*

A HINT TO ENGLAND. We have no desire at the present time of day, to ask justice for Ireland from the hands of England. Such claims have been put forward too often and too seriously, to expect that anything could happen now to change the relation of the two countries, otherwise than through the instrumentality of a complete and distinct separation. English power may not yet fail, in fact, it may increase by the means we have indicated; but, so long as the Union of the two countries continues, England must necessarily become weakened internally and externally. So much is evident from the wide-spread disposition of the great mass of the English people to fraternise with the leaders of Irish opinion. This fraternization bodes a great change, and we consider it our duty, as peaceful subjects, to point out to England that acts of oppression, such as the slaying of the Manchester prisoners appear to produce only one result, and that is, an amalgamation on the part of the working bodies of these kingdoms to persistently seek for a republican form of government.

We have no desire here to enter on a discussion as to the benefits of such a change, and, therefore, content ourselves by giving expression to what we believe to be a very prevalent opinion amongst the intelligent portion of the working classes of the three kingdoms.

During the past eight days, we have learned what can be done by one man, and an humble man, too, like Mr Finlen. In the matter of the late hanging at Manchester, that gentleman has shown himself very anxious to cast the blame of the murdered men on the Tory government. That he has succeeded in impressing his views on many thousands, cannot be denied, although the literary efforts of the working man be partly ignored. *Were he a millionaire, he would have had one-half of the cringing press of England at his back, for, be it understood, public opinion is formed now-a-days through the press, and the press of Great Britain is about as venal a press as can be found in Europe.* But Finlen is a working man, and, therefore, any attempt of his to obtain mercy for others is a piece of "impudence." Now, it appears to us that a working man is nearly as good, perhaps, some will say better, than a fool of a duke, or an earl, capable not of working, but of spending.

It is a fact that cannot be disputed, that working men of the present age are afflicted with an amount of sturdy intelligence. This intelligence has the sad effect of making them understand that one year's labour is worth ten years' of a spendthrift's life, so far as benefit to the commonwealth is concerned. We do not mean to say here, that the life of a nobleman is not as good and as valuable as the life of any other person, and that the charge which devolves upon him is less in any respect than that which falls to the lot of any other. As a rule, it is generally greater. But, we do say that working men are, at the present day, perfectly capable of understanding the wide difference between their own value and the value of those who, by accident of birth, are born to large estates, and who give forth evidence of their manhood, by mixing with blacklegs and gamblers, to the great injury of those who happen to live beneath their benign sway and rule.

English workmen, especially, know these things; hence their advancement in the knowledge of those laws in Ireland, which have been the direct means of depopulating a country. The advanced English workman and the expatriated Irishman are fast making overtures towards each other. These overtures may, and, we believe will eventually, be for the benefit of these kingdoms. Would it not be prudent, therefore, for England to take the hint in time, and open her eyes to the huge injustice she has perpetrated, and still continues to perpetrate, on Irishmen. Not that we should care much to find the government of England so far changed, as to prevent the union of Englishmen and Irishmen, but that we consider it our duty to throw out hints of this kind; and, by not following in the well-beaten tracks of journalism, endeavour, as far as in our power lies, to show to the world the current of events which are fast being realized.

Monarchy, in the case of Finlen, has taught a lesson to England, not worth twenty years' lease of a throne. Neither the common nor the statute law of England can be properly construed into the forbiddance of the subject to approach his sovereign. This should be understood, and then we can judge of the reputed firmness of Gathorne Hardy, and the alleged softness and weakness of Mr Walpole. For our own part, we judge the former to be a very common sort of a servant, who is accredited with qualities the reverse of those he would choose to accept, while the latter undoubtedly has only proven himself to be a man possessed of a human heart.

Oliver Cromwell was, probably, a useful sort of person to England in his day; but, we question if the aping of Mr Hardy towards another protectorate would be tolerated. This is another portion of our hint to England. Prince "All but the Good," [Albert] was a very common sort of a "German Lairdie;" yet, we are told of a prophecy of his, which should not be forgotten. He was strongly of opinion that his wife would, probably, be the last sovereign in these kingdoms. Rendering "honour to whom honour is due," we should not feel in the least surprised, if the Prince spoke truth for once in his life. This is another hint for England.

THE MURDERED PRISONERS. "May the souls of the faithful departed, through the mercy of God, rest in peace." AMEN.

November 30th 1867 *Bee-Hive* Reform League St. Luke's Branch - It was announced that on Thursday evening next, December 5th, Mr. Finlen will lecture on the Rights of Irishmen and the Wrongs of Ireland.

December 4th 1867 *Glasgow Evening Citizen* - Finlen the Fenian - The Duke of Sutherland stated, at a dinner given to his Grace a few days since by the 20th Middlesex volunteers, that Mr. Finlen, the orator who has lately been distinguishing himself by his exertions on behalf of the memory of the Fenian convicts, occupies the position of junior counsel to the Judge and Jury Society, a convivial institution holding its meetings (or lately holding them) at the Coal Hole Tavern, Strand. the Duke is doubtless good authority on the point; but the *Pall Mall Gazette* understands that Mr. Finlen only attends the Judge and Jury Society [club re-enacting sensational trials for amusement] in the intervals of his business, which is that of a French-polisher.

December 7th 1867 *Bee-Hive* - Testimonial to Mr. James Finlen. Mr. James Finlen having been deprived of his employment, and his prospects thereby blighted in consequence of his exertions in the cause of mercy on behalf of the men executed at Manchester, and his recent public sympathy with the cause of oppressed Ireland, he has come to the determination of making America his future home. Several gentlemen have formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of receiving subscriptions in aid of the above object as a recognition of his services in the cause of Democracy. Subscriptions will be acknowledged per post by the chairman, Mr. W. Osborne; the treasurer, Mr. Woodward; the corresponding secretary, Mr. D. McSweeney; the financial secretary, Mr. C. Wade; or any member of the committee. Committee-rooms, Nags-Head, Leather-lane. - *From a correspondent.*

December 14th 1867 *Bee-Hive* The Finlen Testimonial - On Monday Next a concert and a raffle for a handsome Inkstand will take place at the Middlesex Arms, Clerkenwell Green. The proceeds will be devoted to the above object. Admission free to the concert, and Raffle 6d each. Chair to be taken at 8.30 by Mr. Isham.

Marylebone Branch (Reform League - Sir Robert Peel, 44, James-street, Oxford-street, W.) On Sunday next Mr. Finlen will address a meeting, the subject being "England and America contrasted."

December 16th 1867 (Monday) *Clerkenwell News* THE AWFUL EXPLOSION IN CLERKENWELL - The Fenian attempt to rescue Colonel Burke - Condition of the sufferers. Examination of Burke and Casey. The extent of the devastation caused by the fearful powder explosion which took place in Corporation-lane, Clerkenwell, on Friday afternoon, about four o'clock, was not fully realised until Saturday morning, when the wreck was better seen. The destruction has been far greater than was at first anticipated. A whole terrace of tall houses in Corporation-lane, formerly occupied chiefly by well-to-do people, has been destroyed, and many of the inmates killed or seriously injured—the adjacent premises, inhabited by poor people, have shared the same fate—a large portion of the northern wall of the House of Detention has been blown up, and the destruction of windows in the neighbouring streets has been immense.

In the course of Friday evening Mr. Foster White, the Treasurer of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, forwarded a telegram to the Prince of Wales, the President the Hospital, informing his Royal Highness of the preparations which had been made there for the reception and treatment of the sufferers. About 500 of the metropolitan police were on duty keeping off the crowd and preserving order, and 100 of the Fusilier Guards, under the command of Colonel Moncrieff, Capt. Gosling, Lieut. Moray, and Lieut. Inigo Jones have been posted as a guard inside the prison throughout the night. Many of the country Magistrates were in attendance on Friday evening. including Mr. Pownall, the chairman; Ranelagh, Mr. Northall-Laurie, Mr. Henry White, Mr. Bodkin, Mr. Fish-Pownall, and Mr. Frederick Pownall, the county surveyor. The police on duty were under the

command of Captain Labalmondier, from their headquarters in Scotland-yard. Throughout the whole evening great excitement prevailed in the neighbourhood. The two men and the woman who have been apprehended were, until late on Friday night, kept in the House of Detention, as being the nearest to the place where they were arrested, but not being in the legal custody of the governor, preparations were soon made for their removal to another prison.

A boy named John Abbott, 13 years of age, who was taken to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, though happily not much injured, who lived with his parents at 5, Corporation-lane, states that about a quarter to four o'clock he was standing at Mr. Young's door, No. 5, Corporation-lane, when he saw a large barrel close to the wall of the prison, and a man leave the barrel and cross the road. Shortly afterwards the men returned with a long squib in each hand. One of these he gave to some boys who were playing in the street, and the other he thrust into the barrel. One of the boys was smoking and he handed the man a light, which the man applied to the squib. The man staid a short time until he saw the squib begin to burn, and then he ran away. A policeman ran after him, and when the policeman arrived opposite No. 5 "the thing went off." The boy saw no more after that, as he himself was covered with bricks and mortar. The man, he says was dressed something like a gentleman. He had on a brown overcoat and a black hat, and had light hair and whiskers. He should know him again if he saw him. There was a white cloth over the barrel, which was black, and when the man returned with the squib he partly uncovered the barrel, but did not wholly remove the cloth. There were several men and women in the street at the time, and children playing. Three little boys were standing near the barrel all the time. Some of the people ran after the man who lighted the squib— Another of the victims of the outrage, Mrs. Holder, a widow living at 4, Corporation-lane, and now is St. Bartholomew's Hospital, states that about, half-past three a man knocked at her door, and, upon her son answering, the man asked to be allowed to go to the top story of the house to be enabled to see his cousin and speak, to him when exercising in the yard of the House of Detention, His application was refused, and he went away. About ten minutes afterwards the explosion occurred.

Late on Friday night, the woman Ann Justice, who is stated to be about 30 years of age, and who was apprehended on suspicion of being implicated in the horrible crime which we have been recording, made a determined attempt to strangle herself in a cell in which she was confined in the House of Detention, but it was frustrated. She has been in the frequent habit of visiting the prisoner Casey while he has been confined there. It is stated that on Thursday evening, Mr. Henry Pownall, chairman of the county magistrates, in consequence of information he had received, paid a visit to the prison, and directed the Governor Captain Codd, not to exercise the prisoners in the ordinary way on Friday, either as to time or place. The wall which has been blown down, as we have already stated, enclosed a large open space in which prisoners were accustomed to take exercise. The Governor, therefore, had them exercised between nine and ten on Friday morning, instead of the usual time, which was between three and half-past four in the afternoon, and to this precaution it is probably owing that the diabolical attempt at the rescue of "Colonel" Burke was unsuccessful. The Governor is also understood to have put himself in communication with the police authorities, and they had undertaken to keep a large body of the force outside the walls, perambulating the immediate neighbourhood of the prison. That, we believe, was not a special precaution, for it is said to have been observed during the time the man Groves was under remand on suspicion of being concerned in the murder of the bandsman.

Shortly before the explosion the prisoner Burke appeared very excited, and went often to the window of his cell. How awfully chagrined the Fenian Colonel must have been when the hour at which he expected to be delivered arrived, and when it was found that there was no regaining of liberty - at all events just at the time when his friends had fondly hoped that he would again have inhaled the air of freedom. No doubt the gallant "colonel" was up to the whole of the dreadful secret, and there can be as little doubt that one of his "friends," with a straightforwardness and candour worthy of a Welshman, divulged it to the magistrates. The great object appears to have been to release Burke and a rebel of an inferior breed called Casey, but the demoniacal attempt has

most signally failed. The effort of the demons who promoted it has failed, but at what an awful sacrifice of life, of property, and of permanent injury to the person. Upwards of 60 human beings killed or injured, and the houses in which they resided destroyed.

Her Majesty the Queen, as well becomes her lofty and dignified position, has taken notice of this fearful calamity. On Saturday morning Mr. Smith, the Secretary of the Royal Free Hospital, Gray's Inn-road, received a telegraphic message, reporting the health of the sufferers, to the following effect:— "Windsor Castle, Saturday. From Sir T. Biddulph to the Secretary of the Royal Free Hospital, Gray's Inn-road. The Queen desires to express her sympathy with the sufferers from the explosion, and begs to enquire after them." The in-patients suffering from the sad catastrophe were informed of the Queen's gracious message, and a telegram was directly sent to Windsor Castle expressive of the gratitude of the sufferers for her Majesty's sympathy, and informing her Majesty that the total number of in and out patients was 21.

The secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Lambert, one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Poor Law Board, visited Clerkenwell on Saturday afternoon, and after considerable inquiry discovered as many of the sufferers from the catastrophe as could attend at the workhouse, to each of whom they liberally presented a sum of £3. We regard this as a spontaneous act of seasonable generosity upon the part of the government, which contrasts strangely with the dastardly conduct of those who would exchange order and government for anarchy and rebellion.

The Churchwardens of Clerkenwell, Mr. F. W. Willcocks and Mr. Richard Nunn have convened a public meeting, to be held in the Parochial School Rooms, Amwell-street, on this (Monday) evening, for the consideration of the best means of alleviating the distress caused by this dreadful calamity. In the meantime, contributions will be received by the Rev. R. Maguire, incumbent, 39, Myddelton-square; Mr. Churchwarden Willcocks 13, Lloyd-square; Mr Churchwarden Nunn, 23, Percival-street; Mr. B. J. Thompson, 5 and 6, Percival-street; and Mr. Paget, Vestry Clerk, Vestry Hall.

FURTHER PARTICULARS:

Entering the immediate area of the calamity early on the morning of Saturday, by the barrier in Bowling-green-lane, we discovered a considerable assemblage of government officials, authors, artists, reporters, and others in authority - and the critical throng were evidently at a loss, as we were, to know how to comprehend in its fullness the mysterious, but so less real and tangible, disaster which lay out there in its wild and chaotic confusion before us. The appearance of the interiors of the rooms of the ruined houses in Corporation-lane was very remarkable. Directly opposite the great gap made by the explosion in the prison wall lay the wreck of the one house in the row of houses which was really dismantled and blown into pieces. On the left hand side of this tenement, which came upon the narrow thoroughfare known as St. James's-passage, the wall was ripped cleanly away and lay below in fragments. In the deserted rooms which were thus laid open the aspect was as strange and incongruous as it was melancholy. Cupboards, the doors of which swung lamely from their hinges, disclosed the broken contents, and reminded the spectator of the busy housewife who might have been pursuing her domestic avocations when the sudden visitation came upon her, and consigned her and her family either to death or to the sorrow of an hospital. A chest of drawers was twisted away from its wonted position against the wall which lay in ruin below, and its contents were visible through breaches which the fearful concussion had made in the woodwork of which it was composed. In other parts of the rooms were apparent chairs, tables, stools, earthenware, and all those utensils of domestic use to be found in every home, and each object was but fearfully suggestive of the awfully sudden nature of the complete disruption. But though the house of which we now speak was the only one thrown into absolute ruins, owing, perhaps, not alone to its contiguity to the position of the fiendish machinations of the Fenian plotters, but to its being somewhat less firmly constructed than the contiguous houses, there can be no doubt that whilst the external walls of those houses are standing, the internal dilapidation is in no degree less formidable and astonishing. We instance a strongly-built dwelling immediately adjacent to the shattered and fallen house, situate at the opposite corner of the same passage leading from

Corporation-lane, and occupied by Mr. Jones, a much respected gentleman some time ago retired from trade. On entering this house, No. 5, Corporation-lane, the scene was appalling. The street door, which opened into St. James's passage, is completely blown down and smashed to pieces, the staples and door-posts are torn out of their sockets and split up. Immediately inside the door was a wooden partition between the rooms and landing, and this is lying in a heap of splinters about the size of firewood. The front parlour, which is on the ground floor, is a wreck, the ceiling being torn down and the walls bulged out. The sashes and wainscoting have been torn out of their places, forced through the parting-wall, and hurled into the back yard. Gas fittings, pictures, pier-glass, ornaments, and every article of furniture are smashed, and lying in a confused heap on the floor. The sideboards and cupboards are literally torn away from the walls, and lie on the floor. Passing from the parlour into an adjoining bed room, the first thing that strikes the eye is the chimney piece, the entire brickwork of which has been torn down, and hurled through the parting wall, into the back yard. A chest of drawers which was originally standing near the window facing the street, was literally blown into fragments, and the contents strewed about the room. Pieces of the other articles of furniture are scattered about in all directions, and the door of the room, with its staples, was removed from its place, and firmly wedged in between the brickwork and one of the staples of the street door. Proceeding to the first floor, an astounding sight presented itself—the walls, staircase, ceiling, and furniture of three rooms lying in one large heap. The ceilings are blown down, and three rooms knocked into one, and the staircase demolished. Hanging against the outer wall in this room, and consequently experiencing the full blast of the concussion, is a clock of ordinary Dutch pattern. The glass front is entirely blown away and the weights are gone, whilst the pendulum hangs silently against the wall. We should not have mentioned this comparatively trivial incident but for the fact that it affords an unerring voucher for the actual time of the explosion. The figures [fingers] of the clock stand at a quarter to four. No. 2A, in the same lane, is also much damaged, the plaster of the walls being torn down, doors knocked off their hinges, and windows blown out; but, strange to say, the furniture has not in any way been disturbed, nor even a chimney ornament disarranged. A broad crack is, however, visible in the house from the foundation to the parapet, and it was consequently shored up.

The house occupied by Mr. Moseley, adjoining St. James's-passage, is a wreck, the side wall being blown out and lying in a heap of ruins. On entering the building the sight which presents itself baffles description. The sashes of the front windows have been blown through the partition walls, through the back walls of the house, and across the yard, where they lie in a heap, presenting the appearance of having been chopped up for firewood. The flooring was hurled from its place, and broken up, and some of the stairs are turned completely over. Here the furniture is so completely smashed up as to be unrecognisable, with the exception of an easy chair, which is comparatively untouched. The roof of the east wing of the prison has been much damaged, many of the slates being entirely removed. About 200 of the small windows of the cells were smashed, and the "hoppers" much injured.

The men of the Chartered Gas Company were engaged all morning in cutting off the gas in the ruined houses, under the discretion of Mr. Johnson, the chief manager, assisted by Mr. Inspector Swadling.

On Saturday morning, about nine o'clock, the Household Guards, who had been on duty all the previous night in the House of Detention, were relieved by two companies of Scots Fusiliers from the Tower, under the command of Colonel Johnson, Captain Fludger, and Lieutenant Lord A. G. Lennox, and at the time the Guards relieved were marching off, the prison van, containing the Fenian Colonel Burke, left the House of Detention, guard by thirty-eight mounted police, and Superintendent Derkin, three sergeants, and ten policemen rode in the interior of the van. The police were all armed with cutlasses and also with Adam's patent breech-loading revolvers. Among the early arrivals at the scene of destruction on Saturday morning, were the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, Home Secretary, Captain Labalmondiere, Commissioner of Police, Colonel Lloyd Lindsay, MP., and several officers from Chatham garrison, who minutely inspected the breach in the wall and also

the houses, in order if possible to discover what explosive material was used. A large number of the county magistrates were also present. In every corridor of the prison a large number of police were on duty all night, in order to be in readiness to meet any attack that might be made on the prison.

One circumstance may be mentioned which will show how well informed the perpetrators of the outrage were of the internal economy at the prison and the whereabouts of Burke. Ordinarily between three and four o'clock in the afternoon a certain number of male prisoners are brought out of their cells for the purpose of identification and exercise, and Colonel Burke had previously been among that number. The chief warder, however, being aware that some very suspicious characters occupied a front room on the second floor in one of the houses in Corporation-lane, which completely overlooked the airing ground, drew the attention of Captain Codd, the governor, to that fact, and suggested that Burke should be removed to another part of the prison immediately. This was ordered to be done, and instead of going from his cell into the lobby prior to entering the exercise ground he was removed to a cell on the "blind" side of the prison, and the warders in charge of him had just turned the key in the cell door, and locked him in when the crash came, and the wall of the exercise ground was blown down.

Had the explosion taken place a few moments later, the ground would have been full of prisoners, and judging by the manner in which the bricks were hurled against the wing of the prison, it is very improbable that any of them would have escaped with their lives. It is a remarkable fact that nearly every pane of glass in the window of the cell which Col. Burke had previously occupied was smashed to fragments.

In the course of Saturday morning, a party who saw the men and woman with the barrel in the truck, and who it appeared had taken particular notice of them, attended the House of Detention in company with Superintendent Gernon, Inspectors Fife, Potter, &c., and immediately he saw the accused persons he identified them, and we were informed that they are the same persons who took the rooms in Corporation-lane, and who had been watched by the police for some time.

A fragment of a large and strong barrel has been found by Inspector Potter upon the roof of the house of Mr. Walter, baker, of Rosoman-street. The piece smelt strongly of paraffin and was evidently a portion of a cask in which that highly inflammable liquid had been stored. Subsequently we learned that six other pieces of the same barrel had been found in the yard of the House of Detention, and that the authorities had received a clue to the whereabouts of the truck upon which the infernal machine was brought to the scene of its dread purpose.

THE SUFFERERS AT THE ROYAL FREE HOSPITAL.

Upon inquiry on Saturday afternoon at the Royal Free Hospital, Grey's Inn-road, we found that the out-patients at present under treatment were,—Eliza Gowd, suffering from injuries of a general character, and wounds of the head and arm; William Adams, sufferings of a like nature; John Spiers, burnt face, neck, chest, and other parts; Anne Challis, face and body wounded; and six others whose names in the hurry and confusion of the catastrophe were not ascertained.

It is to be regretted that at this hospital there are two sufferers whose condition the surgeons announce to be dangerous. Hannah Roberts and Martha Thompson, both of whom have received very severe injuries, lie in a comatose state, and are scarcely expected to recover.

The boy Thomas Wheeler, of 14, Plumber's-place, who was admitted into the Clerkenwell-workhouse with a shattered hand and a wound in the neck, was removed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital for the purpose of amputating the injured limb. The operation was successfully performed.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

The following is a list of the injured persons removed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital" -

Maria Giles, aged 39, of 2, Corporation-lane, severe scalp wound.

Margaret Moseley, aged 48, 2, Corporation-lane, scalp wound and other injuries to the head.

Sarah Hartley, aged 41, 4, Corporation-lane, severe scalp wound.

Thomas Hartley, aged 8, 4, Corporation-lane, wounds on the face and arms.

Alfred Hartley, aged 3, 4, Corporation-lane, wounds on face and body.

Henry Hartley, aged 14 months, 4, Corporation-lane, scalp wounds, and wounds on the

face and body.

Harriet Thompson, aged 14, 3a, Corporation-lane, wounds on the face and arms.

Elizabeth Williams, aged 30, 22 Woodbridge-street, face and body much cut.

Elizabeth Thompson, aged 17, 3a, Corporation-lane, wounds on face and arms.

Mary Ann Chittleberg, aged 30 4, Corporation-lane, scalp wounds.

Maria Abbott, aged 34, 5, Corporation-lane, severe scalp wounds.

Elizabeth Hodgkins, aged 61, 3a, Corporation-lane, wounds in the head.

Elizabeth Holder, aged 54, 4, Woodbridge-street, scalp wounds.

Wm. Thos. Perry, aged 6, 5, Corporation-lane, scalp wounds.

Martha Perry, aged 5, 5, Corporation-lane scalp wounds.

Edith Chittleberg, aged 1 year 10 months, 4, Corporation-lane, severe injuries to the head

Martha Young, aged 36; Annette Bennett, aged 67; Mary Ann Miles, aged 46; Martha Evans 67;

Elisabeth Thompson, 47; Annie Abbott, 4, severe fracture the thigh and other injuries; Annie Cross,

aged 8; Charles Perry; Caleb Beckett, aged 28, John Harvey aged 48; William Abbott aged 11, Wm.

Titchner; John Walkey; Thomas Wheeler; Thos. Hodgkins; and John Abbott, were so severely

injured about the head and body, that their addresses could not be ascertained by the hospital authorities.

There are also lying in the dead house of the hospital, Samuel Hodgkinson, aged 37, 3a, Corporation-lane; William Clutton, aged 55, 6 St. James's-walk; Minnie Julia Abbott, aged 7.

On Friday night, when the excitement consequent upon the calamity was at its height, some persons were seen by the police to bring a long piece of rope out of a beer shop and they called out "**Where's Finlen; let us hang the -----.**" An unfortunate man who was mistaken by the mob for **Finlen**, was very roughly handled, and it required strenuous efforts on the part of the police to release him from his perilous position.

December 21st 1867 *Bee-Hive* Marylebone Branch - Held its weekly meeting on Sunday evening, the 15th. Mr. Finlen introduced the question for discussion, "England and America contrasted," which he expounded in a masterly manner.

December 23rd 1867 *Globe* - "We are glad to state that the authorities suppressed the two meetings announced to be held on Clerkenwell-green yesterday - one at eleven o'clock, upon the invitation of Mr. Finlen, to "expose the treachery of the Fenians," and the other at three to be composed of "The men of Ireland resident in London." They were invited to express their abhorrence of the Clerkenwell outrage. Orders were given by the Middlesex magistrates, acting under the advice of the Home Office, that the meetings should not be permitted to be held, and that any person persisting in addressing the crowd should be taken into custody. The promoters of the meeting having been duly warned, a force of about 40 men of the A Reserve took up their positions two and two on the flagways of Clerkenwell-green yesterday morning about 10 o'clock. Upwards of 100 special constables, resident in the neighbourhood, remained at home in case their services should be required. But a few responded to Finlen's invitation. Some dozen Irishmen were on the Green at eleven o'clock, and left it in half an hour when Finlen had not made his appearance, nor did he until twenty minutes past twelve. Mr. Supt. Gernon, as soon as he saw Finlen, sent for him, and when he came told him that, as a breach of the peace was anticipated should the meeting be held, he had received instructions to prevent its taking place. Mr. Finlen asked the superintendent whether that order applied to that day only. Mr. Gernon said it did. Mr. Finlen then said that, under the circumstances, he would abandon the idea of holding a meeting. [The *Daily News* has it; Sir, it is far from my intention, or of those acting with me, to provoke any breach of the peace, and we are quite prepared to act upon the intimation you have so courteously made. It is much better than to have allowed the meeting to commence and then to have interfered.] At three o'clock Mr. Campbell, the proposed chairman of the second meeting, Messrs. Meldrum, Sweeney, and a few others made their appearance at the corner of Clerkenwell-close, but having been appraised by Mr. Finlen of the

intentions of the police, they, like him, gave up the idea of persevering in their design. The projectors of the meetings walked about the Green for some time, and were subjected to very uncomplimentary if not threatening remarks by English working men. The police officers state that the presence of the force was quite as necessary to protect Finlen and the rest from violence should they persist in holding the meeting as to carry out the instructions they had received. Happily no breach of the peace occurred. Finlen was followed a considerable distance from Clerkenwell by a crowd of boys and girls shouting "Fenian! Fenian!" Inspector Potter sent some constables after Finlen to protect him.

December 25th 1867 *Morning Herald* - To the Editor - I have just had my attention called to your Paper of Monday last - in which in giving your account of the Meeting announced to be held by me last Sunday Morning on Clerkenwell Green & which meeting the Police forcibly prevented, after making some observations thereon you proceeded to indulge in certain remarks on myself to the effect that I was at one time employed in a Judge & Jury Club. This I *emphatically deny*. I have been all my life **since I was 15 years old working at my trade of a French Polisher**. I must request you to publish this in your Next & hope in future you be more careful in the Use of personal remarks. Yours &c James Finlen, Nags Head, Leather Lane, Holborn 24th December 1867.

December 26th 1867 *Clerkenwell News* - Suppression of the Holborn Branch of the Reform League The announcement made by Mr. Inspector Potter to Mr. Woodward, of the Nag's Head, Leather-lane, the house of meeting of the Holborn Branch of the Reform League, that [further meetings] permitted in his house, would en[danger renewal of his licen]se, has cause no little excitement among the members. On Sunday no attempt was made to hold their weekly meeting. - Mr. Finlen said the Holborn Branch of the Reform League was now defunct. As he had carried out the funeral procession alone, he should again act independently of the Branch, and should next Sunday convene a meeting on Clerkenwell-green, and he ventured to say he would have 20,000 people there.

December 30th 1867 *Morning Post*

ANOTHER PUBLIC MEETING PREVENTED.

Considerable uneasiness has existed during the past week amongst the tradesmen and other inhabitants of Clerkenwell, in consequence of the announced intention of Mr. Finlen, at a meeting of one of the branches of the Reform League on Monday evening last, that he would, at all hazards, hold a public meeting on Clerkenwell-green yesterday (Sunday) morning, for the double purpose of condemning the conduct of the Fenians in connexion with the late explosion, and for taking leave of the public previous to his departure for America on Wednesday next. The Chief Commissioner of Police was communicated with, and the persons so communicating were informed that a sufficient force of the police would be in attendance on the Green to prevent any meeting being held, and at once to arrest any persons attempting to address the people. Accordingly the same precautions were taken as were found so effectual yesterday week. At nine o'clock in the morning a large body of the A reserve were marched down to the Green, some of whom were placed inside the Sessions-house, while the remainder patrolled the Green and adjacent streets in couples a few yards apart, the whole body being placed under the control of Mr. Superintendent Gernon. The special constables of the district were also ordered to hold themselves ready to act should their services be required. About eleven o'clock, when the thick fog of the earlier portion of the morning had cleared away, a considerable number of persons were assembled on the Green and at the corners of the streets leading thereto, looking anxiously for Mr. Finlen's appearance. The police patrols, however, kept the crowd continually moving, and the orders of the police were obeyed with the utmost quietude. Considerable attention was directed at this time to a tall, lank individual, of the unmistakable Yankee cut—long hair, a "goatee" beard, and wide-awake— who in the most stately manner kept parading up and down the Green. He was at once set down by the people to be one of the American-Irish Fenians, but on being interrogated by the police, he turned out to be the London Correspondent

for a New York journal. About twelve o'clock, and from that hour till a few minutes to one, the crowd had considerably increased, but Mr. Finlen did not put in an appearance, acting probably on the advice of his more prudent friends, and finding discretion to be the better part of valour. Mr. G. mantle, of the Council of the Reform League, was present on the Green, having come for the express purpose of using his influence with Mr. Finlen to dissuade him from holding the meeting. had he come with that intention. At one o'clock the crowd, finding that Mr. Finlen had not come, and that therefore no meeting would take place, gradually dispersed; and before two o'clock the Green presented its ordinary appearance, with the exception of the presence of the police patrols, who remained on duty during the day to prevent any attempt that might be made to hold a meeting. It appears that in addition to the police warning the landlord of the "Nag's Head" Leather-lane, against allowing the Holborn Branch of the Reform League to meet at his house, the weekly meeting of the costermongers to discuss their grievances had also been interdicted.

1868

January 3rd 1868 *Western Gazette* – STREET We hear that Mr. James Finlen of Clerkenwell Green notoriety, who is well known in this neighbourhood, is anxious to emigrate to America, and has made an appeal to his old friends at Street to assist him to accomplish so laudable an object. We believe however, that his appeal has met with but little favour in this quarter.

January 11th 1868 *Essex Times* – The prospects of Mr. James Finlen having been blighted “in consequence of his exertions in the cause of mercy on behalf of the men executed at Manchester, and his recent public sympathy with the cause of oppressed Ireland,” he has come to the decision of making “America his future home.” Seeing this a testimonial is proposed. I feel sure that, seeing the serpent-like wisdom of the resolve, and the desirability of Mr. Finlen taking his immense talents across the Atlantic, there to use them as he has been want to do at Clerkenwell, I need only mention the matter to induce the benevolent among your readers to give the worthy his deserts – nothing.

January 11th 1868 *Bee-Hive* The Reform League and Ireland - meeting of the General Council - The council met at their rooms, Adelphi-terrace on Wednesday [8th] evening - Mr. Edmond Beales MA President in the chair. *The meeting was somewhat disputatious, some members being derogatory about the Irish and linking Irish Republicanism with Fenianism cum terrorism. The meeting was attended by Finlen, who asked to be allowed to speak:* Mr. Finlen wished to say a few words upon the resolution [for the Irish to leave the Union, should they wish]. Mr. Brightly asked in what position Mr. Finlen addressed the council. Mr. Finlen said he addressed the council as a member of the council. Mr. Cooper moved that Mr. Finlen be heard. Mr. Acland moved that he not be heard. On the last occasion that Mr. Finlen spoke in that room he concluded his speech with the words "Success to Fenianism." Mr. Finlen had been the great enemy to the League. (No, no," and "Hear, hear) In fact, Mr. Finlen's conduct had been most prejudicial and dishonouring to the League ("No, and Hear, hear".)

Mr. Mudge knew no man who had done so much for democracy as Mr. Finlen had. (Hear, hear)

After some discussion the Chairman decided that Mr. Finlen was not a member of the council, but that through courtesy they would hear him.

Mr. Finlen said he would not address any observations upon the resolution on sufferance, but he protested against the unmanly insinuations of Mr. Acland. (Hear, Hear) Mr. Acland seemed to forget the course which he (Mr. Finlen) had adopted, viz., that he acted altogether upon his own responsibility. (Hear, hear) He had taken extreme views of subjects, and had been a thorough Republican - (Cheers) - in sympathy and persuasion for many years past; but it was not for him to compromise any body composed of men who did not take the same views. (Hear, hear). The resolution was then put and carried.

February 8th 1868 *Bee-Hive* Bloomsbury Branch (152, High Holborn.) This branch was crowded last Sunday evening, Mr. Grayson in the chair; when Mr. Philips opened the debate - subject - "Would the Repeal of the Union be Beneficial to the Empire?" followed by Messrs, McSweeney, George Davis, Finlen, Connolly, and Campbell who moved, as it had given rise to so much warm feeling, that it stands adjourned to next Sunday, when Mr. Meldrum will open the debate.

February 13th 1868 *Pall Mall Gazette* Sir Richard Mayne having distinctly denied that he had ever authorized police officers to threaten publicans with the loss of their licences for allowing branches of the Reform League to meet at their houses, Mr. Beale has obtained the following deposition from Mr. Woodward, landlord of the Nag's head, Leather-lane:- "On Sunday, December 22, 1867 about a quarter past one o'clock Inspector Potter... followed by an account of what happened and the closing of the League meeting due to the police threat - witnesses including James Finlen. Sent to Sir Richard who sent a short reply saying he declined to carry on correspondence!"

March 18th 1868 *Edinburgh Evening Courant* Mr. Goldwin Smith, as is pretty generally known, is about to start for America. At one time it was asserted that his travelling companion was to be no greater or smaller person than Mr. Finlen, of Reform League notoriety and of generally seditious repute. We believe he has since abandoned the idea of treating himself to the society of this gentleman, has determined to complete his voyage *solus*, and to shake in every possible manner each relic of the dust of England from the soles of his feet.

April 4th 1868 *Bee-Hive* A public meeting convened by the Holborn Branch of the Reform League was held on Tuesday evening on Clerkenwell-green. Mr. Beales, occupying the position of president, commenced the business of the evening by stating that their subject was to consider the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Act of 1867.....Mr. Finlen, who was received with some cheers, seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously. [*Reynolds Newspaper* adds: Mr. Finlen replying to an observation from the crowd, denied that he had been turned out of the Reform League. He had simply attended a meeting of the council by mistake.] Mr. Osborn, in moving a vote of thanks to the chairman, stated that there were more detectives among them that night than ever, and one of the chief of them, the one who had interfered in Hyde Park, had declared that this was the last open-air meeting that would be allowed to the men of London. This announcement was received with much hissing and groaning. Mr. Beales, in reply, defied the police to prevent the holding of legal constitutional meetings, and he promised, if the attempt were made to prevent such meetings, to lead on the people as he had lead them before.

April 11th 1868 *Bee-Hive* Bloomsbury Branch (Windsor Castle, 152, High Holborn) - Last Sunday [5th] evening Mr. George Davies opened the debate. "The political results of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions on the Irish Church," followed by Messrs. James Finlen, Elliot, Dawson, Morley, and others. Next Sunday [12th] evening Mr. James Finlen opens the debate "Ought Ireland to be satisfied with the mere destruction of the State Church?" - W. S. Grayson, Hon. Sec.

May 12th 1868 *Bucks Herald* FENIAN DEMONSTRATION IN HYDE PARK.
On Sunday last [10th] another Fenian demonstration took place in Hyde Park. Clerkenwell-green has long been the favourite resort of the processionists, and there, hitherto, orators—some of whom are of unwholesome eminence - have held forth on the wrongs of oppressed nationalities; winding up generally, with an appeal to the listeners for a copper in support of "Proletarian Propaganda," in other words, the hat has been sent: round to pay for the oration. On this day, however, as on the Sunday before, the police were under orders to prevent any assemblage on the "green," and sufficient detachments of police were in the neighbourhood, under Superintendent Gernon, and his inspectors, Bryant and Patter, to enforce the order. Men came, notwithstanding the fog, and one attempted to hold a meeting; but the speech was cut short, and the people quietly dispersed.

In Hyde Park a meeting of a peculiar character was held. In the afternoon a comparatively small knot of labouring Irishmen, with here and there an Irishman of the unquestionable Yankee type, gathered about the place known as the Reformers' Tree, the spot which the Reform League orations of last year have made somewhat notorious. The afternoon was fine in the park, and a very large crowd of respectably dressed persons assembled to look on; but they did not venture into the immediate circle round the tree, for in that circle anyone with a dark coat had to run the risk in so rough and excitable a gathering of being denounced as a "police spy." It was stated that the main body of the meeting would march from some part of the metropolis with banners, band, and drums, but shortly after 3 o'clock Finlen came with a few others without, however, any ornamental or musical accompaniment. He entered at once into the fringe of labourers and roughs about the tree, and, mounting the seat placed around the trunk, he proposed that Mrs. Lyons should take the position known as "the chair." This he pronounced "carried," and the proceedings commenced. The chairman announced "James Finlen," and that person at once proceeded to address the meeting. He said he would now—in the presence, as he well knew, of the host of detectives who were mingled in that throng—that he was a Revolutionist. (laughter,) He had to announce that being out that morning with two brave young Irishmen who were bearing a banner, his two companions were taken into custody for nothing else than bearing that banner. (Shame.) That banner probably was the herald of the people's advent to power, and it had inscribed on it "God save Ireland!" the names of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, and "Remember Barratt." Now, he stood there as the representative of that banner, and he called upon God to preserve Ireland, he pronounced the names of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, and he urged them to "remember Barratt." (Cheers,) The banner and its bearers were now locked up in a central station of London, and the police orders were to lay hands on the first possible chance on himself. He went on to say that the police could not tolerate that the working man should denounce the "brutal and bloody" actions of those in power. When they took him he hoped it would be after acting; and for being connected with barricades, and for being connected with that power without which no nation had been redeemed—physical power. (Cheers and laughter.) He declared he was no secret plotter, but he pronounced himself as associated with a Democratic League, as having worked for twenty years in the people's cause, and as being the "incorruptible James Finlen," who would work on to Free Ireland, that Niobe of nations, from the rule of the odious, sinister, and brutal English aristocracy. (Cheers) He pronounced the representatives of a penny paper to be "whisky-washed rascals," and the report in the organ he called Mr. Bright's he described as perfectly atrocious. He asked, however, for respect to be paid to the representatives of the press, and he then proceeded to declare that he would sooner have to do with the Tories than with the Whigs or Radicals, giving as his reason that he had been denounced on behalf of the Reform League by one Osborne, who, he said, though now an Arch-councillor of the Reform League, was once a costermonger about the streets. He went on to denounce the proceedings of the Reform League, three of the members of which he declared had received a large sum of money, no one knew from whom, for electioneering purposes, and he declared that neither the secretary nor president cared about giving an explanation. He denounced the action of the Reform League with respect to the Fenians, and said the action of the League was taken because it feared his influence with the countrymen of his **father and mother**, who, he said, were of Irish birth. The laughter at this portion of his address attracted his attention, and he declared the outer circle of listeners to be composed of the myrmidons of Adelphi-terrace, meaning the Reform League, and said that as he had been one of the powers in the making of the Reform League, he could do much to unmake it. As to those who laughed at him, he could "skin them alive," and he called upon the people around to take no notice of them.

Groans were given for the Reform League at Finlen's call, and the meeting dispersed.

In the evening Finlen went to Clerkenwell-green, where he announced to the mob at the park he purposed attending. Before the police could interfere to prevent a gathering, some opposition politicians, - namely, some of the Reform League—applied to him the physical force of which he is

the advocate, and forced him to beat a hasty retreat, leaving his hat on the "green." There was no further disturbance, for the police, under Mr. Superintendent Garner, quickly dispersed the crowd.

May 12th 1868 *Globe* Colonel Dickson presided over 1,500 men - incorrectly described as *Working men*;" accurately described as "idle-men" - on Clerkenwell Green yesterday (Monday) evening. The principal orator on this occasion seems to have been the notorious Mr. Finlen, who is *not* gone to America. Mr. Finlen says he will not be satisfied with the abolition of the Irish Church; he goes in for nothing less than "the repeal of the Union." This "Republican at heart" (to quite the description he gives of himself) is frank enough to say that he "has not a big notion of Gladstone." He observes that "what Gladstone proposes to do now he might have done when in office." "Gladstone is seeking office," is his comprehensive verdict on the situation. The Reform Leagues orators are beginning to estimate their great hero at his true value. At the same time, their dissatisfaction is instructive in another way. It proves that statesmen who play the demagogue get nothing but trouble and abuse for their pains.

May 17th 1868 *Reynolds's Newspaper* Finlen's speech at the Clerkenwell Green meeting (Monday 11th) was recorded more fully;

"If the Irish Church, he said, was abolished, that abolition would not satisfy the Irish people. The men of Ireland were anxious to rule themselves. The men of Ireland were Republicans, and if they were not Republicans they would not be worth the advocacy of James Finlen, who was a Republican heart and soul. (Cheers) While the men of Ireland were prepared to favour Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, they were, at the same time, not disposed to be put off from their heroic resolve to have their island free - to have a native parliament to govern then. (Cheers) But how could they expect that Ireland would receive even a modicum of liberty from a bloody-minded aristocracy? England was presided over by an Israelite because the aristocracy was bankrupt in brains if not in honour (A laugh) He had not a big notion of Gladstone. He (the speaker) asked them not to lend themselves or their sympathies to a party. Let them see what Gladstone might have done! What he now insisted upon doing he might have done when he was in office. He might have used the power he possessed to prevent the ignominious and unparalleled disgrace of the execution s at Manchester. Let them only believe in themselves. (Cheers) Gladstone was seeking office; Disraeli was in office. Let them teach a lesson to these rival legislators that the Irish Church must perish. It was a nuisance and an abomination. It was a workshop without workmen. Irishmen who had gone to America would be the pioneers of liberty, peace, and mercy for Ireland. It was said by some that the State could not live without the Church. If it could not, then let the State go to limbo. (Loud Cheers)

May 21st 1868 *Morning Herald* (London) Finlen's name mentioned in the House of Commons - regarding the franchise and suffrage depending upon house-owners paying towards the local parish expenses. 'No man should have a vote who tried to cheat the Parish in which he lived, that is to say all the householders who go to make up the community of which he is a member, or proved himself one of that pauper class for which nobody but Mr. Beales and Mr. Finlen would in direct terms ask a vote by professing his inability to pay the few shillings required of him as his contribution to the necessary expenditure of the parish in which he rents a house. [Finlen's situation was so bad at this time that he *couldn't* spare a shilling or two for anything!]

May 25th 1868 *Express* (London) // *Pall Mall Gazette* Police Courts - (This Day.)

At Clerkenwell police-court this morning James Finlen, aged thirty-seven described as a French-polisher, and a lecturer in the employ of the Reform League, was brought up on a warrant by Moss, constable of the parish of Islington, and charged before Mr. Cooke, with deserting his four children. Mr. William Henry Messer said; "I am relieving officer of the parish of Islington. Four children of the defendant's - James aged nine; William, aged eight; Frank, aged six, and Mary Caroline, aged four and a half - were admitted to the workhouse on the 4th of the present month, and are still chargeable. On the 6th I received a note from the defendant, saying that he was astonished the children had been brought and admitted to the workhouse, and that he would in the course of a day or so come up and pay all the expenses that had been incurred and take the children away. Instead of doing so, he took no further notice, but on the 12th he sent another letter saying that on the following

day he would come and take out the children. I heard nothing further of the defendant, nor did I see him until this morning, when he was in custody. The children were brought to me from 37, Catherine street, Caledonian-road, by the defendant's sister, who said that the defendant had neglected to send her money for their support.

The defendant paid partly for the support of his children. "I took them to the workhouse because I am engaged at work [*Express* "he had been at work at Lee [Leigh], in Kent since Thursday last and was going to work again this morning] and could not look after them." His wife is not living with him, Mr. Messer said the defendant's wife is now an inmate of the Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum. [*records held by London Metropolitan Archives; City of London - H12/CH**] The defendant, in answer to the charge, said that **he had not received a farthing for his talking for more than eighteen months**. He had now got employment, and if an arrangement could be come to, he would take his children away and provide for them in a proper way. Mr. Cooke said he considered the case proved, but he should adjourn it for three weeks to enable the defendant to provide for his children and to settle with the parish. The defendant, who was then bound over, left the court.

Express: Miss Kate Finlen said, "I am the sister of the defendant. and reside at 37, Catherine-street, Islington. I took the defendant's children to the workhouse because I could not afford to keep them any longer. It was not convenient for me to keep them any longer. I have had them for a fortnight before. The defendant paid partly for the support of his children." Mr. Cooke - Then why did you take them to the workhouse? Witness - "Because I am engaged at work, and could not look after them. His wife is not living with him." Mr. Messer said the defendant's wife is now an inmate of the Colney hatch Lunatic Asylum.

Witness - I gave the defendant notice on the Sunday night previous to taking the children to the workhouse that I intended taking them on the following day, and I did so. He did not make me any answer. He did not provide for them afterwards. He has had work during the last month or so.

By the defendant - I received a letter from you, saying that you would come the following day and take out the children. I received from you for the maintenance of your four children for a fortnight, £1 6s. The main reason for my taking the children to the workhouse was because I had no proper convenience for them. By Mr. Messer - The defendant ran away from me in Leather-lane, when I told him I was going to take his children to the workhouse.

Mr. Cooke asked if this was the first time the defendant's children had become chargeable to the parish. Mr. Messer said that the children had before been neglected, and that he had to send an officer to inquire about them. They had been left with parties who had themselves been paupers.

Moss, the warrant officer, said he took the defendant into custody on Sunday afternoon inside the workhouse, the defendant having gone there to see his children. He had about 12 months since gone to see the defendant's children, and he then found them in a state of nudity [*almost naked*], and that there was but little food in the house at the time.

*Colney Hatch Asylum opened at Friern Barnet in July 1851 as the second pauper lunatic asylum for the County of Middlesex. In 1851 Colney Hatch, designed in the Italianate style by S. W. Dawkes, with 1,250 beds was the largest and most modern institution of its kind in Europe. Within ten years it was enlarged to take 2,000 patients.

May 31st 1868 *Reynolds's Newspaper* - MR. FINLEN and his CHILDREN. To the editor of *Reynold's Newspaper*;

Sir, - As I presume that you will, in your capacity as an independent journalist, reproduce in your invaluable paper a report of proceedings instituted against me by the parish of Islington, I seek the favour at your hands of being allowed the advantage of an explanatory

statement appearing simultaneously with that report. Why I particularly crave the favour is because, after having addressed to most of the daily papers whose columns contained the garbled and slovenly report in question, letters containing necessary explanation, not one of them has had the decency or the honesty to publish such communications. Presuming that you will oblige me, I proceed to state as follows: —

It was well known to the female witness in the case that I was making strenuous efforts to have my children taken care of in the Country any time during the fortnight that they were unfortunately in her charge. It must have been apparent to her, through my solicitude and assurances repeatedly made during that fortnight, that I was anxious, in an extraordinary degree, to have them removed and comfortably and suitably settled; yet within some fourteen hours of the time when it would have been both possible and prudent for me to remove them, she visits

me, and insists upon my taking them away at once. The visit was made between ten and eleven o'clock on a Sunday night. Being at the time a lodger in Kent, and having no home in London, I urged how unfair, if not cruel, it was to peremptorily demand that I should go at once and take sleeping infants from her house into the night without having the least shelter provided for them. What I urged was of no avail, for anger, abuse, and threats succeeded each other in quick succession, until at last I left her, *walking quietly away* - not "running," lest I should be made to take part in a street scene. Upon the next day I wrote to her to say that I would call at her place for my children upon the following evening. In answer to that intimation I received a note from her, saying in effect, "You will find your children in the workhouse. I took them there yesterday." That answer I received on the Tuesday. So it will be seen that because I would not on a late hour upon the Sunday night remove my children from the bed they had, and the shelter which a relative could furnish them with, they were upon the following morning precipitately packed off to the workhouse, and that, too, at the very moment when I had made arrangements for their reception. That frustrated my arrangements, my plans were upset, and then I was necessitated to resort to other means, which incurred a loss both of time and of money. Upon getting things somewhat adjusted again, I proceeded to the workhouse last Sunday, *for the purpose of taking my children* out, and not, as the report says, for the purpose of seeing them merely. I was accompanied to that place by my friend, Mr. James Meldrum, and he will be able, if required, to vouch as to the object of my visit, as well as to the accuracy of the short description I am about to give of the kind of reception I met with at the hands of some of the magnates of Bumbledom.

Immediately upon reaching the house, I told a very civil officer in uniform who I was and that I had come to remove my children. He thereupon sent for the master. Directly that worthy appeared, he began to rate me about my political views. Evidently he did not endorse them, nor could he look with calmness upon those who did. Vainly I tried to assure him that that was no place for political controversy; that in a proper place, and in due time — if he had, and he appeared to have, a *passion* for the thing—I would fain meet him in fair argument, although I did not covet the questionable honour. Still he went on lavishing his abuse upon all reformers, being most prodigal in his denunciations of Mr. Beales and other honourable leaders of the people. At last, I was obliged to say some hard things too; and then Mr. Master was very wrathful. Much time was thus employed by him, and I received from him occasionally parenthetical assurances that my children would be forthcoming shortly. Instead of the children being produced as promised the parish officer appeared with his warrant. Perhaps you will have perceived already my motive for thus alluding to the interview with the master. It is this: my prosecutors hastened in their work against me, because I was known to them as a busy and uncompromising reformer. In further proof of this let me say that one of their officers—a most humane and painstaking gentleman; one very superior, I should think, to the general tribe of workhouse officials—assured me that directly certain members of the board of guardians read in the daily papers that I was taking an active part in opposition to the State Church in Ireland, and in favour of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, peremptory orders were given for a warrant to be drawn for my arrest.

From the above it will be seen that had I been a mere plodder on the one hand, or upon the other a slavish apologist of iniquitous wrongs, it is most probable that no action would have been so precipitately taken against me. Even parish officials can hunt down a poor man of independent mind! I must conclude. There are many errors in the report, but the foregoing may much correct them. To one statement let me allude. It is said my children were visited about a year ago, and were found located with paupers. When the woman took charge of them, her husband was in work; he fell ill, and then, I suppose she got relief from the parish. When I found that my children could not be properly attended to by her, I at once removed them

Respectfully yours, James Finlen. 48, Great Queen-street, May 28, 1868

[The police report to which Mr. Finlen alludes appears in page 6.]

The Late Michael Barratt - We understand that Mr. James Finlen intends delivering an address on Sunday (this morning) at eleven o'clock, on Clerkenwell-green upon the execution of Michael Barratt, the Fenian.

June 5th 1868 *Hull Packet*

FINLEN THE BRAVE
Come, listen, brave Reformers all,
A story I will tell,
Of Finlen, who was brought before
The beak at Clerkenwell.

Of sympathy for England's weal
He had a wondrous share,
And proved it by the children four
He left beneath her care.

Sternly the magistrate looks down
Upon that hero's face,

And asks how Finlen the renowned
Should come to such disgrace!

He answers - "Sir, this graceless League
With me have fallen out;
For all the 'spouting' I have done,
I may go up the 'spout.'"

Back, Finlen, to obscurity,
From which thou ne'er should'st roam,
And learn this maxim to fulfil-
"Reform begins at home!"

July 12th 1868 *Reynolds's Newspaper* The Peers and the Irish Church - A very large meeting of working men was held on Sunday morning last, on Clerkenwell-green, to denounce the House of Lords, for their conduct in reference to the Suspensory Bill. The meeting was very enthusiastic, and numbered about 3,000 persons.

Mr. McSweeney was called upon to preside. He called Mr. Finlen to move the first resolution. On Mr. Finlen presenting himself, he was received with a perfect storm of applause by the meeting. The purport of the resolution was "That the House of Peers has shown itself to be obstructive to the interests of the people; and we pledge ourselves to call forth the sentiments and activity of the people to oppose their pretensions, and make them responsible to the nation. And that a meeting be held in Hyde Park on the 19th of this month, the people to proceed there in procession, accompanied by flags, with appropriate mottoes and music." The resolution being moved in a very powerful and eloquent speech, which was received with enthusiasm, Mr. Clegg seconded the resolution, which, on being put, was carried with acclamation.

July 16th 1868 *The Sun* The Irish Church - Meeting in Clerkenwell-Green. Last night an open-air meeting was held in Clerkenwell-green, convened by J. Finlen, chairman....to condemn the decision of the Peers on the Suspensory Bill, preparatory to a great demonstration in Hyde Park next Sunday. The Sun says circa 200 + attended, the London Evening Standard gives 1500 - 2000!

July 18th 1868 *Morning Post* Another Invasion of Hyde Park. A hand-bill of which the following is a copy, has been extensively circulated in order to notify that the "leaders of the people" contemplate another invasion of Hyde Park tomorrow: - "Down with the Irish Church! Away with the Bench of Bishops! Make the Lords amenable to the people! - Men of London, march in procession to Hyde Park, on Sunday, July 19th, 1868, to hold a monster indignation meeting; to protest against the shameful act of the House of Lords in rejecting the Suspensory Bill carried by a large majority of the House of Commons. The procession, accompanied by band and banners, will start from Clerkenwell-green at 3.30 and arrive at the 'Reformer's Tree' Hyde Park at five o'clock precisely. By order of the committee, James Finlen, Chairman; James Meldrum, treasurer; D. McSweeney, Secretary. The meeting will be addressed by the following gentlemen - Finlen, C. Wade, Thomas, H. Howell, W. Howell, J. Meldrum, J. Burk, and D. McSweeney.

July 18th 1868 *Globe* Mr. Gladstone received a visit today from Messrs. Finlen, Bartlett, Tervey, Clarke, Gallagher, and Ballard of "the Hyde Park Demonstration Committee," to condole him on the defeat of his Suspensory Bill in the House of Lords, and to assure him that his cause should be advocated in Sunday open-air lectures. Mr. Gladstone expressed the pleasure he had derived from the interview, and left the matter of the demonstration in the able hands of its promoters.

Finlen nor Gladstone *Birmingham Daily Gazette* A crowded meeting of the committee for organising the above demonstration was held at night at the Middlesex Arms, Clerkenwell Green; Mr. Finlen in the chair. The Chairman reported the proceedings which had taken place between the deputation from the committee and Mr. Gladstone, that day, which were of the utmost satisfactory character. Mr. Gladstone, without expressing any opinion for or against the demonstration, acknowledged that the reasons urged by the deputation for holding it at the time mentioned were

worthy of consideration. Mr. M^cSweeney, the secretary, said the whole arrangements for the demonstration were now complete and a great success was expected.

July 20th 1868 *Morning Herald/London Evening Standard*

THE ANTI-HOUSE OF LORDS DEMONSTRATION.

DEPUTATION TO MR. GLADSTONE.

A deputation from the Hyde Park Demonstration Committee against the Irish Church waited on Saturday upon Mr. Gladstone, at his residence, in Carlton-terrace, to assure him of the continued support of the working classes, to express the hope that he would not be discouraged by the adverse vote of the House of Lords, and to inform him of the intention of the working men of London to hold a demonstration in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, condemnatory of the recent vote in the Lords. The deputation consisted of Messrs. Finlen, Bartlett, Tervey, Clark, Gallagher, Ballard, &c, Mr. Gladstone said he was always pleased to receive a deputation of real working men, such as the one now before him. With respect to the object of their visit, he thanked them for their sympathy, and was pleased to hear his conduct on the Irish Church question was approved by the great mass of the working classes. He could assure the deputation he had not the slightest intention of flinching from the work he had undertaken, but was prepared to carry it through to a triumphant issue. It would be a tough job, but he was confident of success. He was not at all discouraged by the role of the House of Lords, and had no doubt they would be alive to the public opinion as it would be expressed at the next election. He desired to see Ireland happy and contented, and her people not driven, by England's injustice to a foreign country. The disestablishment of the Irish Church, accompanied by an improved land tenure, would do much to bring about a better state of things in that country. With respect to the demonstration alluded to, that was a matter for the consideration of themselves, and about which he was not called upon to express an opinion, further than to say that the reasons urged by the deputation why the meeting should be held were worthy of consideration. He had no doubt order would be preserved by those attending it. The deputation then retired, thanking the right Hon. gentleman for his courteous reception.

In order to carry out the intended demonstration, a preliminary meeting was held yesterday on Clerkenwell-green: Mr. Howell in the chair; when Mr. Finlen and others addressed an assembly numbering about 500. It was rumoured that a meeting of Orangemen had been held, and that a counter demonstration would take place. The Reformers came to a conclusion that if the Orangemen interfered with the Hyde Park meeting, "they must be put down."

The afternoon demonstration was announced for three o'clock, at which hour several hundreds assembled at Clerkenwell-green. A procession was formed, headed by twelve marshals carrying wands, followed by the band of the Milton Phœnix Temperance Society. Green was the all-prevailing colour, the Leaguers wearing pieces of green ribbon in their hats or on their coats. Many wore green scarfs and some green neckties. Green banners were carried bearing the following inscriptions:—"Down with the Irish Church," "Away with the Bench of Bishops," &c. The illuminated banner of the Labourers Society was also displayed, the members of that club mustering in force. Other persons, from various metropolitan districts joined the procession, which numbered about 2000. The motley mob that followed was much more numerous than the processionists themselves. This meeting, it was understood, was not joined in by many of the original Reform League, and one member boldly expressed his regret that the demonstration had been held at all, especially on Sunday; but, encouraged by the reception Mr. Gladstone had given the deputation on Saturday, the leaders of the movement were bold, defiant, and abusive in their denunciations of the lords, the bishops and the Protestant Church. The route selected was from Clerkenwell-green, through Farringdon-road, Farringdon-street, Fleet-street, Strand, Charing-cross, Cockspur-street, Pall-mall, St. James's street Piccadilly, Hyde-park-corner, to the Reformers' Tree, from whence the addresses were delivered. Twenty-four of the League were then ordered to the front, and they marched arm-in-arm, clearing the way as they passed on. The band played several selections *en route*. As the crowd passed the club-houses there was some excitement. The Reform Club was

cheered, as a matter of course, and the Carlton hissed. Some ridiculous mistakes were made by the noisiest portion of the throng. Passing the other clubs (many of the members were at the windows) a cheer was led off, when it was discovered that the club was "the wrong side." The hisses would follow the cheers. This occurred several times, much to the satisfaction of the hatless and shoeless boys and girls who walked with the procession. An enthusiastic "Reformer" shouted, "Three cheers for Gladstone," and the mob replied lustily, cheering because others cheered. The gates of Hyde Park were reached at five minutes to five, and the League betook themselves to the shade of the elm trees. From four platforms addresses were delivered, and from 300 to 500 assembled around each stand. Mr. Charles Wade presided at the principal point, and began by congratulating the meeting on the success attending the movement. The working men had met there in thousands, and he believed the effect of the meeting would be felt.

Then Mr. Finlen denounced the insolent conduct of the House of Lords for setting itself against the declared sentiments of the commons. They were there to tell the Lords that the Irish Church must come down, and if they (the Lords) were determined to prop it up the House of Lords must come down also. The labourers of England could do without peers, but the peers could not do without labourers (loud cheers). They were there to perform a duty made sacred by its necessity to that unfortunate country Ireland that had been oppressed by an alien and bloody English aristocracy. (This elegant phrase called forth loud and long continued cheers). They were there to say they would have something more than the demolition of the Irish Church. Mr. Gladstone told society at large on Saturday—when he graciously received the deputation of working men—that something more than the demolition of the Irish Church was necessary for the pacification and happiness of Ireland (cries of 'Bravo Finlen, bravo Gladstone' followed). Mr. Gladstone had said that the land question was of vital importance to Ireland (cheers). Having eulogised American institutions, he argued that democracy was spreading in England, and the development of democracy among the people sounded the death knell of peer, aristocracy and all luxurious scoundrelism that might stand in the way of progress. They did not want to hurt a lord, that was to say if they knew nothing. Then they would tolerate the Lords; they would rely on the House of Commons, and back up Gladstone. He proposed "That this meeting records its thorough condemnation of the Irish Church Establishment, and is of opinion that the conduct of the House of Lords in rejecting the Suspensory Bill, passed by a large majority of the House of Commons, is subversive of national liberty and merits an indignant censure." He asked them to vote unanimously. Resist the attempt to continue the Irish Church; down with the Irish Church; and, if needs be, the House of Lords, too, will go down as easily against their strength as did the Park railings when Tories tried to keep them out (loud cheers). A Mr. Meldrum seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

Mr. Upshall proposed—"That in the event of the House of Peers persisting in its obstructive policy, this meeting pledges itself to support Mr. Gladstone in his noble and patriotic endeavour to effect the entire disestablishment of the Irish Church."

Mr. Thomas seconded the resolution. He hoped Mr. Gladstone would not only be the future Liberal leader, but a great Democratic leader. On the previous day Mr. Gladstone received the deputation like a father receiving his children; very different from the way they were received at the Home Office (three groans for Hardy).

The Chairman said that Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Baxter Langley has promised to attend and speak, but had not kept their engagements. He put the resolution, and it was carried unanimously amidst cheers.

The mob became somewhat disorderly after the meeting had broken up. Several hats were removed from the heads of individual wearers, and thrown into the air, to be kicked as they fell. Itinerant vendors of doggerel ballads drew little crowds around them, and exceedingly coarse language was used by some of the roughest of the roughs. A man, dressed to caricature a clergy man, accompanied by another acting as his clerk, sold "An Entire New Litany on the Irish Church Question." The "New Litany" was blasphemous, and the fellow acting the part of clerk mockingly travestied the original, saying, in a solemn tone, "Save us, good Gladstone!"

[A full copy of this amusing Litany is printed in the Morning Herald of July 23rd]

Another full description of the meeting occurs in the Sun **July 20th**.

July 23rd 1868 *Morning Herald* - THE SUNDAY MEETING IN HYDE PARK. TO THE EDITOR,

Sir,—The identification and sympathy of Mr. Gladstone with Mr. Finlen, of “judge and jury” and Clerkenwell reputation, is now so notorious that I think the great Liberal party should, if possible, be awakened to the tactics which their would-be leaders are employing. The Irish branch of the Established Church is the ostensible point of attack of these great leaders of the Liberal party. The least diplomatic of them, viz, Mr. Finlen, makes no secret of the fact that not only is the Irish Church to be got rid of, but also all Church Establishments, the bench of bishops, and the House of Lords.

At the miserable meeting held in Hyde Park last Sunday presided over by Mr. Finlen, and countenanced by Mr. Gladstone, a profane and blasphemous litany was read by a person dressed as a clergyman, and the responses repeated by a mock clerk. As this production has not appeared in full in the newspapers, I beg herewith to enclose a copy of it in order that the public may be able to judge of the men who are setting themselves up as rulers amongst us - I am Sir, your obedient servant B.F.C.

[neither Finlen nor Gladstone had any connection to the incident or sympathy with the sentiments expressed in what appears to be a private spoof - but it was used to smear their names by the opposition]

AN ENTIRE NEW LITANY ON THE IRISH CHURCH QUESTION,

Not exactly sanctioned by either Bishop, Parson, Curate, or any other Prelate. It is not to be said of sung in either Church or Chapel, but to be learnt by all persons without distinction by creed, country, or colour. Composed on the Great Battle which lately took place in St. Stephen's House of Incurables.

When the rulers of this mighty Babylon shall be like unto good stewards, and render unto the people things that are the people's, and purge the Established Church of its many impurities, not only Ireland and Scotland, but in this mighty and loyal city, and allow every tub to stand on its own bottom, then, and not till then will this war cease, which has so long been an abomination in the land.

Sorely-oppressed and heavily-taxed brethren;

It becomes us all to be up and doing, and assist this monster question of the day, the Irish Church Bill, no matter what your creed may be, whether it be Catholic, Protestant, Quaker, Shaker, Spirit-rappers, or Tub-thumpers, who have so long forked out the golden grain which has so greedily been swallowed by Mother Church and her hungry chickens. The Lesson for the Day is taken from the late Debates on the

Church Question,

Now, in the Days of darkness, when Fat Harry, the Bluebeard King of England, joined in unholy wedlock the Lion of State to Lady Lawn Sleeves, the people were troubled with a blindness, which has continued for upwards of three hundred years. But of late the film has fell from off their eyes, and they murmured saying, "Why pay we tribute to those from whom we receive nothing, and for buildings we do not enter?"

But their masters in lawn replied, "We say unto you pay you must, for such is the law of the land.

But, lo! there arose up a loud cry for Ecclesiastical reform, and Gladstone, their champion, arose up in the house of St. Stephen's, which is near unto Parliament square, and with stentorian lungs said, I intend to go the whole hog or none, and call upon the country to dissolve the banns of matrimony between the aforesaid Lion and Lawn Sleeves, which has so long been an eyesore to the country.

Then Dizzy the Israelite, who is State coachman, said, not so, for after being wedded 300 years, the Lion of State would suffer much from being separated from his bride in Lawn. Then there arose a shout from the true friend of the people, saying, No, Dizzy, not for Joe, and the shout was taken up throughout the length and breadth of the land.

And behold Dizzy, the Israelite, shook like unto a vast body of double size, and his nose turned quite pale, and his curly nob was convulsed, when he thought that the loaves and fishes he had so long sought after, were likely to pass from him. Then spake the Champion of Reform, Gladstone, saying, the Church monopoly was like unto the unreasonable Eating-house-keeper, who said unto a man who was looking through his window, I have both roast and boiled, come pay me for your dinner.

But the man said, I have not eaten your meats, so why troublest thou me.

Then said the knight of the spit and the stewpan, but you must fork out just the same.

And there was great shouting in St. Stephen's, with cries of "No surrender, and success to the Irish Church Bill."

And Hardy the bosom friend of Poleaxe Dickey, the hero of Hyde Park, protested loudly against Gladstone and his measure, and he and the Dizzy wept bitter tears, when they saw that they were licked.

And the land of donovans and buttermilk shouted, No surrender, faugh o'ballagh! go it, Gladstone, and the Sandys danced tullochgorum, round the rims of their porridge-pots, and in whiskey, success to the Church Bill.

Thus endeth the Lesson for the Day.

LET US SAY

From all Church monopoly, good Gladstone, save us, Save us, good Gladstone!
From being compelled to keep the fat shepherds of every creed, Good Queen deliver us, Spare us, good Queen.
From maintaining such a large staff of idlers in silk aprons and shovel hats, Friends of Reform, spare us. Friends of Reform, spare us.
From all undue taxes in the shape of tenths and sucking pigs. Common sense, save us. Spare us our grunTERS, we beseech thee.

And oh, Dizzy, mind your eye, old boy! lest your greatness should be swept away by the broom of public opinion. Hear that, oh Dizzy.

And now to Gladstone. the father of Reform and the friend of the people be all thanks due, both new and for evermore, and success to the Irish Church Bill. So be it,
H. Disley, Printer, 67, High-street, St. Giles, London.

July 24th 1868 *Globe* A model Political Agitator - Mr. Bacon, [*Morning Post* - plumber and painter] No. 28, Church-street, Soho, yesterday applied to Mr. Knox at the Marlborough-street Police-court, for advice. He said he had some small houses which he let out to working people, one of which is at No. 9, Prince's-row, Newport-market. He had let one of the rooms—a back room, second floor—at 3s. 6d. a week to James Finlen, the person who went with deputations to Mr. Gladstone's house and made speeches at the Hyde-park and Reform demonstrations. He would neither pay rent nor go away. He had occupied the room for seven weeks, but had only paid two weeks' rent. His wife, the applicant believed, was in some asylum. There were three children in the room, filthy and starving. There was not a chair, cup, or a plate in the room, and, indeed, there was nothing in it but a piece of old sacking. The children had no one to look after them: they were covered with vermin and nearly naked. The father came home generally about three o'clock in the morning. [*MP*; I called in a police-sergeant to look at the place and the poor things, and he said it was as bad a case as he ever saw] Finlen had been twice convicted for deserting his children. One of the other lodgers sometimes gave them food, and another lodger not long ago got a shirt and a pair of boots and gave them to one of the boys. The other lodgers threatened to leave the house if Finlen stayed there. Mr. Knox asked what Finlen did to get a livelihood. Mr. Bacon replied that he belonged to the Reform League, and not long since he had a collection from 400 Fenians of 6d a-piece. He did not know what he did with the money, unless it was all spent in drink.

Mr. Knox - [*MP*; Four hundred sixpences are £10; that ought to have enabled a decent man to pay up his arrears of rent and to do something for his family. But if, as you say, the money has been spent on drink, that is a melancholy tale indeed.] He said the only advice he could give him was to go to a respectable broker and tell him the story, and for a shilling or two he would do what was necessary to enable him to get rid of his tenant. It had been stated that the place was filthy. If that was so there was danger during the present hot weather that a pestilence might be bred in the neighbourhood. Mr. Knox then requested the applicant to ask the inspector of nuisances to call and see him immediately, and he would have some conversation with him about the matter. Mr. Bacon said he would adopt the magistrate's suggestions.

July 24th 1868 *Pall Mall Gazette* LAW AND POLICE

Dr. Conway Evans, officer of health for the Strand district, waited upon Mr. Knox, at the Marlborough-street police court, this morning, in reference to the children of James Finlen, of No. 9, Princes-row, Newport Market, in the consequence of a report which appeared in the morning papers of to-day (the substance of this report is given in a preceding page). Dr. Evans said he had visited the room and found nothing but a bed in it. He found three boys in the room whose ages were between five and nine. They were apparently well nourished, but only half clad, and were greatly dependent upon the kindness of a lodger in the house. The place was clean as far as the walls and ceilings were concerned, but the floor was in a filthy state, which was due to the negligence of the occupant of the room and not to the landlord. He ascertained that Finlen was by trade a French polisher, but had done no work for some time, and was in the habit of going about to meetings and coming home at three o'clock in the morning. He also was informed that Finlen's wife

was in a lunatic asylum, and that he did not provide any one to look after the children. Mr. Knox asked Dr. Evans whether there was anything in the room likely to generate disease. Dr. Evans said there was not. All he should call on the landlord to do was to thoroughly cleanse the room. Mr. Knox said after hearing Dr. Conway Evans all he could do would be to advise the landlord to take the usual steps through a broker to get rid of the parties, so that the place might be cleansed.

25 Julyth 1868 *London Standard* - Report as the previous but adds; Shortly after Dr. Evans had retired, James Finlen came into court, and begged permission to make a statement. Mr. Know would hear anything he had to say.

Finlen then stated that he had taken a room in Bacon's house, and had not been there more than six weeks when, finding that he had expressed sympathy for the Fenians, Bacon had dunned him for the rent, in order to get him to remove. He owed Bacon some rent. it was difficult to get lodgings, and he had been waiting for means that he might get his rooms decently furnished. His wife had been for some time in a lunatic asylum. He had put the children under the care of different persons, but as they were neglected he removed them and took them under his own care. He gave a flat and unequivocal denial to the statement that the children were in the condition of vermin and filth described by the landlord. There were relative conditions of filth. He would admit that the children might have such dirt about them as would be caused by three boys romping about the room for three days. While the children were under the care of a woman employed by him they were well looked after, but the female was taken ill on Saturday last; and he would ask the magistrate to say whether, in the short time she had been absent, the children could become overrun with vermin or in the filthy state asserted. As to the charge of getting home at three o'clock in the morning, he wished also to give that a denial. It was quite true that being a public man, as his worship no doubt well knew, and being on committee business, he was often engaged at late hours, but he was always home before the time mentioned. In reference to the charge of deserting his children he would admit he had been brought up a few weeks ago, at the instance of the parochial authorities of St. Pancras, for deserting his family. He then undertook to discharge the debt incurred, and he did so, but it was not true to say that there was any conviction against him. It had been stated that he was connected with the Reform League, but, for the sake of the League and himself, he wished to state that he had nothing to do with it, and that for eighteen months past he had ceased to be a paid lecturer for any organised body. By trade he was a French polisher, and earned his bread by his labour. His employer was present, and would state that the assertion of his never being in work was as groundless as the rest of the statement. It was also asserted that 10*l.* had been collected by the Fenians for him, and that his worship had been reported to have made some remarks as to the way the money was spent. Mr. Knox admitted having made some remarks on the subject.

Finlen continued. - Instead of 10*l.*, as Mr. Bacon had asserted, he had only received a part of that sum. A person was present to prove that he had given orders for clothing for his children, but until he could place them under proper care it had been deemed advisable not to let them wear the new clothes in such a rough neighbourhood. Mr. Knox said if it was the pleasure of the owner to put his tenant out of the house, he had a right to do so. He desired to inform Mr. Finlen that the medical officer had been to that court, and had told him that the landlord had done his best, but that the floor of the room was in a beastly condition. He further stated that, as a public officer, he did not consider it was his duty to interfere.

Mr. Finlen said superficially the room had an uncleanly appearance.

Mr. Chappell, living near the King's-road, Chelsea, said he had known Finlen for three years as a straightforward and trustworthy person. Seeing what had appeared in the papers, he had thought it was his duty to come forward. A person named Meldrum (our reporter understood) said, in consequence of proceedings having been taken against Mr. Finlen relative to his children, he had suggested a subscription on his behalf, out of which Mr. Finlen paid 4*l.* 18*s.* to the parish, and had further given an order for clothing for them, which clothing he had advised Mr. Finlen not to let the children have until they left the neighbourhood. He had reason to believe that Mr. Finlen was

making a home for his children. Finlen and his companions here left the court. [All summed up in the *Bee-Hive July 25th*.]

**July 25th 1868 *London Evening Standard* OPINIONS OF THE WEEKLY PAPERS. -
MR. GLADSTONE AND THE FINLEN DEPUTATION -**

The *Saturday Review* says that Mr. Gladstone descends into the gutter. Is there such a moral and political remedy as a mud bath? If so, under what conditions of the temper and party exigencies is it expedient to resort to it? Mr. Gladstone has perhaps been pondering this question, and he has experimented on himself- *non incorpore vili*. He has gone into the kennel; like the hero of the *Dunciad* he has, and certainly not under medical advice, plunged into the filthiest depths of Fleet Ditch. To take secret counsel with Finlen, and to talk in his own house as a friend with the fellow who was too bad for the office of barrister in ordinary at the Judge and Jury Club in Leicester-square, and who is accused of systematically neglecting and starving, when he does not desert, his miserable children, is certainly a change for the late Chancellor of the Exchequer and member for the University of Oxford. Mr. Gladstone cannot have taken to this nasty regimen without a cause; and we are driven to conjecture as to the reasons for this companionship with Finlen. The mud-bath theory partly accounts for it. Mr. Gladstone during the session has secreted a good deal of ill-temper: his peccant humours, on homoeopathic principles, may be drawn out by their like; *simila similibus curantur*; a dose of Finlen was perhaps wanted in the Gladstonian economy to defecate the great statesman's own system. Our only fear is that Mr. Gladstone may have taken too strong a remedy this time. He has, to be sure, Mithridates-like, gone through a fair course of poisons: he has taken doses of Beales and Potter before now, but Finlen is certainly a violent exhibition of nastiness. The incident only shows that, with every sense, Mr. Gladstone lacks common sense; and where prudence is not, statesmanship is impossible. Every week's experience only shows Mr. Gladstone's deplorable incapacity for supreme power, and the leader who in the blind lust for adulation submits to the greasy hug of the panderer to obscenity and the accomplice of blasphemy, and the avowed advocate of Fenianism, which Finlen is, must not be surprised if he alienates the confidence of friends, and while exasperating the acrimony of enemies, repels the sympathies of the serious and reflecting. *etc. etc.*

July 29th 1868 *Pall Mall Gazette* - Last evening a meeting of what is called the "Democratic Party" of Finsbury was held on Clerkenwell-green, to advocate the claims of Mr. G. W. M. Reynolds to the representation of that borough in Parliament.Mr. James Finlen declared that he was "not to be put down," for he "should fight it out in Finsbury," and he was determined to secure the election of Mr. Reynolds.

August 2nd 1868 *Reynolds's Newspaper* MR. FINLEN AND HIS CENSORS.

Mr. Finlen is probably at present the best abused man in the country. In parliament, and in most of the Newspapers, his name has been mentioned with unmerited opprobrium. The press abuses Mr. Finlen because he is a democrat, and will not bow the knee before those trumpery and mischievous idols it worships — royalty and aristocracy. But this toadyism is not confined to the higher grades of journalists, for even the fleas, the bugs, the filthiest vermin of the press, endeavour to ape their betters. When lions roar, asses are apt to bray, and so it is with newspapers. Thus, for instance, we find that a low sporting paper, called the *Sportsman* - a journal which we understand, circulates principally amongst the very dregs of those dregs of society, the broken-down blacklegs, welchers, and other scoundrels that infest race-courses — has the supreme impudence and brazen effrontery to set itself up for a moralist, as regards both literature and domesticity! It calls Mr. Finlen a "social skunk:" but if there be such things as skunks in the newspaper press, the *Sportsman* is perhaps one of the most pestiferous amongst them. In the issue of Wednesday, now before us, we see several columns filled with those abominable and mischievous advertisements inviting persons, of all classes, to invest money, from a few shillings to hundreds of pounds, in horse-racing; advertisements that induce clerks to rob their masters, pot-boys to pilfer from the till, and that swell the business of the Middlesex and other sessions, by bringing thousands to grief through luring them into dishonesty. We have heard much of late concerning what is called the "juvenile highwayman's literature;" but we believe, where one boy goes to the bad through reading a romance, hundreds are lost for ever through perusing the class of advertisements that appear in the *Sportsman*, and other low-class racing journals. Mr. Finlen may, therefore, console himself with the knowledge that censure coming from such polluted source is in reality tantamount to praise.

August 17th 1868 *Morning Post* - The Unemployed of London.— A meeting of unemployed poor was held yesterday forenoon on Clerkenwell-green - Mr. J. W. O'Neill in the chair. There was a good attendance, many of the unemployed at the East-end having come from the neighbourhood of Poplar to attend the meeting. The chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that those who got up these meetings did not advocate Socialism, but principles which were founded upon justice and right. He denounced the land system of this country, which consigned so many to the workhouse to have doled out to them so many ounces of food upon which to live or die. There was an island on the other side of the Channel called Ireland, which now contained about 5,000,000 people. That country could maintain a much larger population, and let justice be done to it, and London and the large towns of England would soon be rid of the Irish labouring population, who could get employment at home. Mr. Weston moved the first resolution, as follows:—"That the appropriation of the lands of Great Britain and Ireland to aristocratic domination and money speculation is the primary and sustaining cause of the unemployment, pauperism, and general degradation of the millions and that the remedy for those evils lies in a reversal of that policy which has produced them, combined with such organisation as has for its object the general good of the whole people." He said that if any one objected to them holding meetings on Sunday, he at once asked that person whether, if his ox or his ass fell into the ditch on the Sabbath day, he would pull him out? The upper classes had not endeavoured to pull the poor people out of the ditch on Sunday or any other day, but drove them into it still further. Those who got up meetings like this one wanted this—that every man who could labour should have employment of a useful and beneficial kind—not the degrading work of breaking stones or picking oakum. What they wanted was that every man out of employment should be able to go to an officer of the Government, state his case, and get work from him. The Government could give such remuneration as would keep body and soul together. They had had proffers of assistance in their agitation from Conservatives, and if they got that assistance they could work hand in hand together. All they asserted was that it would be more advantageous for the whole people that all men should be engaged in some useful work than that people should live on charity, or on the miserable pittance doled out to them at the workhouse. Through an alteration in the land system, and the reclamation of the waste lands, they could be effected. Mr. Finlen, in seconding the resolution, said what he advocated was—less work and more pay. The land question was of the highest importance to the people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and he contended that people must have, through a Parliament amenable to them, absolute control over the broad acres of these islands. Trades' unions, he considered the bulwarks of the social enjoyments the people were in possession of. The resolution was put and carried unanimously. Several other speakers addressed the meeting, and, it having been announced that a committee was about being appointed for the purposes of taking active steps with respect to the unemployed poor of London question, the proceedings terminated.

August 20th 1868 *Pall Mall Gazette*

Mr. J. Bacon, plumber, &c., of No. 28, Church-street, Soho, and No. 16, Tower-street, St. Martin's-lane, appeared at Marlborough-street police-court this morning, and said:—"Your worship, I want to know what I am to do. You granted me a warrant, you may remember, to get rid of Finlen, and I want you to put it into execution. The broker has been into Finlen's place and has valued his furniture at 2s., there being nothing in the place but an old mattress, a cover, and a dish. When the doctor made his statement to you he said there was a bed in the place, but he made a mistake, as it's only an old mattress, and the broker says it's not worth taking away. Finlen told my missus that he would bring a hundred persons and take the place by storm, and my missus told him that if he did she would let them have a pail of water over them and that she was not afraid of them. Half a dozen men did come, and my missus told them that she was not afraid of them, and that if they were not off like a shot she would let them have what she had promised them, and they would have had it too, for when my missus promises a thing she means it. I went to bed that night, and on getting up at a very early hour, and going downstairs, I found my missus sitting in the passage with a pail of

water by her side. I says, 'Well, missus, what are you waiting for?' 'Oh!' says she, 'for Mr. Finlen and the Fenians.' I then said, 'What's that pail of water for?' and she says, 'For the Fenians.' I told her to go to bed and not mind Mr. Finlen and his friends, and she did so. The policeman on going into Finlen's room found that one of the notices served on him had been torn to pieces. All I want is to get rid of my lodger, who still holds possession." Mr. Knox told the applicant that if he would come to the court to-morrow he should have the assistance he required.

August 20th 1868 *Fifeshire Journal/Belfast Newsletter* -

James Finlen's Appeal to the British Public - An essay on Fenianism by Finlen is one of the latest curiosities of literature which has been given to the public by a prolific press. It consists of a badly printed pamphlet of 16 pages, which as we learn, is sold about the streets of London by ragged fellows, who say they are the friends of Finlen, and very probably tell the truth. The title describes the production as "Mr. Finlens's defence of himself against the attacks made upon him by the Parliament and Press of England;" but the defence appears to admit every single fact alleged against its author. - *Belfast Newsletter*.

August 26th 1868 *Pall Mall Gazette*

At Noon yesterday three children, from five to nine years of age, were found destitute in Prince's row, Newport Market. They gave their names as Frank, William and James Finlen. [They had been turned out of their miserable home] The children were taken to St. James Workhouse where they now are.

August 27 1868 *Pall Mall Gazette* LAW AND POLICE.

At Marlborough-street police-court this morning, Ross Kelly [Rosekelly], one of the warrant officers of the court, informed Mr. Knox that in accordance with the ejection warrant placed in his hands, he went on Monday to No. 9, Princes-row, where he found Finlen and his three children lying on an old mattress, almost in a state of nudity. He left word that if Finlen did not get out by ten o'clock the next morning he should eject him. Accordingly, the next morning he went to the place and found Finlen, a man lodger, and the three children huddled up together on the mattress. One of the children had on a very old and ragged coat but no trousers; the second wore part of a pair of trousers; and the third had not a vestige of clothing on. He found in the room, besides the old mattress, a frying pan and dish [which had been converted chamber utensils - *Weekly Dispatch* 30th]. Finlen ordered the children to leave, and they did so and went to a neighbour's house; but not being taken in, they were subsequently taken to St. James's workhouse, and left there; but last night they were taken away by some person. Mr. Knox said that there was no actual desertion of the children, and he had no doubt the parochial authorities would not have given the children up to any person unless they were fully satisfied as to their right to do so. There was now an end of the matter.

September 1st 1868 *Morning Advertiser* - Finsbury - On Saturday night Mr. W. P. Roberts, solicitor, of Manchester, met the members of the "Democratic League" by appointment at the "Middlesex Arms," Clerkenwell-green, to confer with them in reference to his candidature for the borough of Finsbury. The room was densely crowded. Mr. Finlen occupied the chair. His candidature carried by acclamation.

September 5th 1868 *Bee-Hive* - Notices to Correspondents. - The subscription of 1s each from "A house Painter" and "A journeyman House Painter" have been received and forwarded to Mr. Finlen.

September 11th 1868 *Morning Herald* - CONSERVATIVE MEETINGS AT THE TOWER HAMLETS AND HACKNEY. - RIOTOUS PROCEEDINGS OF THE RADICALS.

Last night about 1500 persons assembled at the Beaumont Institution for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr, Octavius E. Coope, the Conservative candidate for the Tower Hamlets, The

Liberal candidates are Messrs, Ayrton, Samuda, Beales, and Newton. The room was decorated with flags, and over the platform was an immense Union Jack on which were the words "Coope for the Tower Hamlets:" The meeting was open to all, irrespective of political opinion; and the platform was filled by the leading inhabitants of the borough. Before half-past seven the room was densely packed, the galleries and approaches being full to overflowing. Among these were many roughs known as "Beales's lambs," and their conduct was uproarious to a degree, There were loud shouts of "Time, time," twenty minutes before the appointed hour. One man shouted "Three cheers for Bright," and then arose a perfect yell, intermingled with hisses and groans. Having shouted until they were hoarse, the organised mob of men who called themselves Liberals were quiet for a few minutes, when another man shouted "Three cheers for Gladstone." This proposal was responded to as before, a "free and independent elector" adding "And, one for Finlen." At this moment some person in the great crowded gallery told the meeting that Finlen was present. A man, wearing a straw hat, moved to the middle of the balcony, and unfolded a large poster, on which was printed "Beales for the Tower Hamlets." The uproar that ensued is indescribable, and was never excelled before upon the hustings. There were cat calls, yells, groans, horn blowing, and constant hissing. Another person reversed the said poster, amidst loud laughter, whilst others shouted "Who pulled the Park railings down? None of the roughs have votes - they have not paid their rates." This scene continued until eight o'clock, when Mr. Coope appeared on the platform. This was the signal for a succession of vociferous cheering and waving of hats, followed by counter-cheers, hisses, and groans. *The meeting continued in like vein and uproar.*

September 12th 1868 *Globe/Reynolds's Newspaper* **13th**. - Finlen again. - Yesterday afternoon, the business having been disposed of at Guildhall, Alderman Hale was about leaving the Justice-room, when the notorious Finlen sought an explanation from the worthy Alderman, relative to some remarks made by him on the first examination of the supposed Fenian Byrne, who, when searched, had a benefit card in his pocket signed by John Finlen [Sic! - John] as chairman. Alderman Hale however, refused to listen to him, and, after some short time, Finlen, with his newspapers and a bundle of manuscripts, was shown to the outside of the Justice-room. Surely it was the duty of Alderman to hear Mr. Finlen's explanation; but we suppose the pudding-headed, pot-bellied magistracy of the City believes itself infallible. Mr. Finlen may be a political enthusiast, but we believe him to be as upright and honourable a man as Alderman Hale, and his word to be quite as good.

MR. FINLEN AND ALDERMAN HALE Mr. Finlen has enclosed us [Reynolds] the following letter, addressed to Alderman Hale, to which he has received no reply:-

5, Verulam-street, Gray's-inn, September. 9, 1868

"Sir, —The London papers of this morning report a case heard in your court, before you, in which one Augustine Byrne figured as defendant. In the report is contained the following paragraph —" Alderman Hale (looking over the handbill): Oh, here is Mr Finlen, the man who has starved his children, chairmen of this meeting, and here are some other names. The prisoner: My name is not there. Alderman Hale; No; but you appear to have got into bad company,'

'As the allusion contained in these paragraphs is directed against me, I take the very earliest opportunity of telling you that, if you have been properly reported by the papers, you have been the cause of giving currency to a statement not founded in fact. More than that, I call upon you to gainsay what you have heedlessly said about me so publicly as you chose to say it.

"Rely upon it, I am not the man to sit down under an indignity so unprovoked and so gratuitous; upon the contrary—should you not publicly, from your seat in the Guildhall Police court, recall your inappropriate remarks, or else cause the reporters in your court to correct or nullify them through the press - I shall take proceedings of a more palpable and positive character. You will perceive that I have assigned no particular reasons why you should act as I point out. It is for you to justify your remarks, and, if you fail to do so, it will then be for me to prove that you ought to do so. That I can do. For me to know that you are wrong is ample reason for the demand I make upon you.

"Respectfully yours, James Finlen." "Mr. Alderman Hale."

September 14th 1868 *Morning Post* - FINSBURY. Yesterday forenoon, according to announcement by placards, a meeting of the Democratic League was held on Clerkenwell-green, for the purpose of hearing the well known Mr. James Finlen deliver an address on "An improved representation for Finsbury." There was a large attendance of working men. The speaker maintained that Messrs. Lusk and Torrens were not worthy of being representatives in Parliament—that they were not independent members, but were of the "beck and call" of party "whippers-in." He called upon the meeting to support a Mr. W. P. Roberts as the working man's candidate at the forthcoming election. In concluding, Mr. Finlen said that, however much he had been maligned and calumniated, he entertained a hope that, through the influence of his fellow-men, he would at no distant day occupy a place in the people's House of Commons. As a matter of course, he expatiated on the independent career he should mark out for himself, and the grand and sweeping measures he would initiate. At seven o'clock in the evening another meeting was held on the same spot (the Clerkenwell-green Fountain), and at half-past the proceedings of the day were wound up by an adjournment to an adjoining tavern, where the members of the Democratic League, with Mr. James Finlen as president, discussed the "topics of the week."

October 1st 1868 *Bristol Times* – Puffing and Parties – The following is a clever stroke of trade. We may observe that the first portion of the placard, which is attributed to the *Shepton Mallet Journal*, slightly improved, was taken from the "skit" in our Saturday paper which so excited the ire of the *Morning Star*. We account for it being attributed to the Shepton Mallet paper by the fact that that paper took it from us without acknowledgment. However, our contemporary is welcome to all the glory and credit attending the extract:- "Supposed Coming Triumph of the Liberal Party. - *List of Cabinet Ministers for 1869* – Premier, Mr. W. E. Gladstone; Lord High Chancellor, Mr. Beales MA; Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Finlen;

October 12th 1868 *Hull Packet* - Finlen once more - On Sunday afternoon a meeting, convened by the Democratic League, was held at Blackheath, its object being to establish a branch of the League in the Greenwich district. The notorious James Finlen, accompanied by several of his democratic friends, arrived, and took up their position on a mound on which there is a clump of trees. Although the meeting was ostensibly for the establishment of a branch league, it partook almost entirely of an anti-Irish Church character, and the strong denunciations of the Establishment were loudly cheered. There were about 1,000 present, composed chiefly of dockyard and other labourers from Deptford, Greenwich and Woolwich, and almost exclusively Irish.

October 17th 1868 *South London Chronicle* - *Further to the last report*; Mr. Finlen then addressed the meeting, and said that the Irish Church squatted like an uneasy hag upon the hopes of the Irish people. That Church must come down, and if the House of Lords would not let it, that House must fall before the Democracy of England and Ireland. (enthusiastic cheers) The English State Church was also doomed - (cheers) - that the Church which supported in ease and splendour a squad of sleek bishops who did no work. Besides all this the Democratic League demanded for Ireland that her old flag should float over her parliament house in College-green. (Tremendous cheering) As he knew detectives dodged him about at night, he said that language was dangerous; but Mr. Hardy or his ready tool, Sir Richard Mayne, would not be able to lay a hand upon him. When they could it would be when the barricades were made the altars of freedom and progress, and when the high priests of freedom officiated upon those rude altars (Loud cheers) There was no use now in using the wishy-washy language used since 1832. Aristocratic ruffianism must be put down, for it made as many slaves in England as in Ireland. (Great cheering) In conclusion, he exhorted the people of the district to return Mr. Gladstone whether he stood or not. (A Voice: "We will ask him afterwards.") (Cheers)

October 22nd 1868 *London Evening Standard* - FINSBURY Last evening a public meeting was held at the Myddleton Hall, Islington to hear Messrs. Torrens and Lusk express their political opinions.A disturbance followed, and several persons endeavoured to seize the bill. There was a fight and a rush to the doors; the screen at the rear of the platform was thrown down, and a riotous scene ensued. After Alderman Lusk had spoken, several questions were asked of the members; when Mr. Finlen came to the front, and was received with hisses and cries of "Take your children out of the workhouse," Mr. Finlen was not allowed to speak. *As the meeting ended* - A great crowd followed Mr. Finlen, hooting and shouting as they went. *Holborn Journal 31st* adds: Finlen was followed by a mob down the King's Road who kept reminding him of his antecedents as recorded in the newspapers, and it was only the presence of a woman who was with him that prevented his being very roughly handled.

November 15th 1868 *Reynolds's Newspaper* - The anniversary of the Fenian Executions at Manchester. Meetings were held last Sunday at Blackheath, Deptford, &c., for the purpose of promoting the intended demonstration in honour of the Fenians executed last year at Manchester, on November 23rd. There was a large meeting on Tuesday, at the Middlesex Arms, Clerkenwell-green, with Mr. Finlen in the chair. It was resolved that a funeral procession should proceed to Hyde-park on the 23rd of November, where a monster demonstration take place, and orations delivered in honour of the Irish martyrs. [*reports prior to the march in several papers*]

November 23rd 1868 *London Evening Standard* - The police authorities prevented the forming of a procession on Clerkenwell-green yesterday afternoon, to commemorate the "martyrdom of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien." It was intended that Finlen and his followers should move in procession through the principle thoroughfares to "The Reformer's Tree, Hyde Park." A meeting was held in the Park but no street demonstration.

FENIAN DEMONSTRATION IN HYDE PARK.

Some days since a bill was circulated throughout the metropolis, at the head of which was a cross, and underneath, the following words, printed in a green colour, "Ireland for ever! Anniversary of the martyrdom of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien. A funeral procession, with a select band, will march, with all the ceremony due to the memory of our Irish martyrs at Manchester, Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, on Sunday, November 22, from Clerkenwell Green *en route* to the Reformer's Tree, Hyde Park, where orations in honour of the martyrs will be delivered by James Finlen, James Doyle, Meldrum, Campbell, Wade, Healy, McSweeney, and other gentlemen who have promised to attend. *Requiescant in pace.*" The Irish newspapers addressed an appeal to Irishmen in London, urging them to take no part in the proceedings. The time of meeting was two o'clock and the rendezvous Clerkenwell Green. At eleven o'clock several hundreds appeared on the green, not to meet Mr. Finlen but a force of police constables, under the Superintendence of Mr. Superintendent Gernon, who made the strollers "move on." The police were determined to keep the peace, and the people were anything but enthusiastic in favour of Mr. Finlen and his friends, so they responded to the request without much grumbling. In double patrols of 120 constables kept the green from noon until three o'clock, and there was a very large body of policemen in reserve, ready to come forward if needed. At about half-past one Finlen made his appearance, and there was a faint cheer, but the police would not permit the formation of any procession. Among the crowd were many of the Reform League who were opposed to the tactics of Finlen, and these hustled the man so much that he was glad to take shelter in a friendly public house, where he was treated and *feted* by as many roughs as the bar could contain. By two o'clock the green was very full; some men and women wore green rosettes and ribbons, but the crowd was orderly. Mr. Osborne, of the Reform League, was there, but his mission was not to aid Finlen, but to warn the people against him, and to tell them that the League had nothing to do with this demonstration. Then there was a rumour that Finlen was going into the City, out of the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan police, and a communication was accordingly made to the City police, who were on the *qui vive*. The leaders of the "green party"

were assured of a warm reception from the City police, and the word was then passed, "All hands to Hyde Park,"

By three o'clock Clerkenwell Green was clear of the mob. Finlen jumped into a cab and drove to Hyde Park. Along the road were parties of roughs, many wearing the green ribbon, walking rapidly towards the "trysting tree" in the park. A Mr. Doyle was called upon to preside, and he introduced Finlen amidst cheers and hisses. Finlen, after having spoken some time, said: -

Gentlemen, I told you that on this day twelve months I stood on this platform to deliver a funeral oration, which I did deliver in solemn silence to tens of thousands then assembled in honour of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien (cheers). The blood of these men was then hardly cold after being handed over to the hands of Calcraft by the Prime Minister of the Tory Government - a bloody government (cheers and hisses). I occupied that position then, because I admired the patriotism of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien (cheers), and because I loved the country (Ireland), which was the land of my parents (cheers); and it was for the cause of that country these men died (cheers). Up to the present moment I have entertained a bitter hostility against the bloody and odious aristocracy (cheers), and that bitter hostility finds a magnificent reception in this multitude of 10,000 people assembled to celebrate the anniversary of that butchery which under the orders of Gathorne Hardy, was carried out at Manchester twelve months ago - I mean that bloody butchery of Irishmen (cheers). You have all come here with a noble courage, and I hope from my heart and soul that I am addressing all Fenians (loud cheers and hisses). I want one more cheer for Englishmen and Scotchmen who favour the Fenian party (cheers and hisses). I suffer for the whole of them; the ignorant, brutal, myrmidons of Sir Richard Mayne this day sought to disable James Finlen by kicking and fighting him, so that he might not be able to come here amongst you to-day, and speak to you under this Reformer's tree, where he addressed you this day last year (cheers). But I am here despite the orders from Scotland-yard. I am here because the brave and glorious Irishmen wanted me, and I am here to confront any danger that may arise because of my presence (cheers). To-morrow I shall put out a proclamation signed with the initials "F.B." (cheers), calling upon you to do something else before long (a voice - "We will." Cheers, and "You'll get five years in the end") You are a large representative body. There are tens of thousands like you in the country, and you have London and its suburbs behind you, and this may truly be called a Fenian convention, held in the midst and surrounded by the mansions of the aristocracy (cheers). The newspapers report a Liberal triumph throughout the country, and in favour of the glorious and disinterested William Ewart Gladstone, the future Prime Minister of England (three cheers for Gladstone - A voice - "And three cheers for James Finlen"). Mr. Gladstone is in favour of the demolition of that great scandal, the Irish Church (cheers). Ireland will have justice if Mr. Gladstone has a large majority - which he will - to defeat that arch imposter, that political harlequin, Benjamin Disraeli, who, along with Gathorne Hardy and Calcraft, executed your brothers (cheers). England so far has done its duty, but I have often said that it does not become Irishmen to send representatives to an English parliament. You want a parliament in College-green (cheers). And we will have it. We want the green flag with a harp on it without a crown (cheers), waving over that parliament, and by all that is holy, standing as I do under the canopy of heaven, surrounded by persecutions, social, civil, and political, I tell you that I, James Finlen, will leave no stone unturned until that glorious Ireland - washed by the waters of the Atlantic, waters which by flowing convey from America the principles of that great republic - until your cause and my cause, until the country of my father and mother shall be redeemed from the bloody and odious rule of an English aristocracy.

After this oration Finlen was cheered and a rush was made towards the tree. Boys and youths had climbed into the adjacent trees, and the excitement was great. Other speakers followed, and as darkness began to set in the meeting dispersed, some shouting "Bravo Finlen," and others chanting "They'll hang up Finlen on a sour apple tree," and so the "great demonstration in Hyde Park" ended.

November 23rd 1868 *Pall Mall Gazette* - FINLEN AGAIN.

The *Post* thinks the assemblage which yesterday, under Finlen's guidance, met and howled in Hyde Park was the worst of any of those which have ever disgraced it, those of the Hyde Park riot days not excepted. To prevent mistake it should be pointed out that the man Finlen has no sort of following of or connection with any set of individuals who think it useful so much as to claim the merest semblance of decency or respectability. The few misguided and silly creatures he is able to collect are the merest refuse of the town, and are exclusively either "roughs," who would follow anybody for the chance of a row, accompanied by possible profit in the way of plunder, or else the less cautious of the conspirators, whose avowed object is to perpetuate and promote Fenianism.

Finlen, with "foul adjectives never heard except amongst the lowest of the population," gave vent to a speech which, if there is any offence in seditious speech at all, will not, it is to be hoped, pass unpunished. It's sickening to have to chronicle the ravings of a creature like this, but the *Post* trusts

that they will not have been indulged in the open day and in a public place with impunity. Whatever excuses may have been made a year ago for speech of this description there is none now, and it would be monstrous that men of the Finlen stamp should be allowed to use the Queen's parks for the purpose of directly inciting to rebellion against the Queen's authority. If such things are to be allowed full scope in England, the Habeas Corpus Act must have been suspended in Ireland for nothing. [*Similar sentiments expressed in most other newspapers such as the Globe - which mentions that the meeting took place in the pouring rain. One estimate of the crowd was 3 or 4,000*]

November 28th 1868 *The Aberystwyth Observer*, Saturday

FENIAN DEMONSTRATION IN HYDE-PARK. On Sunday last Hyde-Park was again disgraced by a field-day of the London "roughs," who assembled there in the names of the murderers who were executed at Manchester this day last year for the murder of Police-sergeant Brett. The murderers are called the martyrs," and it was intended to make the London streets the scene of this demonstration, but effective police measures prevented this being done, as will be shown, and the proceedings took a different order to that proposed by those who led on the misguided and ignorant mob which on Sunday flocked into the Park. The purpose intended, and the proposers of the demonstration, may be gathered from an inflammatory handbill which had been distributed among the dwellers in the courts about the worst parts of Bethnal-green, Whitechapel, Southwark, Greenwich, Deptford, Ratcliff-highway, Gray's-inn-lane, Holborn, and other places about the metropolis. The bill was printed in green, with a deep mourning border, and headed by a funeral cross. Its printed contents were:— IRELAND FOR EVER!

Anniversary of the martyrdom, of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien. A funeral procession, with a select band, will march with all the ceremony due to the memory of our Irish martyrs at Manchester—Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien—on Sunday, Nov. 22, 1868, from Clerkenwell-green, through Farringdon-street, Fleet-street, Strand, Cockspur-street, Waterloo-place, Pall-mall, St. James's-street, Piccadilly, Hyde Park, *en route* to the Reformers' Tree, where orations in honour of the martyrs will be delivered by Messrs. James Finlen, James Doyle, Moldrum, Campbell, Wade, Healy, M'Sweeny, and other gentlemen who have promised to attend. *Requiescant in Pace*. The procession will start from Clerkenwell-green at 2 o'clock, and will reach Hyde Park at 3. 20." -

The great centre of attraction for "roughs" on Sunday morning was, of course, Clerkenwell-green—not that the working-men of Clerkenwell have anything in common to do with the peculiar class of agitators, for this industrious parish contributes nothing but the melancholy open space called the "Green" to these agitations, and a proposal to enclose the space has met with considerable support in the locality, so greatly is the disgrace of these demonstrations felt by the Clerkenwellers. The police orders were that no gatherings were to be allowed on the "Green," and very large bodies of police were on the ground and about the adjacent streets to enforce the order. It was expected that Finlen would come at about eleven o'clock to harangue the Irish and others, and people began to congregate only to be moved on. The morning was not an inviting one for out-door assemblages, and the police on the "Green" had for the first two hours comparatively light duties. But a little after one o'clock the roughs began to arrive in droves, most of them displaying their popular sympathies by wearing green rosettes and streamers of the same hue. As fast as they came they were moved on, and presently, when Finlen himself came, he was followed off the "Green," round which he walked with a chagrined air. He and his associates assembled in a neighbouring public house, whence, after a short time, they emerged towards the city. The police never stirred from the neighbourhood, and so effected the purpose of the authorities in preventing a procession being formed on Clerkenwell-green. The processionists, thus prevented from carrying out their purpose with band and banners, proceeded to form their procession to Hyde Park in another fashion—by walking four abreast and forming line as they marched. In this way some two to three hundred of very rough fellows, without one decently dressed person among them, dragged their way through the dirty streets and drizzling rain towards the park. As they went their numbers were increased, and they amounted to between 500 and 600 by the time they paraded down Piccadilly, and as they entered the park their numbers

received a still greater increase. They gave a loud shout when they found, most likely to their surprise, that their passage to the park was quite unimpeded. They marched straight towards the clump of trees where the Reform League people held their demonstrations last year, and on one of the seats around a tree was found James Finlen, with a select gathering of the class whose peculiar vocation it has become to demonstrate." The crowd soon came, and the Irish part of the mob was quite ready to assail Finlen as having nothing to do with Ireland or the Irish. There were some shouts, calling him all sorts of peculiar names, garnished with certain expletives, and forcible hints to him to look after his family. The secret of this untoward demonstration is to be found in the fact that other processionists had met and carried a resolution to the effect that James Finlen should be desired to refrain from damaging the cause of Irish liberty by his self-assumed championship, which all honest Irishmen must heartily repudiate and detest." Such were the sentiments of those who hissed Finlen, but it mattered little whether they were friends or foes, for the uproar, amid cheers for Ireland, the shouting to people to climb and not to climb the trees, and the swaying backwards and forwards of the mob, which had now increased to several thousands, was such as to drown any personal exclamations. For a long time no speech could be heard, and it was only when the chairman summoned the attention of the gathering by the utterance of some frightful expletives against the authorities for interfering with the procession, that the least heed was paid to the "chair." Another man then spoke in the same strain, and with the like garniture of adjectives, and the mob became somewhat quiet for a short space, during which the first speaker harangued them in a speech, the only coherent part of which were bitter denunciations of the Government. He called upon the people of Ireland to be prepared to wrest their country from its rulers, and to maintain their right to a distinct nationality and Government. Three groans were given for Government officials—Sir Richard Mayne, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, and others. Finlen then essayed to speak, and commenced by calling for three cheers for Ireland and the glorious Fenians. The cheers were given, and also attention to some extent to what the speaker said but of his speech it is not necessary to say much more than that it was its own confutation for, if the exaggerated charges of tyranny which he shouted against the Crown of England were in a twentieth degree true, it is not possible that he would have been allowed to stand there and shout them. He concluded by saying that he would issue a proclamation in the name of glorious Fenian Republicanism, and call upon the noble body whom he saw before him to do something more than mere talk, and this was to release Ireland from the "bloody odious rule of the British aristocracy." There was cheering at this, and the crowd seemed to get more unmanageable as the inflammatory language was spoken. Those around the tree allowed the reporters to pass out, and were even courteous to the Press representatives, but outside the roughs were desirous of calling them police spies and treating them as such. It was impossible to hear what was said afterwards. The people stopped around the trees, in the pouring rain, and cheered all the sentiments which were uttered, especially when anything was said about Fenianism. The meeting was not over at dusk, when, from the absence of police, it became seriously dangerous for persons of decent appearance to stay longer. In the evening a meeting of the members of the Holborn branch of the Reform League was held at the Nag's Head," Leather-lane, to take into consideration the proceedings of the Hyde Park meeting. Mr. Truscott occupied the chair. Mr. Osborne said they had met that night to take into serious consideration the proceedings of Mr. Finlen in Hyde Park. The branch had sent out a circular stating that Mr. Finlen had no connexion with any branch of the Reform League. They were quite justified in repudiating the demonstration, as Finlen was repudiated by Irishmen. He would read the following, taken from the Irishman newspaper:

London, November, 16, 1868. At a meeting of Representative Irishmen, held last night, It was resolved, that to prevent concert, countenance, or support being given, taken, or implied to the demonstration announced by James Finlen for Sunday next, Mr Patrick Hennessy be requested to recall his announced mass meeting. Agreed to heartily. It was also resolved that Mr. Hennessy be requested to desire James Finlen to refrain from damaging the cause of Irish liberty by his self-assumed championship, which all honest Irishmen must heartily repudiate and detest. I join cordially in this request, and will head no procession or take part in any demonstration on Sunday next.—(Signed) Patrick Hennessy.

Mr. Osborne went on to say that the meeting in Hyde Park was a mere caricature. The proceedings of Finlen, he contended, were calculated to do away with the right of public meeting, and he wished

it to be known that the Reform League utterly detested Finlen and his proceedings. Mr. Johnson asked if anything had been done with a petition praying for a remission of the sentences on political prisoners. Mr. Osborne said he thought it would be better to wait till the meeting of the new Parliament. In the present state of political feeling it would be unwise to agitate the subject. A member said he could not sympathise with murderers. After a short discussion it was decided to defer the question of the Hyde Park meeting till next Sunday.

December 1st 1868 *Sun* FINLEN

It has been the task of naturalists to justify the existence of certain obscene and apparently useless creatures in the economy of creation. It may be that Finlen has his use in society, though upon the face of it he simply appears a gigantic nuisance. He takes possession of Hyde Park, as Herne the Hunter did of Windsor Forest, but instead of the witching midnight hour he chooses Sunday afternoon for his orgies. On Sunday, to an audience of about 200, he lifted up his voice against "an odious, alien, abhorred, bloody, brutal, unscrupulous aristocracy. He attacked the Reform League, and accused them of misappropriating the funds of the society, and concluded his speech by saying that the day would come when a Parliament would assemble in College-green, "with a flag floating above it with a crownless harp."

Mr. Finlen denounced the *Times*, the *Telegraph*, and the *Star*, but praised the *Standard*. We congratulate that journal upon its latest admirer, but are at a loss to account for the reason. The audience was anything but sympathetic, and the comment furnished by them was "Poor devil!" Eratostratus gained immortality by burning the Temple of Diana; Finlen must try something else than setting fire to the British Constitution. He will only be known for a short time as a man who by sheer impudence bullied the Home Secretary in his office, and came face to face with Mr. Gladstone, It is time for Finlen to retire to his den, for he must have found out that sedition is an abnormal condition of our society.

December 5th 1868 *Monmouthshire Merlin* ANOTHER FINLEN DEMONSTRATION.—There was another attempt in London on Sunday, to get up a Fenian demonstration. No meeting was, however, permitted on Clerkenwell Green, and a couple of lads who were carrying a banner towards Hyde Park were taken into custody and locked up. The banner bore the following inscription;- "God save Ireland, To the memory of Allen, Gould, and Larkin. Remember Michael Barrett." Finlen and a couple of his companions appeared under the Reformers' Tree in the afternoon, and there were about 50 Irishmen near them. A crowd of perhaps 200 idlers lingered about, but the whole thing, as a demonstration, was a mere farce. Finlen made a long abusive speech about himself, declaring detectives had dogged him during the whole day and were present in the park. He then poured out the vilest of abuse upon the police, the newspapers, and the Reform League. Three groans were called for the latter, but the response was laughter. Finlen said if ever he were taken into custody it would be in connection with barricades and not open-air meetings. His speech was treated as a joke by all excepting the deluded few in his immediate neighbourhood. Two government short-hand writers took down notes of the address. No one spoke but Finlen, and the affair was a ludicrous failure. The meeting probably would not have been held but for the fictitious importance given by the press to the gathering of last week, which was mainly composed of women and children.

1869

January 10th/17th 1869 *Reynolds's Newspaper* The Democratic League and the Fenian Prisoners — At a meeting of the Holborn Branch of the Democratic League, held in the Exchange Club-room, Little Saffron-hill, Hatton-garden, Holborn, Mr. A Bartlett in the chair, Mr. Finlen moved, and Mr. Donlan seconded, "That this meeting is of opinion that it would be expedient to appeal to the present Liberal Administration for an unconditional pardon for all Fenian prisoners now in British dungeons. And it likewise pledges itself to promote the formation of an influential deputation to wait upon the Home Secretary, whose mission it shall be to urge the prisoners' liberation." In another resolution it was agreed that Mr. Finlen be charged with the formation of such deputation. Moved by Mr. Arthur Howard, and seconded by Mr. Longford, "That upon Sunday evening, Jan. 19 this branch shall discuss the following question:-- "Does not the policy of the Queen of England suggest that royalty, with all its costly paraphernalia and useless appanages, could be profitably

dispensed with by the people of this country?" On the same evening Mr. Finlen will report in reference to the Fenian prisoners' deputation.

January 16th 1869 *Monmouthshire Merlin*

"SPOUTING" BETTER THAN WORK.

From a letter in *Will-o'-the-Wisp* for January 9, bearing the signature of a well-known stump orator, the following is an extract:—

Therefore, I despises the whole biling of them (the Reform Leaguers) from the bottom of my heart, I casts them off and I goes over to the Tories. Not as I'm going to turn respectable man, and work for my living; so don't think it. I know a trick worth two of that. What's the use of a man being a natural born orator if he don't employ his talents as Providence designed he should? I'm a natural born orator, I repeat, and Gladstone he's another. Gladstone, he's the only one of the lot as I respects, and I'll tell you for why. In the first place when I called at his house in the summer he made himself uncommon pleasant and agreeable. "What, Finlen," says he, a-shaking me by the hand, "it's you, is it, this is a unlooked for pleasure, we want's more such men as you," says he, "as knows how to value the privileges of liberty and freedom, and you've my goodwill," he says not a bit proud. So that's one reason why I respects him, and another is as I can draw a parallel betwixt him and me, easy. When I've run short of money, which has happened pretty frequent of late, what do I do? Why I agitates, I sets up a cry about tyranny, and despotism, and slavery, and that; goes on the stump; works among the feelings of the lower orders, works them into a fury like, and then—sends the hat round. And Gladstone, what does he do? Why just similar. When he wants office, and place, and power and that, he begins to agitate; he sets up a cry. summat he [thinks will take, any the Hirish Church, goes on the stump, works upon the feelings of the uneducated, and—sends the hat round for votes. And why votes and not money? Because votes is more use to him than money, or I should say is equivalent, and it won't do for a gentleman to ask for money. Therefore, I says, I can understand him, for his policy and mine is precisely similar.

And, let me tell you, this here spouting is a deal easier than follering a trade or profession, though the returns ain't so regular, may be; so, long as I've a tongue in my head, I'm a-going to get my living by wagging it. Why, last Saturday as was, on Clerkenwell Green, I sent the hat round after I'd gone on about the Perlice, and the Government, and the Queen, and the House of Lords, and the Fenians, and the Laud of Liberty, and all manner, and when it was handed in there was a matter of fifteen shillin' in it—there was, indeed—and there would have been more if them blessed peelers hadn't hove in sight. Well, when I got home, my wife she says, "For goodness sake, James, now you've got a trifle of money, take and send for a bit of vittles for the children, and go and get you a decent coat to your back, and seek for regular employment somewhere." I laughed in her face. "A pretty thing," says I, "to have to feed a parcel of squalling brats. The first duty of a patriot," I says, "is to feed hisself, in order that he may have strength to perform the second duty, which is to keep everlastingly hollering and belling on behalf of his native land, and his suffering feller creeters," and with that I left her and the children to starve, and had a thorough good blow out on the best of vittles and drink, spent the whole of my money, and went home happy, as drunk as a lord."

February 14th 1869 *Reynolds's Newspaper*

MR. FINLEN'S REMINISCENCES OF THE LATE E. JONES

Before a meeting of the Islington branch of the Democratic League, held at the Duke of Edinburgh, White Lion Street, Islington, Mr. Dorling in the chair, Mr. James Finlen delivered an address upon "The Life, Traits and Times of Mr. Ernest Jones." After summarising the principal events in the career of the deceased politician,

Mr. Finlan went on to say: Now we come to a consideration of some of Mr. Jones's remarkable attributes. As a poet he was impressive through the vigour of his diction, the gorgeous symmetry of his tropes, and the penetrating ring of his fervid sincerity. As a politician, he was—up to the time that I ceased to be officially associated with him in politica—dauntless, thorough, and unswerving. His political faith was founded in old Chartism, than which a finer political formula has never been proposed to the English people. In advocating that, he commanded himself to the mass of his countrymen. and incurred at once the honours and horrors of an ephemeral martyrdom. As an orator, he stood unmatched. Not that he was greater than contemporary orators, but because his style, by being unique, was almost entirely peculiar to himself. Some of you, perhaps had the advantage of listening to him some two years since, when upon the 11th of February, 1867, be addressed that great reform meeting which was held in the Agricultural Hall, for the purpose of convincing our Aristocratic masters that the people were not indifferent to the question of reform; and, later still, when he addressed another meeting in the St. James's Hall—the last he ever addressed in London—upon the great question of "Labour and Capital." (Hear, hear.) Well, those of you who heard him upon either of these occasions listened only to a curtailed version of his former self, for he was evidently addressing other than those who were his immediate auditors — he was conciliating a higher stratum of society. But for all that, he spoke with fascinating eloquence, and propounded, with robust emphasis, sentiments which, if not new and startling, were, at all events, sufficiently generous for those to whom they were addressed. Still he was not the man then that be

was in '48, when a brutal, aristocratic Whig Government prosecuted him for his chivalrous utterances and devoted patriotism. (Hear, hear.) No! nor had the old fire which he possessed even when he came out of the dungeons provided for him by the Palmerstons and Russells of the day. I heard him then—it was in 1850. Although he looked terribly emaciated through the barbarous rigour of his aristocratic gaolers, there was rare tough metal in his composition. A great meeting assembled in the Literary and Scientific Institution, John-street, Tottenham-court-road, to congratulate him upon his release. It was there that his rich young eloquence charmed his Chartist friends for the first time after it had broken from the ban put upon it by the infernal silent system, then, as now, practised in our prisons. Its effect was magical upon the immense audience. It was then that Mr. Jones seemed to have lived, and to hope to live, for the regeneration of the enslaved and impoverished working men of England. In that form he visited all the great towns, and moved the multitudes by whom he was greeted, by thundering his classical anathemas against the atrocious tyrannies of the rich, whether they were of the aristocratic or capitalist factions. Then his oratory was at once inspiring, bold, and unfettered. But such speaking cost him much, as it estranged—as it will always do—certain rich middle-class men, who please, for given purposes, to dub themselves Reformers. Unless men belie their lives and consciences, such reforming gentry securely fasten up their breeches pockets, and give no aid to popular movements. That our late friend discovered in a very significant manner as early as 1852. In that year he, for the second time, in vain sought to represent the borough of Halifax in the House of Commons. I was with him in '52. What he anticipated in reference to the non-electors was magnificently realized. On the day of nomination over 20,000 people assembled in the Piece Hall, and not less than the number mentioned held up their hands in favour of Mr. Jones; whilst his opponent, Sir Charles Wood, was most mercilessly hissed and pelted. That was a nomination day never to be forgotten. But then the polling day came with a very different revelation. It was not till 1860 that he struck his flag of “The Charter, and no Surrender.” In that year he taught some of his followers to believe that manhood suffrage and the ballot would suffice for all purposes of parliamentary reform. In that conclusion I could not concur. I have, as you know, always insisted that, in addition to the points named, we must have annual parliaments, payment of members, and equal electoral districts, before we can possibly have a parliament that shall consist of anything more than mere men of money-bags on the one hand, and broad acres on the other. (Cheers.) This, you, as members of the Democratic League, have recognised. From the time that Ernest Jones thus trimmed his political faith up to the hour of his death he had been conciliating his former enemies. They took him by the hand, and coalesced with him in the recent general elections; and at the recent test ballot they permitted him to defeat one of their own friends and former nominees in the person of Milner Gibson. It was that object he had in view when he was addressing the two multitudes I have alluded to, and it was through that, that his addresses lacked much of the fine, the high-soaring, inspiring qualities which he used to exercise in former years. But, after all, he was a great orator to the last. Feargus O'Connor was as great; his was the persuasive, parental, and unctuous style. James Bronterre O'Brien was as great; his was the very artillery of impetuous eloquence, the refinement, of anecdotal power. In shaping his course as indicated, Ernest Jones must have been prompted by many necessities. He was a brave man, undoubtedly; but there are domestic circumstances which he who is bravest in public life cannot, nay, dare not, meet. Our friend suffered much through poverty, and that tells best in honour of his memory. Let me give you just one instance of what he had to endure in that respect. We were wandering over Hampstead-heath together, one summer's evening, and upon reaching that part of the Heath where a grove of old fir-trees stands, he pointed to a certain wooden seat erected there, which he said had often been his bed of a night when circumstances had been so cruel as to forbid his appearance at home. As we were often there together, he often alluded to the circumstances; and as he showed no desire to conceal it in his life, now that he is dead, and as it bears testimony to his great sufferings for the people's cause, I mention it without apology. But that was only one of many instances which he brought under my notice. The others I will not recount. The 10th of April, 1848, was a great day in London; in fact, the Chartists had so frightened the Government of the day, that they placed the town under martial law. Mr. Feargus O'Connor at that time was the recognised leader of the people; but Mr. Jones was also very popular with them. A great demonstration, had to be made, and Kensington-common was decided upon as the place of meeting. As this decision would, as a matter of course, take the people over the bridges, and thus place the river between them and the House of Commons, to which their petition had to be presented the same evening, Mr. Jones objected to it. He was overruled; and upon that he said, that only for dividing their strength, Mr. O'Connor taking some of the people with him to Kennington and he keeping some in London, he would have marched the people down upon the parliament then sitting, and would there and then have assaulted it. He averred that other leaders were prepared to second him, and among others he mentioned Mr. Livesey, a veteran reformer, who at that time represented Preston in the National Convention. He said, “Finlen, by the Lord Harry! would have done it, only for our numbers being divided. Feargus was stronger than I was, and at the time I intuitively shrunk from what seemed to ensure almost useless slaughter; but many a time since I have condemned my fears and hesitation, for I now sincerely believe that the people will never have such a chance again. I quite believe he meant all he said, for he has often shown great gallantry under great difficulties. (Hear, hear.) Only upon two occasions have I known him to despond. The first, after his defeat at the Halifax election of '52, when he gave way to some wild and almost incoherent expressions of unmeasured regret and mortification; the second was in London, at a time when things in the political world wore a dead calm, and

the newspapers had failed to notice one of his new poems, just then published by Routledge and Son. On this last occasion he said, as we were walking up Regent-street, "Finlen, I am prostrated nearly. I am weary of this state of things in England. I'll go over and shoot Louis Napoleon." "Nonsense," I rejoined. "You can hardly be called upon to enact such a business as that." "But," he answered, "I want to make for myself a place in history, and I fear that I cannot do it here." Such fits of despair were, as I have said, of unusual occurrence. Ernest Jones has made for himself a place in history, and a place, too, in the affections of the people. Had he lived longer—had he won more renown—had he heaped worldly material importance upon his name—his life and efforts, his sufferings and his sorrows would not have more commended him to his fellows than they do to-day. (Loud cheers.)

April 9th 1869 London Evening Standard – Finlen, the ex-Glastonbury [Shepton Mallet Journal - 16th], but of late, Hyde-park, republican stump orator, has at last received the reward of his treasonable spoutings. His Fenian friends have deserted him, and on Thursday Mr. Birch, one of the relieving officers of the Holborn Union, reported to the Guardians that John Finlen, with his four children, had been removed from a miserable underground dwelling in one of the courts on the east side of Gray's-inn-lane, near Holborn, to the Workhouse (also in Little Grays-Inn-lane). [He (the notorious Finlen) having met with an accident, nearly breaking his leg. The relieving officer found him and his children living in a cellar in Tash-street, perhaps the most wretched street in that wretched locality - Finlen's life evidently carries its own moral. - *Holborn Journal* - 10th] One of the guardians inquired what was the value of the furniture in the room. Mr. Birch replied that no broker would give 5s for it. Repeated in *Shepton Mallet Journal*, April 16, *Langport & Somerton Herald* April 17th, *Taunton Courier* and *Western Advertiser* April 21st. [*in every report he is called John Finlen - one error constantly copied!*]

April 15th 1869 *Brighton Gazette* p. 3.

An old adage about forgetting the ladder by means of which he grew would almost appear to be the case with our prime minister. Finlen the mob orator worked hard for "The People's William" but Finlen and his four children have at length found a refuge in the Holborn Workhouse, while the Right Honourable William sways the destinies of his country.

July 3rd 1869 *Bee-Hive* - Public Meeting - Working Men's National Reform Meeting - *move to inaugurate the movement* - It was resolved that this society do not recognise Mr. Finlen on account of his language and conduct to the members, which they consider abusive.

August 16th 1869 *Echo* (London) – It is stated that Mr. Finlen of Hyde Park notoriety, will shortly sail from Liverpool for the United States. Previously to doing so, he is to receive a testimonial from his London admirers. The former part of this news will be of some interest to the public generally. - repeated in *Dewsbury Reporter*, *Batley Reporter* and *Guardian*, *Kentish Mercury* etc.

August 22nd 1869 *Reynolds's Newspaper* Mr. Finlen's Departure for America. Mr. Finlen, who, for a very long period, has been prominently connected with the advocacy of democratic principles in this country, is about to proceed to the United States of America. We learn that he is to sail from Liverpool in the second week of October. A large committee has been organised to prepare a testimonial, to be presented to him at a gathering of the democracy of London, which is to take place in the New Hall of Science, Old-street, St. Lukes, on the 21st of September.

September 3rd 1869 *Bromley Journal* and *West Kent Herald* - London Irish Demonstration in Gravesend - On Sunday last (Aug. 29th), Gravesend was made the scene of a demonstration of the London Irish in "commemoration of the siege of Limerick." The gathering numbered about six hundred, and the patriots left St. Paul's pier, London on board the river steamers *Falcon* and *Petrel* which arrived at the Rosherville pier by about one o'clock. Here, about 5 o'clock the greater part of the individuals forming the demonstration assembled. A good deal of spouting on the wrongs of Ireland and the Fenians followed, Messrs. Finlen, McDonald and White being among the orators.

September 11th 1869 *Bee-Hive* - advert Mr. James Finlen's Departure for America -

AMERICA. —Arrangements have been made for a GREAT GATHERING OF THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM, which will take place in the NEW HALL OF SCIENCE, 142, Old-street, St. Luke's, on the evening of Tuesday, September 21st, in order to bid a Public Adieu to Mr. Finlen, who has definitely arranged to sail from Liverpool for the New World, on the 12th of October. As Mr. Finlen has been before the people of this country for more than 20 years as an advocate, both through the means of the Platform and the Press, of the most advanced as well as the most approved measures of Political and Social Reforms; as he has been unswerving in that advocacy, never deviating either under the exercise of proffered corruptions or practised intimidations; as, when acting with Feargus O'Connor, J. B. O'Brien. and Ernest Jones he was persistent and untiring in behalf of the Peoples' Charter, as, when an indefatigable Lecturer for the Reform League he traversed the country in furtherance of its aims, albeit to the injury of his own home and dearest interests. His friends feel that they have more than enough to warrant them in their determination to make the Farewell Gathering to his honour at once a signal and graceful success, Mr. J. P. Mc Donnell will preside.

The amusements of the evening will consist of VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC, ORATORY, AND ELOCUTION. Mr. JOHN LOWRY, Musical conductor, Miss R. JOHNSON pianist.

The following members of the Committee will act as Stewards:—Mons. Kiel, Mons. Peyzer, Messrs, R. Smith, C. Elliott, Mould, J. G, Thornton, Jas, Thornton, Wm. O'Dwyer, McNally, T. Prytbergeh, J. McGilchrist, Leary, M. Mahoney, John Walsh, Thos, Gillamy, J. Mullins, J. O'Donovan, M. Sheil, M. Lecahy, W. Donnelly, H. J. Cabham, J. Clark, Edgington, Henley, B. Lee, Walter Harrison, James Lawton, W. Johnson, J. Fagan, Edgerton, J. Thompson, J. O'Keefe, M. D. O'Halloran, John Cleane, Driscoll, Burke, Daly, Thos. Brown, Leary, Connelly, Cronin, E. F. Murphy, Thos. Provis, Chas. Murray, Jas. Murray, Nagle, C. Hobbs, Barrett, Gardner, D. Hallisy, Doyle, Herne, Byrne, E, Kelly, Baldock, Samuel Oliver, David Butler, Collins, J. Touhey, John Rogers, and John Johnson.

Prices of Admission, 2s 6d, 1s, 6d, and 3d. Chair taken at Eight o'clock.

Although the above Hall will hold 2,000 persons, to secure admittance, an early Application for Tickets is necessary, as large quantities are already issued. They can be had from the above Gentlemen, at the Hall, and on Clerkenwell-green on Sundays.:

Committee Rooms, 5, Verulam-street, Gray's-inn-lane. By Order of the Committee,
Joseph TOUHEY, Chairman, JOHN ROGERS, Treasurer. JOHN JOHNSON, Secretary

September 18th/25th 1869 *Holborn Journal* - Mr. Finlen's Farewell to England - An entertainment was given on Tuesday evening [that would have been the 14th but it was written *before* the concert!] in the Hall of Science, Old Street, for the benefit of James Finlen, who attained some notoriety in connection with the Fenian excitement, and who, it is said, is about to leave this country for America. Between three and four hundred persons of the poorer class, and apparently Irish, were present, at prices for admission ranging from 3d to 1s. About two hours were occupied with songs, speeches, and recitations, the great part by Irishmen, and, of a patriot or party character. Two recitations, adapted from Macauley's and Campbell's odes, were in eulogy of the Fenians hanged at Manchester, and in aspiration for Irish Independence. Both were given by a young man, and were loudly applauded. Mr. Finlen was announced to "appear next." He recited the "Poacher's Widow" [by Rev. C. Kingsley] and the "Jacobins of Paris," [by Mr. Smythe, in which he displayed considerable dramatic power *Bee-Hive*] and then made a farewell speech. He said that he should bid farewell to England without regret, because it was a country the capital of which was the home of the most infamous aristocratic mob that ever disgraced a nation. The men who had persecuted him were the base supporters of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and that tyrannical gang - the most unscrupulous, the most malignant men on earth - he meant the writers for the press - anonymous libellers, treacherous cowards, and slanderers. These were the agents which had been at work to destroy the character of a good man. He proceeded to say that he was not allowed to live

here; he could fight freedom's battle better in the land of the star-spangled banner. [*London Evening Standard of 22nd states 700 - 800 attended, the Bee-Hive says 1000*] [See also *Reynolds's* Nov. 69]

September 24th 1869 *Peterhead Sentinel and General Advertiser for Buchan District* – Without wishing to make any comparison, I am reminded by the Beales testimonial that great efforts are being made to raise a subscription for another Reform League notoriety, Finlen, the philo-Fenian agitator, to enable him to emigrate to America. I scarcely hope that his friends may speedily be successful, and that he may leave his country for his country's good – taking with him, of course, those children whom he at one time abandoned to the workhouse, for which he would have been prosecuted, only a subscription was raised to enable him to satisfy the claims of the parochial authorities.

October 31st 1869 *Reynold's Newspaper* - Mr. J. Finlen's departure to America - Letter from the committee secretary stating that Finlen wasn't being sent to the American Fenians as a representative from England's Fenians, but to live on his own resources. Presumably not yet sailed since "a great number of payments and tickets being still held back, and as it is necessary, crippling the actions of the committee. It is requested that all ticket holders settle up forthwith." [Several papers record that Finlen has already left the country, without proof - e.g. *Bucks Herald*]

November 2nd 1869 *Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch* Mr. JAMES FINLEN -

Mr. James Finlen, prominent member of the Reform League and one of the principal agitators during the late Hyde Park Riots having, according to his own statement "failed during his twenty years' advocacy of political and social reform to free England of her aristocratic expression," resolved to sail for the New World, and an entertainment was given on the 21st ult, at the New Hall of Science, Old Street, St. Luke's with the view of raising the necessary funds for him to pay his passage. The performance proceeded, in the most orderly manner, and in accordance with the arrangement of the programme, the crowning feature being a recitation, "The Jacobins of Paris," and a farewell address by Mr. Finlen himself. In the course of his speech he expressed himself strongly against the press of England and Scotland Yard detectives, promised to work in America for the cause of England, and expressed a hope that the day was not far distant when England and America would walk hand in hand to sweep away the "odious aristocracy."

November 7th 1869 *Reynold's Newspaper*

TO THE EDITOR OF REYNOLDS'S NEWSPAPER

Sir,—Allow me, through the columns of your most liberal and valued paper, to acknowledge the receipt of a remittance and letter from one of the most prominent and indefatigable champions of the late reform movement:—viz, Edmund Beales, Esq. The letter is dated from Birkenhead. (Copy)

Birkenhead, Sept. 29th, 1869.

"Dear Sir,—Your application with regard to Mr. Finlen has been forwarded to me here. I very cordially agree with the substance of the remarks made by your committee, and as the best proof of my thorough contempt for the persevering and malicious efforts made to injure the Reform League, and myself individually, through Mr. Finlen, for whose talents I have much respect, though I should have advised on some occasions a different line of conduct, I enclose a cheque for 1l., regretting, I sincerely assure you, that my own sacrifices in public matters have so crippled my means that I cannot conveniently make the cheque larger. If, however, something further should be absolutely required to enable you to carry out your plans for Mr. F. and his family, and your application should not meet with a sufficient response in other quarters, I will endeavour to assist you further.

"Faithfully, yours, ‘

“Edmond Beales”

Edmond Beales, Esq., has also consented to become the treasurer, and pledge his word that the money subscribed be devoted to no other object—viz, than the sending of Mr. James Finlen and family to the United States of America. I am, Sir, yours most respectfully,

E. J. Burnham, Secretary, 2, Whitecross street, Cripplegate, EC.

December 28th 1869 *Pall Mall Gazette* FINLEN'S ASSOCIATES.

At the Guildhall Police Court, yesterday, Moritz Peyser, a Jewish pauper...A detective officer said the prisoner was a frequent attendant at the meetings of Finlen, *the Irish Agitator*, who used to

advertise that a distinguished refugee would attend his meetings. The prisoner was that "distinguished refugee," and he always concluded by asking for money.

1870

March 27th 1870 *Reynolds's Newspaper* - Sunday edition

THE POLITICAL "FAUST."

The readers of Goethe's tragedy only find therein a graphic touch of nature. It illustrates the melancholy lesson taught by the history of every age, that the most virtuous may become the most vicious, and that valiant resolve may quail and yield under the potent spell of temptation. We are counselled by Holy Writ not to put faith in princes; while recent experience has taught us not to lean on the arm of prime ministers.

Just look at Mr. Gladstone in office, and out of office. What character could be fairer or purer to gaze upon than the philosopher and statesman before the wiles of Mephistopheles were exerted upon him? The Evil Spirit beguiled him from his noble studies and philosophical pursuits, by presenting before his admiring gaze the Genius of Power, replete with soft blandishments, and arrayed in tempting garb. In her presence he fell from his lofty height. His ambition was awakened, his pulses set a-throbbing, while the noble aspirations he so long had cherished became dissipated to the winds. At last, his new passion seizes hold of his being, and he barter his soul for the gaudy prize.

Mr. Gladstone was universally loved by the people. At home and abroad, wherever enlightened opinions prevailed, and political progress was coveted, he excited unfeigned admiration. Even his very name was honoured and respected. He was the persistent advocate of pressed nationalities. Right and justice were the principles displayed on his banner. One of his grandest ideas was to rectify the grievous and chronic wrongs of the sister country, which, for weary centuries, had cried to heaven for vengeance! Englishmen who, through the mere accidents of birth and station, had been deprived of their inalienable privileges, were to have the same restored to them. Caste was to have been abolished, and creeds were to be placed on an equality in the three kingdoms; while the Irish nation was to be speedily transformed from a howling wilderness into a very garden of paradise. The ideas propounded were glorious; the metamorphoses to be made, honourable. It seemed as if destiny had specially raised up and endowed a single man to wage war with foul wrongs, and accomplish such noble deeds as none other could attempt with the faintest prospect of success.

Gladstone was the hope of the people and by the people elevated to a commanding position in the State. The democratic idea was signalled by the democracy of Great Britain raising a commoner to the post of Prime Minister, and giving him precedence above peers. But the nation's hope was disappointed; and now we mourn that ever we knew a statesman so false and so deceiving. Step by step has he departed from the path which he had marked out for himself to tread. Little by little has he weaned his affections from those upon whom they had first hold. Colder and colder has he become, until, finally, he grows wholly estranged, and makes no secret of his new attachment. The political Faust has fallen—like so many great men have fallen before him—under the fierce influence of temptation. The baneful and baleful surroundings of a Court have been too much for even his stoical virtue. He ignobly succumbs under the potent charm, and leaves desolate and oppressed those who spontaneously loved him for his high principles and proffered deeds. The "peoples William" has become the lordling's pet. The expected saviour of the nation has become its scourge.

But what has Mr. Gladstone done since his accession to office and five thousand a-year? We set aside the batch of bishops he has made and "translated," the City knights and baronets he has created, and the praiseworthy interest which he has shown in taking care of some members of his own household. We ask what has he done? He has disestablished the Anglican Church in Ireland, taking care at the same time that its dignitaries and holders of livings should not go unprovided for; in other words, he has but half disestablished it. He has provided a long-looked-for land scheme for Ireland, which rather favours the landlord than the tenant, and is nothing more than a delusion and a snare. He has practised the retrenchment policy with a vengeance, taking good heed that the working man and the petty Government clerk will be the only sufferers. He has closed dockyards and dismissed thousands of labourers, while he grants pensions and compensation to privileged aristocrats. So far from "stooping in the gutter," as the *Saturday Review* alleged he had done when he gave audience to **Mr. Finlen**, he now rides the high horse, and flatly and coolly refuses to meet a deputation from the Land and Labour League, who desired to urge on his attention the claims of the unemployed poor, making the flimsy pretext of "pressure of business" to evade the respectful request made to him officially. He turned a deaf ear to the voice of the people when they prayed for an amnesty on behalf of the Fenian' prisoners. The more they petitioned, the more stolid he grew. He remained equally unmoved by entreaties, and even threatening demonstrations, all through the country. And when that martyr to freedom, O'Donovan Rossa, got his complaints published in a French journal, a paltry attempt is made by the Government, of which Mr. Gladstone is chief, to gloze over the statements therein made, and give them the semblance of untruths. Then, to crown the Premier's political perfidy, while his land scheme—scheme in a two-fold sense—is under discussion, he takes advantage of what is called a "Government night" to get his minion, the Secretary of State for Ireland, to bring in what is whimsically entitled a "Peace Preservation Bill," which he endeavours to drive through the house without delay.

This Bill may fitly be termed the Anarchy Creating Bill. It saps the foundation of all liberty, and is destructive to the political life of the Irish nation. In fact, if this measure passes as no doubt it will, owing to the maudlin and truckling character of the representatives who now sit in the house, — the gauntlet is thrown down to the Irish people. Penal laws are once more to be put in active force. Ireland is once more to be ruled with a rod of iron. All hope is to be abandoned by the down-trodden people, and fell despair is to rankle in their hearts. Mr. Gladstone has essayed to tranquilize Ireland; he has but succeeded in exasperating it. What condition of affairs his blind and treacherous policy may produce, we will not take upon us to predict. Whatever evils may ensue, on Mr. Gladstone's head will rest the responsibility. In any case his glory has departed; he ceases to be loved or trusted by the people, whom he has so daringly deceived and outraged by cool defiance. For our part, we shall not be sorry when the reins of power are in other and better hands. Mr. Gladstone has lost all hold upon the people. And when that grim and imperious tyrant, Death, shall smite him, in common with us all, no tears shall be shed save by his foolish flatterers and perverse parasites, while his name shall remain unhonoured and unsung.

1871

August 22nd 1871 *Morning Advertiser* - MR GLADSTONE AND FINLEN.

The following appears in the *Evening Standard*:—

"Sir, —Permit me to state that when Mr. Gladstone, in referring to me during a debate in the House of Commons last Thursday, stated "that a deputation of working men had an interview with him, but he was not previously acquainted with their names, although afterwards it appeared that Finlen was one of them," uttered what was incorrect. I would briefly explain the facts connected with the interview alluded to. At the time the deputation waited on Mr. Gladstone I was president of the Democratic League. The members of league were desirous of aiding the movement then on foot for the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church, and to the end that Mr. Gladstone might be encouraged in prosecuting successfully the arduous enterprise to which he had committed himself, they determined to hold a monster meeting in Hyde Park, It was also resolved that a deputation should wait on the right hon. gentleman. I wrote to him asking him to name a time for receiving that deputation. He named the time, and the memorable interview about which so much has been said and written took place.

"Now, it is idle for the right hon. gentleman to profess ignorance of any previous knowledge of my name, seeing that I had held a 'previous' correspondence with him. I could designate it as something worse, remembering, as I do, that a few days after the interview he, in answer to Sir C. Russell, in the House of Commons, declared in effect that he knew me to be a public advocate of very advanced views.

"Mr. Gladstone's forgetfulness I care nothing about, unless it be of that convenient kind which sometimes covers falsehood; then, of course, I would have a very blunt title for it. As the matter stands, I assert - and I can produce many witnesses to prove the accuracy of my assertion - that at the time Mr. Gladstone knew the name of the party he was dealing with; that he knew the deputation consisted of members of the Democratic League; and that he gave a ready and what appeared to be a generous, courteous reception to the views and policy outlined upon the occasion. Now that he is in office, and strongly garrisoned by a docile, if not slavish majority, he can, perhaps, afford to forget - or even ignore—the men whose labours have tended to elevate him; yet he, above all, should know that it is not because he can dominate Parliament that he has a privilege to pervert facts and obscure truths as he has done in the case of your obedient servant,

"London, August 19." "James Finlen."

[*If genuine - proof that James Finlen had returned to England, if he ever left?*] Some paper thought Finlen was in America - *Southwark and Bermondsey Recorder* of May 4th 1878 - refers to James Finlen of Clerkenwell notoriety, *if he should return to this country..*

April 12th 1879 *Barnsley Chronicle* - Mr. Finlen lectured in Barnsley Mechanics Hall on the militia. He commented warmly on the attempts of the Government to raise a militia from people who were unenfranchised. He advised them to adopt as their motto *No vote, no musket*. Soldiers were the hired butchers of mankind, and standing armaments had been the enemies of freedom wherever they existed. He cited as an illustration the conduct of the Praetorian Guards. The invasion of Gaul

by the Franks, and of England by the Normans, he severely condemned. He advised his audience to endeavour to prevent soldiers from standing in defence of our "rotten institutions."

August 20th 1879 *Islington Gazette* - Frederick Waterfield, aged 34, a hackney carriage driver of 15, Keen's yard charged with being drunk and disorderly and assaulting James Finlen at the "Angel and Crown" public house - ordered to pay £4 or two months hard labour in the House of Correction.

February 26th (Saturday) 1887 **James Finlen**, Horsekeeper admitted to Parish of St. Mary, Islington - Infirmary aged 26 religion C of E.

October 8th 1889 *Islington Gazette* - James Finlen, aged 30, a horsekeeper, of Holloway Road, was charged by Police constable 169N with being drunk and disorderly at Upper Street. Fines 5s.

January 12th 1890 *The People* - A fatal Brawl - Mr. S. F. Langham, City Coroner, held an inquest at St. Bartholomew's Hospital respecting the death of James Finlen, a horsekeeper, aged 29, of no fixed abode. George Kemp, night washer, in the employ of Mr. King, stated that he saw the deceased, who was the worse for drink, go up to the gates of the Angel & Crown, Upper Street, Islington, and threaten to knock the landlord's head off if he came outside. It was between twelve and one o'clock on Boxing Day, and the house was closed. Mr. Mead, the landlord, came out of the house, and the deceased attempted to strike him with a bottle. Mead pushed deceased and he fell on the pavement. He got up a second time, and again attempted to strike Mead. The potman came out, and prevented deceased hitting Mead, and in the struggle the deceased again fell heavily. Charles Henry Chapman, Government telegraphist, stated that he saw deceased walking away from a crowd outside the Angel and Crown, and when within a yard of the witness he fell heavily onto the back of his head. A constable came up, and the witness examined the man, and found that the base of his skull was fractured. He was then removed to the station on an ambulance, and subsequently to the hospital. The cause of death was laceration of the brain and fracture of the skull. A verdict of accidental death was returned.

MR. J. FINLEN'S DEFENCE OF HIMSELF
AGAINST THE
ATTACKS
MADE UPON HIM BY THE
PARLIAMENT AND PRESS
OF ENGLAND.
PRICE ONE PENNY.

1868

Messrs. VAIL & GALLAGHER, 314, CALEDONIAN RD.
[And sold by all Booksellers.]

FINLEN, THE PARLIAMENT, AND THE PRESS.

Popularity may have some solace in it; that it is the source of many pains and penalties is placed beyond dispute. Always seeking to avoid what may in any way partake of egotism, I am, necessarily, slow to speak aught of myself at all calculated to point out my personal importance. Should I, under the peculiar circumstances in which I find myself placed, be egotistical, contrary to my wont, let the extravagance be attributed to the entire exigencies of the moment, and to nothing more.

For some twenty years I have been before my fellow-country people as a positive advocate of Democracy. In the year 1851 I was sent to the National Chartist Convention to represent the advanced Democracy of the City of London and the Borough of Finsbury. In that Convention it was my honour to co-operate harmoniously with Mr. Fergus O'Connor, M. P. for Nottingham; Mr. G. W. M. Reynolds, Mr. G. J. Holyoak, Mr. J. Julian Harney, Mr. Ernest Jones, Mr. Robert Le Blond, Mr. Thornton Hunt (son of Leigh Hunt), the Rev. Mr. Robertson, and a great number of other thorough-going men, some of them since dead, but happily most of them still living to work, and perhaps to suffer, for liberty. Before that time I had for some few years worked hard locally for the advancement of the selfsame principles with which I am now, and have been ever since, identified.

Shortly after 1851, I, at the request of Mr. Ernest Jones, associated myself with that gentleman upon the Peoples' Paper, and also upon the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association. That connection imposed much work upon me, at once contributing Democratic literature and lecturing throughout England, Scotland, and Wales. Many conventions were held in behalf of Chartism—the best form of political faith ever expounded in England. Going beyond the ordinary phases of conventions, a great assembly called the Labour Parliament was convened and assembled in the Peoples' Institute, Heyrod-street, Manchester. Mr. Ernest Jones was the originator of that Parliament. I was one of four men representing London in that Parliament, the other three being Mr. Ernest Jones, Mr. James Bligh, and Mr. Jeffries.

The work of those assemblies had a most salutary effect upon the public mind, inasmuch as they not only indoctrinated the people with a profound love of the abstract principles of Democracy, but went far to prepare the people for the triumph of such social questions as must receive Parliamentary recognition before the peoples' homes can be made happy and independent. That such a consolidation of sympathy, of faith, and of hope, has tended greatly to the recent realization of a certain sort of political triumph, must be admitted upon all hands. More of that anon.

- Shortly after completing much work imposed upon me by the Labour Parliament—work which took me throughout England, I was called upon by a very important section of the Radicals of North Britain to assume the editorship of a weekly newspaper, started in the interest of the most ultra political views. Notwithstanding my multifarious engagements, I obeyed their call, and did my duty. Almost simultaneously with the performance of such editorial work, I was, along with my friend Mr. J. B. Leno, an editor of a literary magazine, entitled the *Spirit of Freedom*. One of the most important contributors to the *Northern Star*, the paper started in the North, was my very excellent friend Mr. John Frost, a gentleman whose noble devotion to the Chartist cause culminated, in the year 1839, in his being, along with two others, sentenced, under the administration of a brutal and bloody aristocratic Government, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

Circumstances being of such a character as to render my return southward necessary, I took up my abode once more in London. I was always at work, either at the bench as a French polisher, upon the platform as a public orator, or in the press as one of the *literati* of Democracy. At length the organization of the people, which Mr. Ernest Jones and myself had cultivated, was utilized by the founders of a body of men now known as the Reform League. When that League grew into strength I was appointed, with three others—Messrs. Mantle, Odgers, and Cremer, as one of its lecturers and agents. In that capacity I betook myself to the north of England, and spent much time and exertion in Lancashire, Cheshire, and, Yorkshire, in the advocacy of manhood suffrage and vote by ballot. Returning from that tour simply to spend the Christmas of 1866 with my family—my time being thoroughly mortgaged by people in many quarters of the North, I found to my horror that my beloved wife was stricken, nay, paralysed by insanity, and my home, hitherto happy and compact, a perfect wreck. That calamity, upon which I cannot dwell just here, formed a turning point in my career.

Time rolled on; chequered and disagreeable certainly, or at times what some men would estimate as terrible, but never enough to deter me from the ardent prosecution of my efforts in favour of republicanism. Then, wandering from the mere beaten route of hackneyed agitators, I found occasions to busy myself in behalf of those noble, heroic, and most patriotic men, sympathetically designated the Manchester Martyrs. As a sample of such disinterested divergence, I give

here the report of an extraordinary meeting which I held in the Home Office in vindication of England's honour, and glorification of the martyrs Allen, Larkin, and Gould. The report is taken from the papers of the day. Here it is:—

EXTRAORDINARY SCENE AT THE HOME OFFICE.

On Monday afternoon, a deputation consisting of working men attended at the Home-office for the purpose of presenting a memorial, agreed to at a meeting held on Sunday, on Clerkenwell-green for the purpose of asking the Home Secretary to accept a memorial, having for its object a commutation of the sentence of the Fenians now under sentence of death at Manchester.

Lieutenant Colonel Dickson and five or six other persons arrived at the Home-office at two o'clock, and were informed that Mr. Hardy would not be able to receive them. They then left, but in the course of a quarter of an hour upwards of 100 men arrived—all work men in their working attire—and made their way up stairs into a room adjoining that in which Mr. Hardy was sitting. The attendant handed one of the deputation (Mr. Finlen) a letter, which he read. It was as follows:—

“Sir,—I am directed by Mr. Secretary Hardy to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, acquainting him that a deputation had been appointed, at a meeting held yesterday on Clerkenwell green, to wait upon him in reference to the Fenian convicts under sentence of death at Manchester, and expressing a hope that he would receive them this afternoon. Mr. Hardy desires me to inform you in reply that he has already declined to receive deputations on that subject—(cries of ‘Disgraceful!’)—and that he must equally do so on the present occasion, although he will be prepared to receive any memorial that may be sent to him for his consideration.’

Mr. Finlen—It is signed by—but I can't make out the name.

A Voice—That will be after the men's death. (Cries of "Shame.")

Mr. Finlen—That is Mr. Secretary Hardy's reply to our efforts to save the lives of these unfortunate men. Our efforts I hope, will be acknowledged to be associated with humane desires. We have no political motives whatever in this matter but we solemnly wish that England should not be disgraced by these poor fellows being handed over to the tender mercies of Calcraft next Saturday. For myself, I declare that I will use thew and sinew, and will move heaven and earth, to the end that this monstrous determination on the part of Mr. Secretary Hardy shall be defeated. We will go to Birmingham, we will go to Manchester, we will go to Liverpool, we will arouse the Irish spirit. That will be responded to in Ireland and in America, and this Government will bring blood upon its head if, after refusing us as it has done today, it dares to take away the lives of those men who are as good, as any members of the present Government. I would not have spoken this way if Mr. Hardy had granted us the interview we asked for. Mr. Hardy has committed a great blunder. Mr. Stuart Mill has stated that the Tories are the most stupid set of people in the world, and this is the most stupid blunder a Tory Government ever committed.

Mr. Glegg—This memorial I hold in my hand was prepared yesterday, and as Mr. Secretary Hardy will not receive it, I must take it back with me. I will not leave a stone unturned to carry out our object; and as Mr. Finlen has said, we will go to Birmingham, to Liverpool, to Manchester, and very likely to Glasgow, to ask for help. We are working, and we have lost a day's work. I hope you are humanitarians, and I am sorry our work of mercy has failed. (Cries of "No, no.")

Mr. Campbell thought that if they had been Eyre of Jamaica or somebody of title, the Home Secretary would have received them. But because they were only hard working men of Clerkenwell he would not. It was the profits of their labour that enabled the aristocracy to ride in their chariots. He loved his country (Ireland). Why should he not love her? He was glad that he had them to sympathise with her. (We do.) But if they would not listen to the appeal of Englishmen and Scotchmen, it was not likely that Government would listen to Irishmen. They must keep in the background. He was sorry that the Home Secretary was not there. (Voices: "He is here," and groans.)

Mr. Finlen exclaimed: I consider this a monstrous thing on the part of the Conservative Government.

Voice—I move a vote of censure on Mr. Secretary Hardy.

An attendant came forward, and said: I am requested by Mr. Secretary Hardy to desire that you will leave the office.

(Loud groans.)

Mr. Finlen — This is a very outrageous proceeding on the part of Mr. Hardy. I am not to be intimidated by the officials of this place. Go away, sir. You are not a member of the deputation; you are only a servant. You are not a servant of Mr. Hardy, but a servant of the public. I say that, so far as this Government is concerned—and I say it publicly in this Home-office, under the roof of authority—that the Government is incurring a disgrace that will perhaps prove indelible by refusing to meet a body of working men, who cannot afford to lose another day's work (Long and continued cheers.) The men are to be executed next Saturday (Cries of “No, no; they shall not be.”)

The attendant again came forward, and said: May I remind you Mr. Finlen, of the message I conveyed to you from the Home Secretary?

Mr. Finlen — We will use every effort, thew and muscle, that that these men's lives shall not be sacrificed. (Cheers.) I would turn all the Tory Governments into the sea rather than see these brave and plucky Fenians immolated in the way which is intended. Mr. Hardy is in that room, and he and his colleagues must know that it shall be proclaimed far and wide that if these men's lives were sacrificed their own lives would not be held sacred or their position as advisers of a good and Gracious Queen maintained in the face of such paltry, bloody, and miserable conduct.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Finlen — We must not be content with a meeting on Thursday night. We will have torchlight meetings every night this week.

While these proceedings were going on, Mr. Hardy who was in his private room adjoining, and must have heard all that passed, despatched a messenger to Sir Richard Mayne, at Scotland-yard requesting his immediate attendance with a body of police. In a few minutes Sir R' Mayne, Captain Harris, and about fifty of the A reserve constables arrived at the Home-office, Sir K. Mayne and Captain Harris entering to see Mr Hardy, while the men were drawn up outside the office. Fortunately the services of the police were not called into requisition, for while Sir R. Mayne was ascending the stairs the deputation were coming down.

In consequence of so much robust and nettlesome stuff being declared in such a place as the Home Office in behalf of such glorious men as those who are brave enough to be Fenians, the attention of the public at large was more than usually directed towards myself. Upon one side—that of the true and honest poor of England and Ireland, I was bravely applauded and vindicated. On another side—that of the slavish middle-class, and the slave-making upper ten thousand, I was vilified, howled at, and entirely reprobated beyond measure. I withstood all the vituperation of the rich ruffians of the land. I honoured and appreciated the generous sympathies of the glorious Democracy of Ireland and England. But the rich foes with which I have to contend have such an agency through the power they purchase from the Parliament and the press, that in resisting them a poor man like myself has to fight a fight requiring the employment of tremendous powers of energy. Although I had hitherto done many things as an advanced Liberal of the most Republican type, none of my previous acts either attracted so much attention, or provoked so much crude, so much uncouth antagonism, as did my signal action at the Home Office—an action in which I shall glory to the last moment of my existence, in honour of glorious Fenianism. Let it be known that Fenianism is Patriotism; that the men—and women too—called Fenians, are as brave in behalf of the speedy emancipation of Ireland, the Niobe of nations, as Tell and Emma were for Switzerland, Brutus and his Portia for Rome, as were the maids of Saragossa for the integrity of their peninsula; as Kosiusko was for Poland, as Count and Madam Bathyanie, Robert Blum, and Louis Kossuth were for the honour of Austria and the freedom of Hungary; as Garibaldi and Mazzini have been and are for the unadulterated emancipation of the Italian peninsula. As honour crowds upon the work and hopes of such heroes because they have sought in most instances to throw off the odious yoke of foreign rule, so should it gather around the efforts and aspirations of the men and women congregated in the Fenian Brotherhood with the determination to free Ireland from the degrading rule of the brutal and selfish aristocracy of England. I honour them for the bravery and grandeur of their enterprise. Such a declaration I have frequently made from the platforms of England whilst addressing immense audiences of Englishmen. I, therefore, can tell the Government, the Press, the Police, the Reform League, too, that they make a very great mistake when they imagine that my efforts in behalf of Fenianism have been so solitary as to be confined merely to what I said and did upon the occasion of my memorable visit to the Home Office. I tell them all that I have openly done much for that body, and, what is of paramount importance, that the working people of England look with pride and satisfaction upon that body's efforts.

Because I have been so avowed as an ultra and most uncompromising reformer, I have been brutally abused by the Parliament, the Press, the Aristocracy, and by some few political adventurers in the shape of electioneering agents connected with the Reform League. I shall, because I can, fight and defeat the whole mob of them.

Following up the Home Office affair, after my efforts in the cause of justice and humanity had been defeated by the rose-water humbugs of the period, I then did the next best thing I could to mark my detestation of the flagitious crime of executing Allen, Larkin, and Gould, and that was to congregate together an immense multitude to proceed in procession to Hyde Park, there to listen to funeral orations in their honour.

The venom I have had to be exposed to will be pretty well exemplified by the recent action of my organised antagonists. Upon Sunday, July 19, 1868, a great gathering of the people took place in Hyde Park, with the object of condemning the House of Lords in consequence of its hostility to Mr. Gladstone's measures, which are meant to remove from Ireland the State establishment known as the Irish Protestant Church. On account of that meeting being not only a tremendous success, attended as it was by not less than 50,000 people, but through those comprising it endorsing sentiments of the most republican nature, the antagonism of the Press and the Parliament, the Police and the Reform League, was at once provoked. Having taken an active and prominent part, not simply at the meeting, but in organizing it, being in fact the promoter of it, I was set up as a target for the malignant shafts which have been so barbarously hurled against me.

Being, through my unpaid labours for the liberties of the people, as well as through my many domestic reverses, a very poor man, I was compelled to enter upon the occupancy of a room without having at my command the means of furnishing it. Speaking literally, I had nothing whatever to put into it. My worthy friend, Mr. Meldrum, was good enough to spare from his own home for my use a few articles of furniture, very scant certainly, but calculated to meet the absolute or immediate wants of one situated as I was. The man Bacon, a person of whom the reader will hear much more before long, as I have instituted an action against him in one of the Superior Courts, in consequence of his outrageous and slanderous utterances about me in the presence of Mr. Knox—did not, as my landlord, look upon me with much favour, because there was nothing much in the way of furniture upon which he could put his hands in the event of rent not being forthcoming. Added to that consideration he thought that he had found out that I was a Fenian—a thing of terror to his peculiar mind. The manner in which he made that startling discovery was very simple and very open. My children had taken out of the room I occupy a few copies of a bill announcing the publication of two works written by myself, one being entitled "Fenianism: its Causes traced, its Existence Justified," the other being "The

Wrongs of Ireland, and the rights of Irishmen.” He found a “mares-nest” in reality; but it was thought a fine thing for the police. Accordingly, Bacon sought their congenial association, and since he has thus precipitated himself into such companionship, holding in view the action pending against him, it is to be hoped the police will “save their Bacon.”

As some evidence of that fellow’s complicity with the myrmidons of Mayne, I mention here that he, Bacon, was venturesome enough to take into my room a certain sergeant of police. That gentleman, using the peculiar skill for which such worthies are noted, descended, upon his admission to my humble home, upon some fragments of documents which I had torn up and thrown in the grate. Upon the evidence of my children that officer of police was industrious, and, perhaps, dutiful enough, to put those fragments together, piece by piece. What did that mean? Was he of opinion that he could involve me in some direful conspiracy, such as the Fenian Brotherhood, or some other one nearly as formidable? Seeing that I had in my possession some copies of that popular newspaper the Irishman, it is most likely that it occurred to his judicial mind that little more was wanting to secure my arrest upon a charge of treason- felony. But the poor man broke down altogether in that respect, and then he fell upon the noble idea of concocting with Bacon that most libellous statement which was, so opportunely for my enemies, made to Mr. Knox. All the important points of that statement I flatly and indignantly deny the accuracy of. I must not argue them here, since their author will have to answer for them in a court of law; but I do state that the asseveration that the children were starved and filthy, was the employment of a flagitious misrepresentation. I have witnesses, apart from Dr. Conway Evans, who said the children were well nourished, who will prove that upon the forthcoming trial, and amongst those witnesses there will be the lady who so kindly attended to them up to the time she unfortunately fell ill, which was only four days before the statement was made. I do most emphatically declare that his assertion that I received four hundred sixpences from so many Fenians, that I spent that sum of ten pounds in drink, that the matters of hours and convictions are entirely and supremely untrue. I never received such a sum of money from any body whatever. Concerning drink, my employer, prompted by his knowledge of the falsity of the statement, attended before Mr. Knox, and to that gentleman affirmed that since he had known me he found me to be a “sober, trustworthy, steady, and efficient workman.” More of that on the trial.

I have said that the statement was opportunely made. Its apposite appearance in the papers on the morning of the day when Sir Charles Russell was to question Mr. G. Hardy concerning myself in the House of Commons, redounded much to the shrewdness of Scotland Yard. But Sir Richard has much more to learn before he can confidently hope to destroy me as a public man. I defy him and all his mercenary emissaries.

Now, a word or two concerning Sir Charles Russell’s impertinent question to Mr. Hardy about my private character. Both Mr. Hardy and Mr. Gladstone treated him as cavalierly as his flippancy required. I tell Sir Charles at once that I did belong to the party he alluded to, and that I did so because the connection yielded me something wherewith to support a sick wife and a large family. But that gentleman and all others must understand that the cessation of my engagement with it was not occasioned in consequence of the cause which he in his questions foolishly implied. I was obliged to leave it because the police threatened Mr. Brooks, the proprietor, with their antagonism to him if he did not discharge me. Why they made that threat was on account of the part I took with the deputation at the Home Office. Such, at all events, was the reason assigned by Mr. Brooks when he had to discharge me. I could say much more upon this point, but I prefer letting a public and independent journalist speak for me. The following is from Reynolds’s Newspaper, of July 25, 1868:—

WHO’S WHO?

Sir C. Russel, a member of the House of Commons, has asked a very irrelevant and impertinent question in reference to Mr. Finlen. The baronet wants to know whether Mr. Finlen is the same individual who appeared as a speaker at the Judge and Jury Society, Leicester-square, a place where, Sir Charles alleges, obscene performances are witnessed. If this be the case, we feel certain that every information on the subject could immediately have been obtained by Sir Charles Russell from his brother officers in the Guards. But if private character is thus to be dragged forth and ventilated for political purposes in parliament, we would suggest that some “noble lord” ask the Lord Chancellor whether the Marquis of Hastings, who was lately proclaimed a defaulter on the turf—that is to say, a person who bets without having the means of paying if he loses—is still a member of the House of Peers, also of several of the most select West-end clubs? Whether he is still a magistrate, or whether he is the same individual whose name has been mentioned in a discreditable manner as connected with the doings of certain race-horses called Lady Elizabeth and The Earl? Whether Lord Willowby d’Eresby, the individual whose name was disreputably associated with an action brought against him by his cast-off mistress, is still a member of that “honourable” house, and still Grand Chamberlain to the Queen? Whether it be true that the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, and other members of their lordship’s house, have been frequent attendants at the St. James’s Theatre, where performances by Mdlle. Schneidee a notorious French actress, have been given that several of the leading daily papers have pronounced unfit for decent persons to witness? When these question have been answered we have many more of a similar nature to that which Sir C. Russell has put to the House of Commons. So far, however, as Mr. Finlen is concerned, we presume that being out of work and short of cash, he applied his talents to a profitable purpose. Had Sir C. Russell been in the same predicament, we suspect he would not have obtained as many pence as Mr. Finlen probably did pounds.

In concluding what I have to say upon Sir Charles’s legislative small-talk, I say that I challenge and defy anyone to prove that, during my connection with Mr. Brooks’s party, I ever, in the performance of my business, did aught to offend or in anyway outrage the public ear.

The scribbling scamps of the newspaper press have founded upon the above atrocious misrepresentations leading articles equally atrocious. They howl at a man who has grown poor in the disinterested advocacy of a great cause. They make-my poverty a crime! Whereas, those who know me best, know it to be but a sad misfortune. I shall rise superior to it, despite the foul malignity of literary bipeds who put their slavish brains and soulless carcasses into the common market where venality is vended, and thenceforward dedicate their pens as hirelings to the interest of the richest ruffians they find prepared to reward them. I say to them in general, in the proud language of Coriolanus—

"Ye common cry of curs,
Whose breath I hate as the reek of the rotten fen,
Whose loves I prize as the dead carcasses of unburied men
That do corrupt the air."

I scorn your foul and cowardly censure; I spit upon your mercenary prejudices; I say in particular to the elegant censor employed as moraliser by the *Telegraph*, whose recent lucubrations I have read with great interest—"Cease viper, for you bite against a file."

In conclusion, I repeat that I am not to be deterred from the prosecution of the work to which I have committed myself. I belong to no organization but one, and that is the Democratic League, which has for its motto Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, and for its programme the attainment of Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Annual Parliaments, Equal Electoral Districts, and Payment of Members; with a determination to have full liberty procured for the people of Ireland. Towards the realisation of such objects I shall be found working in the future as I have been in the past.

