

Rise and Fall, from 1858 to 1869 and beyond

Part 1. 1858 [continued] to 1867

The first meeting that James Finlen attended on returning to Manchester took place on Sunday, the 31st January, a well attended meeting of the council. The worker's activity in Manchester was not as strong as in many other cities and Finlen was in a minority with his Chartist views. It was expressed at the meeting that they "regretted much the spirit that could actuate a person of Mr. Finlen's talent in so impolitic, unwise, and anti-democratic a manner to come forward at a time like the present, with a view to vent his spleen and endeavour to divide the democratic ranks." The following Tuesday, February 2nd saw a small number (according to W. Longmaid writing for Jones in the *People's Paper*] of Finlen's followers attend a meeting at the People's Institute, Herford-street, including two ladies [his wife and sister?]. He called for a new Association to be formed to free themselves from the machinations of the Manchester school [of which Longmaid was a member].

The reporting of Finlen's activities from hereon is much reduced since the only Chartist's paper of any kind was still the dying *People's Paper*, and its owner, Jones, was antagonistic towards Finlen.

Also in February it was mooted, in London, to move the NCA headquarters from London to Manchester and to ban membership to 'the middle classes and newspaper editors.' According to Jones this was because Finlen was based there, where he worked for an insurance company, and because he wanted to exclude Jones. Meetings took place in Manchester leading to a Reform Conference on the 27th. Things were not going Finlen's way in Manchester as the middle-class reform movement was in the ascendancy and strongly supported Jones, and were themselves supported by him. Jones was elected as the sole executive of the movement on behalf of the Chartists. Finlen's call for the working men not to waste their time by asking for favours from the middle classes was defeated.

The Reform Conference on February 27th was reported in the *People's Paper*. Jones' account of the conference is naturally biased and approving of the middle-class element voting at the conference [which had been *paid for* by the working men]. It was a promise of scraps today and jam tomorrow by the two classes coming together and supporting the Reform Bill, in the hope of getting the Charter in the future. Finlen pointed out that Cobden and Bright had doggedly and obstinately opposed the diminution of the hours of the working classes. He said he had been stupid enough to waste three hours in watching the proceedings of the delegates and he did not find that the principles of the Charter in their entirety had been set forth. He looked upon the new movement as one got up by lame politicians ambitious for power, and literary hacks. The paid member point of the Charter had been left out, he supposed, to conciliate the peculiar devotees of John Bright. He urged them to adhere to the principles of O'Connor, Cooper, and O'Brien. [the fact that the *Glasgow Sentinel* repeated the *PP* article shows how much Jones had moved to the 'right' and away from the Charter]. The *People's Paper* was no longer for the people. On March 6th Jones wrote about "The death struggles of the remnant of the London Factionists Chartists" in which he gave more biased reporting against Finlen, who, in his 'vanity' still stuck to demanding the full Charter"-no wonder the *PP* lost Chartist subscribers and printed its last issue on September 4th.

In March, Finlen gave another example of his Thespian abilities by reciting from memory the whole of Shakespeare's tragedy 'Othello' at the Temperance Hall, Middleton, and again at Dukinfield a week later. Possibly the wrong audiences and venues since, impressive and enjoyable though it might have been for him, it was hardly a path to a new career.

In April, Finlen tried to warn the shareholders of the United Brothers Assurance Company that there would be an attempt to take it over by speculators and that this could only be prevented by recruiting more shareholders who could then vote against the move. Jones accused him of being underhand and for shareholders to vote against him, though other member who knew Finlen

personally vouched for his good work and good faith. He, probably more than anyone else, had persuaded working men who had attended his lectures to take out UBAC policies.

The United Brothers Assurance Company, had been originally founded in 1854, with Finlen as one of its directors. After writing the above letter Finlen seems to have left the company which did then fall into the wrong hands, thereafter becoming increasingly mired in problems due to lack of organisation, to mismanagement, and with evident cases of embezzlement. Much later it was run as a charity and finally wound up in March 1891. By now Finlen was probably already working for another Assurance company in Manchester - the *Friend in Need Life Assurance [and Sick] Society*, as a manager. This company had been founded originally by John Shaw as the *Friend-in-Need Benefit and Burial Society* in 1831, which was then reconstructed in 1853. Profits were divided equally amongst its members. It seems to have been wound up in 1869 and its funds transferred to the London and Manchester Industrial Assurance Co.

Jones continued to lambast Finlen, accusing him of intending to bring out a new 'one penny paper' [The Glasgow paper, *The Northern Star* having failed] while in fact bringing out a new penny paper himself [the *London News* – it lasted from May 8th to November 15th 1858]. Jones' involvement with newspapers ended after that.

Without a newspaper dedicated to Chartist and Reform affairs, only a few notices appear of Finlen's activities from then, noting his lecturing in Ashton, Ancoats and Manchester during the last half of the year and of his representing his Assurance company as a manager. His first child, a son, was born on November 4th 1858 and named James after himself [p. 5]

With the lack of reports, 1858 comes across, possibly wrongly, as a quiet year for James Finlen and one that saw his ventures into bookselling and newspaper editing fail, to be replaced by his taking up employment in the Insurance business as an agent, then manager. There is no mention of French polishing any more and his travels have been drastically reduced since his marriage and settling down in Manchester. He continued lecturing on Chartism, though to a not always receptive audience, and railed against middle-class reformists with their watered down agendas - though he had become to all appearances an aspiring middle-class person himself. His last meeting of the year is recorded at the Manchester Manhood Suffrage Association on Tuesday December 7th when he advocated the payment of members of Parliament as one of the points which ought to be introduced into the Reform Bill. He maintained his dedicated beliefs in Chartism and had broken all association with Ernest Jones who in effect now blew wherever the wind of politics took him to most advantage.

1859

From the few reports that were published we see Finlen still taking part in meetings in Manchester about the local political situation. In January in Middleton he claimed that "There were too many females and children in competition with man's labour." The latter is understandable but the place of women in society and work is one that Finlen never seems to have regarded with any importance. Female suffrage was of no interest to him and we get no indication of his ideas about working women. It makes one wonder what role he gave to his young wife, now with a small child. Did he engage her with his political interests? Did he spend time with her and their child, or was all his spare time given over to meetings, lectures and Chartist organisation? As an Insurance company manager, how much free time did he have?

In March he made a journey to London to attend and speak at a Hyde Park meeting protesting against the curtailed Reform Bill before parliament. He also attended a similar open air meeting in Birmingham in the same month and spoke condemning the bill - and even shared the platform with his erstwhile foe Ernest Jones. Back in Manchester at the Free-trade Hall that month a motion in support of manhood suffrage that he seconded was negatived.

On the lighter side, in July, he played the part of Iago in *Othello*, for a benefit performance by the Histrionic Garrick Club in Manchester. This type of performing must have given him both pleasure and satisfaction since it is a recurring theme in his life.

It was hardly an attempt to win popularity amongst his peers unlike the antics of politicians of our day. In 2022 thinking of the disgraced minister Matt Hancock appearing in the 'entertainment' of "I'm a celebrity, get me out of here!"

Only one other mention of James Finlen occurs in the papers after that performance, and it was reporting his attendance at the Manchester Corn Exchange in September when resolutions were passed against the Builders Strike and workers being sacked until they signed documents giving away their rights. At the meeting Finlen said;

"that if all the great capitalists left the kingdom, as some of them had threatened to do, they would leave behind them the broad lands and the rich mines of England, and the strong arms of the workers would create new capital to supply the place of that taken away by those who might superciliously expatriate themselves."

Manchester does not seem to have been a fruitful place where James Finlen could thrive and his 'message' be widely accepted. Perhaps he was already planning to taking his pregnant wife with their young child back to the bigger stage of London.

1860

The Finlens were probably still in Manchester up to March 31st since James gave four lectures on "The Crimes of the Pope!" in Middleton between Monday and Thursday, February 20 - 23rd and attended the Grand Political and Social Reform Banquet and Ball at the Working Man's Hall, Oldham on Saturday March 31st. They must have flitted to London during April because James begins a series of lectures there from May to December. His wife was pregnant at the time and on June 10th she gave birth to their second child, a son **William** born at No.1, 3, Grays Buildings, Kingsland, West Hackney. [p. 5] His father is listed as a 'General Agent,' - his insurance work may have been reduced? The birth was later registered by the mother on 21st July.

Finlen's lectures took place either at the Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street (DH) or at the South London Secular Institute, Blackfriars Road (SI). Admission was free but presumably Finlen was paid a fee for his lectures. The following list for 1860 is probably not complete;

- May 15th - "Is pure Democracy or a mixed form of Government best suited for the British Empire?" (DH)
- June 1st - "Would it be advisable, in the present state of public opinion, to withdraw the Reform Bill?" (DH)
- June 3rd - "Garibaldi: His mission and its effects." (SI)
- June 24th - "The Crimes of the Popes." (SI)
- June 26th - "Do the necessities of Italian freedom demand the abrogation of the Papacy?" (DH)
- July 1st - "The Crimes of the Popes." (SI)
- July 29th - "The Crimes of the Popes" (DH) [*obviously a popular subject!*]
- October 21st - "The Jesuits, how they have garrisoned ecclesiastical iniquity and occasioned reactions as instanced in the duty and mission of General Garibaldi." (SI)
- November 16th - "John Bright's letter on the strikes." (DH)
- November 24th - "John Bright's letter on the strikes." continuation of the adjourned debate (DH)

Apart from the above there were just two other reports of James Finlen's activities that year. Firstly, on June 27th he proposed a resolution at the British Institution, Cowper Street, City Road for the purpose of protesting against Lord Chelmsford's Sunday Trading Bill, - "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." It was passed.

Secondly *Reynold's Newspaper* [now taking over to some extent the role of the defunct *People's Paper*] reported that "Mr. James Finlen, who is well known as a popular political orator, makes his *debut* to-morrow [Monday December 17th] at the Victoria Theatre, as an actor. It was the last night of the season and Finlen played Iago to Mr. Rickards Othello. The theatre was a working class one, seating 600 and noted for its 'roughs.' At this period in December an evangelical group took over the Theatre on Sundays and attracted audiences of upwards of a thousand! James' doesn't seem to have been successful in getting noticed as an actor - no-one seems to have written up a description of his performance and once again it was probably the wrong theatre and audience.

James Finlen's political activity seems to have become even more muted in this year. He needed to provide for his family and probably returned to his first profession as French polisher. After a gap in such employment he would most likely have had to work as a journeyman - possibly employed by his friend George Hoppey, who was by now a cabinet maker and later to own a small business in Oxford Street. He would have had less free time and for two months we find no evidence of him.

Discussion Hall meetings did continued but were opened by members of the committee or other Chartists such as Ward, Franklin, O'Brien and Henrette. James Finlen doesn't reappear as a lecturer until Tuesday, March 5th when he spoke on "The case of Major Yelverton and the perplexities of the marriage laws."

[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 between two Protestants 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.]

On Monday, the 11th March he attended the first meeting of the London Political Union in the lecture-room of the Mechanic's Institution, Southampton-buildings, Holborn, but was not impressed by their aims. The next day he attended a Reform Meeting at the British School Rooms in Kingsland, where he lived, and gave his support to the candidate Mr. Wilks, but with provisos. On the 22nd March he attended a Reform Demonstration at the Standard Theatre, Bishopsgate street attended by 4,000 people, where he supported the motion calling for Parliamentary Reform.

On April 4th he returned to lecturing at the Discussion Hall, Shoe-lane and his topic was "'The Builder's Strike.'" In the same issue of the *Morning Advertiser* immediately above advert for Finlen's lecture, Dickens advertised his reading of his story of Little Dombey that same night, at St. James' Hall. He would have made a great novel out of James Finlen's story!

The 1861 Census, April 7th.

The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the										[Page 3	
Parish (or Township) of	City or Municipal Borough of	Municipal Ward of	Parliamentary Borough of	Town of	Hamlet or Tything, &c. of	Ecclesiastical District of					
Hackney			Tower Hamlets			St. Andrew's					
No. of Schedule	Road, Street, &c., and No. or Name of House	HOUSES		Name and Surname of each Person	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of		Rank, Profession, or Occupation	Where Born	Whether Blind, or Deaf and Dumb
		Inhabited	Uninhabited (U. or B.)				Male	Female			
16	Continued			Charles Finch	son	Mar	17			Wood Lane East Hackney	
				Mary A. do	Daughter		16		Dressmaker	do do	
				Esther do	do		11			do do	
				Walter do	son		12			do do	
				Lucy do	Daughter		8		Scholar	do do	
				Phoebe do	do		4			do do	
9	2 Gray's Buildings			John Henry	Head	Mar	35		House agent	St. Andrew's Hackney	
				Enabilda do	Wife	Mar	36			St. Andrew's Hackney	
				Margaret Mary	Daughter	Mar	25		Dressmaker	Ireland	
				Wilena Perrill	Daughter	Mar	19		French polisher	St. Andrew's Hackney	
10	3 do			James Kemble	Head	Mar	31		French polisher	St. Andrew's Hackney	
				Mary A. do	Wife	Mar	25			St. Andrew's Hackney	
				Kate do	Daughter	Mar	28			St. Andrew's Hackney	
				James do	son		2			St. Andrew's Hackney	
				William do	son		2			St. Andrew's Hackney	
17				William P. Green	Head	Mar	39		grocer	St. Andrew's Hackney	
				Louisa do	Wife	Mar	23			St. Andrew's Hackney	
				do do	Daughter		5			St. Andrew's Hackney	
				William do	son		2			St. Andrew's Hackney	
				Alice E. do	Daughter		2			St. Andrew's Hackney	
				do do	Daughter		2			St. Andrew's Hackney	
11	4 do			William Henry	Head	Mar	67		General Serv.	St. Andrew's Hackney	
				Ann do	Wife	Mar	59			St. Andrew's Hackney	
Total of Houses...		2		Total of Males and Females...			9	14		10-0	

The census of April 7th 1861 shows the family still living at 3, Gray's Buildings, Hackney, Tower Hamlets, where William was born the previous June. James is now recorded as a French polisher

again and he is living with his wife [given the middle initial 'A' in error - influenced by the Gooch entry at the top of the sheet?] and also his sister Kate. His two sons James, aged 2, born Manchester and nine month old William are included. They share No. 3 with the family of William Green, a grocer, and his family and servant. Their lodgings are 'artisan' and self-employed, not yet 'working class'.

On April 13th a Great Reform Demonstration took place at Taylor's Depository, St. George's Road with about 2000 people present. Finlen spoke and emphasised the importance of the ballot. 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 introduce 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.)

Apart from attending a meeting of workmen in the building trade which took place at the Surrey theatre at the end of May (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) James Finlen's reported activities for the rest of the year were restricted to his lectures at the Discussion Hall;

April 25 - "Whether is General Garibaldi or Count Cavour the best Friend of Italy."

May 9 - "The Civil War in America, and how is it likely to end?"

June 7 - "How will the death of Count Cavour affect the Political State of Europe?"

June 27 - "The builder's strike – would the adoption of the nine-hours system be advantageous to all classes of society?"

August 8 - "The battle of Manassas Junction - will it be damaging to the Victors?"

August 16 - "Lord Brougham's speech at the Social Congress at Dublin"

August 23 - "Mr. Roebuck's speech at Sheffield"

September 19 - "Will the Reduction in the Price of Newspapers be injurious to the Public and the Cause of Literature"

October 9 - "Were the American memorialists who demanded the expulsion from America of 'The Times' Correspondent (Mr. Russell) properly answered by Mr. Secretary Seward?"

Nothing more appears in the Press from October 1861 until:

1862

Discussion Hall lectures;

January 7 - "Would the Government of the United States be justified in decreeing the Abolition of Negro Slavery?"

January 9 - "The surrender of Messrs. Mason and Slideli – England's general conduct towards America"

January 21 - "Can the present condition of America be taken as a proof of the failure of Republican Institutions?"

These were the last of James Finlen's lectures and he next appeared at the National Reform Conference of May 21st at the Whittingham Club, Arundel Street, Strand where he 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." However, at the next day's meeting, representing the North London Political Union, he said "it was not for the conference to compromise the question – there would be plenty of compromises in another place."

We don't know where James Finlen was living at this time but his home situation may have been deteriorating. Around this time, the summer of 1862, he and his wife had a third son, called **Frank** but the birth wasn't registered, by either mother or father. Registration was a legal necessity and one can only think that they were on the move when the child was born. Being Methodists, there is as yet no trace of a baptism for Frank, or any of the other children, but hopefully someday a record may surface. This imagined difficulty in the Finlen's lives must account for this gap in James' political activity. Only one more reference to him appears in the year - In September, the Ancient Order of Foresters [connected to the Assurance Industry] held a grand demonstration at Lord's Cricket-Ground, Marylebone in aid of the funds of St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington. Mr. Finlen is noted as a *committee* member of the North-West Division and, assuming it refers to James Finlen, it suggests he still was earning commissions for the *Friend in Need Life Assurance Society*, - or else they hadn't updated their records.

1863

Very few notices appear in the Press this year which detail Finlen's speeches, possibly due to there being no dedicated paper covering Reform and Chartist matters. the *Bee-Hive*, founded in 1861, having a tiny circulation, had not yet taken up such interests. Maybe Finlen was too busy keeping his family together and finding enough employment to pay their living costs. He did get involved in supporting the Polish uprising by attending a meeting at the British Institution, Cowper Street where he 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. In August he addressed a meeting held on Blackheath to express sympathy with the Poles.

The only other record to surface concerns his joining Henrette in calling for the International Exhibition Building to be purchased 'for the use of the people' in June, but were outvoted. On November 13th a daughter **Mary Caroline** was born at 14, Elmore Street, Islington East, and registered by her father on December 26th. [*p. 6*] An extra mouth to feed. A year was to pass before James Finlen is recorded engaging in any political work again.

1864

Even less activity is recorded in this year, just a single entry. On December 17th the first mention occurs in the *Bee-Hive* of any political activity by James Finlen - when he spoke at a public meeting of the London Cabmen held at the Bower Operetta House, Westminster when they sought to obtain improvement in their working conditions. Like the previous year, another twelve months were to pass without any further activity on James's part being recorded.

1865

We next hear of James Finlen when his fifth child, **Jonathan Vickers**, is born on April 18th at 9, Hollingworth Street, Holloway, Islington West. His father registered the birth on May 30th. [*p. 7*] The child was nursed by its mother for just 18 months before she was admitted to an asylum and thereafter had nine months of uncertain care before dying on October 4th 1867. He was named after his maternal grandfather and uncle, both called Jonathan Vickers.

In December Finlen spoke at a large meeting of the Reform League in St. Martin's Hall with his old friends Edmund Beales and J. B. Leno officiating. A week or so later he presided over a meeting of the Reform League in their rooms at 8, Adelphi Terrace, Strand.

1866

Whether Finlen's domestic situation had improved or not, this year sees him taking up the reins again, politically, by heavily involving himself in the Reform League. Possibly it was also a distraction from his financial and other woes, but if so, it could have only made the situation worse for his wife with their five children. It isn't known whether his sister Kate was helping out by still living with the family or whether at age 30 she had already moved out and was making her own way. She had a separate address by 1867. Finlen's poor wife was trying to manage their five children on her own with probably decreasing financial resources while her husband was out, when not working, taking part in meetings and demonstrations. There was a rapid increase in the number of cheap local newspapers giving publicity to the political activists and it was an encouragement to their efforts. They also track some of Finlen's movements and increasing involvement during the following years, and his possibly more extreme zeal. One interesting fact is that he gets to meet ministers in the Liberal establishment and his relationship to Gladstone in 1868 becomes the source of trouble to them both. Gladstone was not just the Chancellor under Lord Russell, but was also related to the Neville-Grenville family of Butleigh when he married the daughter of George Neville-Grenville's sister Mary [who had married Stephen Richard Glynne] in 1839. Gladstone visited Glastonbury and the Abbey Ruins on Saturday 18th August 1866 while in Opposition and spent a few days as the guest of Ralph Neville-Grenville at Butleigh Court. Did they later both know that they had this Butleigh Court connection?

On January 16th 1866 Finlen was amongst the deputation from the Reform League that met Earl Russell, the Prime Minister, in his offices in Downing Street, to acquaint him of their opinions - a precedent for what was to happen in 1868. Apart from indoor conferences and meetings, large outdoor meetings took place, especially on Clerkenwell Green. On Monday 9th April one such meeting of upwards of 3000 men took place to discuss the Reform Bill, and following is a description giving a colourful picture of what such meetings were like;

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.

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.

These Clerkenwell demonstrations were weekly events taking place on Mondays and Finlen probably attended them all. On April 16th at the Clerkenwell meeting just before Gladstone was to make an attempt to introduce his Reform Bill to Parliament, Finlen moved a resolution;

"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 redistribution 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."

Despite the fact that most of his audience didn't have the vote yet, Finlen continued to support Gladstone and the Liberals in the hope of making some progress, at least, and at the next meeting on Clerkenwell Common [before some 2000 men] on the 23rd he 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 [*Gladstone*], 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 (Sic!) 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.

Due to Mr. Lowe, the Reform Bill failed to get passed and the subsequent Clerkenwell demonstrations condemned and bemoaned the fact. Torch-light processions took place and the demonstrators sent a note to Queen Victoria calling for her to dissolve Parliament. On Wednesday the 27th June the Holborn and Clerkenwell Branches of the Reform League congregated together, some 10 - 15,000 men, in Trafalgar Square and Nelson's 'Pillar' was used as a platform. After censuring the cabinet of Earl Russell they moved off to assemble and cheer outside Gladstone's house. He was absent but his wife came on to a balcony to salute them. The Liberals fell and the Conservatives took over on June 28th June. On this day another meeting, of some 80,000 men, met in Trafalgar Square and before Charing Cross. Finlen spoke at both meetings. On the 23rd July the greatest demonstration took place at Hyde Park when reputedly 200,000 people forced their way in by knocking down the railings put up to prevent their entry. Many subsequent meetings, at the Guildhall; East India Docks; Agricultural Hall, Islington, Clerkenwell etc. in which Finlen took part condemned the actions of the new government, including their use of spies. The call for Reform was increased and at a Clerkenwell Green meeting on August 20th at which John Bright attended, Finlen 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 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.

In September another cause célèbre came to the fore for James Finlen. It was the case of ex-Governor Eyre of Jamaica who was returning to England to face public opinion. In the 1840's Eyre had been a famous explorer in Australia and from 1848 - 53 a Lieutenant-Governor in New Zealand. He then became Governor of Jamaica where he demonstrated his racist and autocratic

personality by persecuting the non-white inhabitants and passing new laws, until some of them revolted. A mixed-race member of the Jamaica assembly, magistrate and wealthy businessman, George William Gordon, who had nothing to do with the revolt but who criticized the Governor was hurriedly tried for treason and then hanged two days later. In England Eyre's prosecution was demanded by John Stuart Mill, Charles Darwin, John Bright and many of the Reformers such as Beales and Finlen. An opposing group supported Eyre, which surprisingly included Dickens, Charles Kingsley, Alfred Tennyson and Lord Cardigan (of Light Brigade fame).

On August 30th the Clerkenwell Branch of the Reform League called for a meeting on the Green and the 2000 there assembled then processed to Bartholomew Close. James Finlen moved the first resolution, as is mentioned below, but here from the *Birmingham Post* is an account of how it came about, beginning with a dinner held to celebrate Eyre's arrival in Southampton. Finlen, as is the case in almost everything he stood for, was a century before his time, and up against him was the deep seated bigotry of the Tories and their supportive press.

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 (August 30th) 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 [formed by John Stuart Mill] 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.

On Monday September 3rd another meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green to express the people's disapproval and call for a public tribunal. The following account gives a flavour of this meeting;

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.

On Monday September 24th Finlen took part in the inauguration of the Trinity district branch of the Reform League, in the Cleveland Hall, Cleveland-street, Fitzroy-square. On October 3rd he attended an open air torchlight meeting of the City Branch held in Bartholomew Close.

The Holborn Branch had incurred many debts as a result of their participation in the recent demonstrations and decided to take a ticket benefit at the Raglan Music-hall, on Wednesday, October. 9th. Amongst the entertainments was James Finlen reciting the "Merry Brown Hares." "St. Antoine," &c., and Mr. William Osborne (of the Clerkenwell-green meetings) singing "the Marsellaise" Hymn. It is possible that this was an exact repeat of a similar event held on September 17th at the "Hand and Shears" Cloth Fair, Smithfield, proprietor Mr. Farrell. Finlen seems to have returned to his old outgoing persona, orator entertainer and personality. He is called "The People's Advocate" and advertised as giving Sunday lectures again - at the Nag's Head, Leather-lane - and his first two lectures in October being entitled "Oliver Cromwell."

Just as everything seemed to be going well for Finlen in his political life there came an important development in his private life. On Tuesday, October 9th another son, **Lincoln Philip**, was born at 35, Balls Pond Road, Islington East. The birth was registered by its mother on November 20th. [p. 7] The address suggests they were lodging in a better than usual working class area, on a main thoroughfare. Mary Caroline must however have been struggling to look after five children aged 7 - 1, especially with an almost constantly absent husband, and now she had a new baby to look after. James Finlen probably named his child after Abraham **Lincoln** and **Paul** Revere. Two days later and James was already absent, attending a large demonstration.

At the open air Reform meeting on Stepney Green on the 11th October in front of 8,000 people Finlen moved:

"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."

Finlen attended Reform League meetings at Adelphi Terrace on the 23rd and joined the march from Clerkenwell Green to London Fields, Hackney on the 29th October. There were four platforms at the latter event, each having a performing band and Finlen spoke on one of them. On the 24th the Holborn Branch of the Reform League presented Finlen with "a richly got-up scarf and a silver shield in appreciation of his twenty years' services as "an advocate of the rights of the peoples." The latter was elaborately inscribed, the principal inscription was, "The world is our country; to do good is religion."

An important development for Finlen followed when on November 2nd the General Council of the Reform Movement met at their rooms at the Adelphi Terrace to elect four **paid lecturers**. Elected were Messrs Mantle, Cremer, Odger and Finlen. Each lecturer was 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 was to be paid by the League. This might have brought some relief to his personal situation, though it suggests that he would have given up the French polishing since this lecturing work would occupy so much more of his time, and involve a lot of travelling - taking him away from his wife and large family. Finlen's activities would be more often recorded from this time as the *Bee-Hive* became the officially recognised weekly organ of the Reform League. Finlen made his first appearance as lecturer at the Temperance Hall, Kingston on November 9th when a body of skilled workmen discussed forming a new branch of the League. Part of his speech was;

"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.

Finlen had now seemingly abandoned his wife to go lecturing in Lancashire, the reason why *she* had to register their new child and also look after the others on her own. Finlen sent reports back to the General Council, read on the 21st November, of the success of his visit to Liverpool, and the support he had received from Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Robertson Gladstone [William Ewart Gladstone's brother]. On the 28th he gave a talk at St. Joseph's Roman Catholic School-room, Seacombe to the newly formed Wallasey branch of the Reform League. Addressing the meeting, Finlen said;

"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.

On the 3rd December 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. Finlen attended and they thanked Earl Russell, W. E. Gladstone, John Bright, and John Stuart Mill for working towards the causes of Reform. On the 17th December Finlen was in Bradford, Yorkshire and lectured at the Teetotal-hall, Bower Street on the "Political Crisis." The Bradford branch was a large one with about 1000 members but the meeting was given at short notice and sparsely attended. About Finlen it was reported that;

"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

One cannot look at Finlen's career from this time without understanding what was happening at his home. His poor young wife, aged 30 was living on her own, probably in just two or three rooms, with six children, aged between nine and six weeks old. It is possible that at least one of the youngest two was ill and the new baby would still be being breast-fed. She had no family to help her - her mother seems to have died in 1861/3 and her half-sister on August 9th 1867. Her father had disappeared in her childhood [probably transported to Australia and even if it is him, as I identify later, he might have returned to England but had no more contact with the family]. The only living relative of James that was known to her was James's sister Kate who had lived with them in 1861 but now seems to have left. Kate may have helped out sometimes but, as will be seen later, in May 1868, she resented being put upon by her brother, and she had her own life and occupation to follow. Without help from her husband, who was obsessed with his political pursuits, she would have had to make meals for, clean, clothe and educate her children single-handed. It is also possible that her new child was sick and soon may have died. After November there is no

further trace of him. No death is recorded - which was illegal, nor burial recorded for him. Was it the death of Lincoln that drove his mother over the edge? When she registered his birth, on November 20th he was obviously still alive. It may be that the combination of exhaustion and stress after the birth lead to Postpartum Psychosis. This is a serious medical illness that can show symptoms of swings from manic to depressive moods, hallucinations, delusions. confusion, agitation and a total inability to cope - not an illness recognised as such in the mid-Victorian era.

630		Solney Hatch		631		Asylum			
Note	Admissions	Males	Females	Age	Note	Discharges	Males	Females	Age
1865 Feb 27	Brough Forward	76	87		1867	Brough Forward	5	3	
" Mar 21	Michelle Janet Smith								
" "	Stubbins Amelia								
" "	Quinn Anastasia			30					
" "	Hines Mary			72					
" "	Wing Lucy								
" "	Duncan Horro			40					
" "	Hardy Sarah			49					
" "	Birby Amelia			42					
" Apr 24	Braithwaite Hannah			60	Jan 1	Martha Drew	1	49	Forward
" June 29	Braithwaite Hannah			49	Mar 20	Ann Madden	1	38	Dead
" July 11	Braithwaite Hannah			49	Feb 26	Alice Ward	1	42	Forward
" Aug 1	Harrison Harriet Anne			37					
" "	Harriet Anne			42					
" "	Harriet Anne			10					
" "	Ann Emma Cathie			55					
" Sept 13	Boston Cathie			56					
" "	Boyle Maria			69					
" "	Boyle Sarah			21					
" Oct 2	Brown Georgey P.			18 1/2	Feb 26/67	Philip Henry P.	1		deceased
" "	Wright Emily			38	Jan 23	Sarah North	1	30	Dead
" "	Wright Emily			35	Feb 26	Edward Sleigh	1	33	Forward
1866 Dec 27	Wright Emily			29					
1867 Jan 3	Wright Emily			31					
" "	Mary Gardner Dinah			57					
" "	Richard Griffiths			34					
" "	Robert St. Oshoe			63					
" "	Joseph Eastwright			54					
" "	Smith William			65					
" "	Baker Margaret (Gunn)			109					
" "	Mercer Elizabeth								
" "	163 + 27 = 190								
		81	109			Forward	6	7	

*

On January 4th 1867, Mary Caroline Finlen was admitted to Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum where she was to remain for over a decade - and there classified as a 'lunatic'. Two weeks previously James Finlen was still on tour in Yorkshire, but returned home for Christmas to meet the crisis. George Howell in his '*Autobiography of a Toiler*' gives some detail of what happened;

During his absence [on a Reform League lecturing tour] his wife lost her reason, thought her children were in want, and stole a joint of meat. The poor woman was found to be insane, but Finlen was accused of leaving her without money. That was not true. On the Saturday before the incident I took her some money myself at the husband's request, when she told me that I "needn't have troubled, for Jim had left her enough to go on with."

If Mary Finlen was mentally ill on his return, how did he cope, both then, and following her committal? Who would look after the children, organise meals for them and care for them during the day? We learn from his statement before a magistrate in May 1868 that from January 1867 he **didn't receive a farthing for his talking** from the Reform League.

He would have had to pay for a child minder, plus a wet-nurse for Lincoln, if the latter was still alive. It is hardly likely that the baby went with its mother into the asylum and that event is not recorded on her entry to the asylum. One solution might have been to put Lincoln out for a private adoption, of which there would usually be no record. The child's new parents would certainly have changed his name and if this is what happened, it would be impossible to trace him now. The Parish might have taken him into care - but no record evidences this. Paying a third party for his children's upkeep must have been an extra drain on James Finlen's meagre resources (the £2 10s. per week from the Reform League was no longer being paid and he now only had his French polishing work to fall back upon - and probably no regular employment) and his own personal and mental well-being must have suffered increasingly as this situation proceeded. His lack of contact with, and personal care of, his children must have severely affected their development and relationship with him. During all the events that ensue hereafter, one must bear in mind this personal situation he is going through, a situation that will steadily deteriorate. There is no evidence that he ever contacted his wife again. *See Appendix for her later life*

Colney Hatch					Asylum					
Date	Admissions	Males	Females	Age	Date	Discharges	Males	Females	Age	
	Brough Forward	85	78		1867	Brough Forward	4	1		
1865 July 11	Mitchell Ester th		1	60						
" Aug 17	Brady Ann		1	38						
" Sept 5	Bell Amelia		1	38						
" Oct 25	Katloff Sarah		1	67						
" Nov 7	Offerton Jimmy		1	50						
1866 Jan 21	Sprou Sarah		1	23						
" Feb 27	Mitchell Janet Smith		1							
" Mar 21	Stalling Amelia		1			Amelia Stubbins		1	<i>No work put into or taken from</i>	
" " 22	Omeroni Anastasia		1	30						
" " 22	Hinds Mary		1	72						
" " 24	Wing Lucy		1							
" " 24	Dunstan Honora		1	110						
" " 24	Harley Sarah		1	49						
" Apr 22	Ridley Amelia		1	112						
" June 9	Braithwaite Hannah		1	60						
" Aug 1	Arnold Emma Cath ^{erine}		1	10						
" Sept 13	Barton Ester th		1	35						
" " 22	Cooper Maria		1	56						
" " 22	Boyle Sarah		1	66						
" Oct 2	Brad Emma		1	21						
" " 24	Wright Emily		1	132						
1867 Jan 8	Finlan Mary Caroline		1	29						
" " 26	Barber Ester th (Fair)		1	32						
" " 26	Moran Ester th		1	65						
" Feb 6	Hammond Eliza th		1	25		June 11	Hammond Elizabeth	1	25	Recovered
" " 12	Harley Sarah		1	32	<i>On trial for 17ms 23/5/67</i>	" 18	Bury Eliza	1	32	Recovered
" " 16	Thompson Susan		1	24		" 4	Susan Palmer	1	29	Recovered
	163 + 27 = 190.	85	105			Forward	4	5		

Finlen seems to have made little concession to the fact his children were now without a mother and continued his political life as though nothing had happened. Just five days after her committal he was already spending some of his evenings away from them. He was booked to re-start his Sunday lectures at the Nag's Head, Holborn, beginning on the 13th January. In that month he was very busy and attended several meetings and gave speeches. He was also involved in organising Reform Demonstrations. On the 29th January, there was a torchlight Reform Demonstration and procession which started from the Temperance Hall, Chesham and paraded round the town with band, horsemen etc. and then back to the Hall which became too full to accommodate everyone. Finlen lectured those unable to gain admission and after his usual Reform arguments he;

"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.

On Friday, February the 8th the Croydon Branch of the National Reform League held a march and procession through the town, with flags and banners and lead by the Croydon Victoria band to the Town Hall and held a meeting there in the Criminal Court. Finlen gave a speech and it was reported that 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 a Mr. Robinson. Finlen continued during the month with his lecturing and meetings.

On the 20th February there was a meeting of the General Council at 8, Adelphi Terrace, Strand to elect a new executive committee since the term had expired for the present committee. Finlen argued for a postponement until March 25th so that all members could vote but was overruled. The ballot was taken with just 70 people voting. The result was that Mr. B. Lanley got 64 votes followed by another 15 candidates who were elected for six months. The four unsuccessful candidates included Finlen, which was a setback for him.

Finlen was scheduled to begin another lecturing tour of the North but presumably had difficulty organising the management of his children and for his first meeting in Bradford on February 28th he was substituted by another speaker. However, by March 11th he was in Huddersfield, and so must have found someone to care for them. His sister Kate was a laundress and would not have given up her work to look after the children full-time. A child minder was not the same as a carer and the early development of the eldest child, James, in particular, must have been poor from this time and possibly explains his later career and demise. After two Huddersfield meetings, Finlen lectured at Berry Brow on the 13th, Netherton on the 15th followed by Holmfirth, Monday, March 18th; Huddersfield, Tuesday, March 19th; Lockwood, Wednesday 20th, Loywood, Thursday, March 21st; Honley, Friday, March 22nd; Meltham, Saturday, March 23rd, Monday March 25th Slaithwaite; Tuesday March 26th Milnsbridge; Wednesday March 27th Lockwood; Thursday March 28th Golcar; Friday March 29th Kirkheaton; Saturday March 30th Meltham.

At the meeting on the 19th at the Wellington Hall, Queen-street which was attended by about 300 persons, Finlen said 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 that they found it.

Most of the meetings had enthusiastic audiences but Finlen didn't find favour in them all, such as when opposition Tories turned up at the meeting in Golcar. He was still touring Yorkshire in April and on Wednesday the 3rd at Moldgreen he was reported as making his resolution 'in a very intemperate harangue' by the *Huddersfield Chronicle*. He gave a second lecture at Golcar but it was disrupted as the first had been. On the 9th April he attended a meeting in the Festival Concert Room at York and soon after, having been absent from his home for over a month, he returned to London.

The Reform League held many of its evening meetings and lectures on a Sunday evenings which brought upon them the imputation that they were indifferent to the dictates of Religion. Since many members were church goers the Holborn Branch held a 'special camp meeting of the Radical Reformers of Finsbury on Clerkenwell Green and it met at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday the 28th. After hearing addresses, including one from Finlen, they went 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. Meetings on the Clerkenwell Green intensified and Finlen spoke there on May 5th, 6th and 9th. A march, with bands,

on Hyde Park was planned. In Parliament a question was asked by Mr. Neate of the Secretary of State for the Home Department about 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. Mr. Walpole answered giving the names of six Reformers had been served on May 1st and a further ten on May 6th, including James Finlen. What proceedings would be taken against them, if any, was still under consideration.

See p. 107 for note that about this time Finlen's children were found on examination by Mr. Moss, Islington Warrant officer 'in a state of nudity, and that there was but little food in the house'. Finlen had to leave his children alone at home in order to go out to work. He paid a woman to care for them but she was sick and had left them unattended.

In this period Finlen became more active in pursuing his causes, by confronting a government official with a direct appeal. Twenty one members of the Holborn Branch of the Reform League, led by Finlen, visited the Home Office on the 31st May to urge Mr. Gathorne Hardy to 'respite' the condemned Fenian Thomas Francis Burke. They were informed that the government had already decided against postponing the death sentence. In June and July Finlen spoke at meetings indoors, such as the Albion Hall, London-wall, St. James' Hall, and outdoors at Blackheath Common, Clerkenwell Green and London Fields - on subjects as diverse as Sunday Trading, union with Ireland on the basis of equality, protest against further enclosures in Epping Forest, and the fate of Maximilian. The latter was to publicise his publication of his booklet; "Maximilian: His Life and Death, A warning and an example," by James Finlen, Price one penny, 147, Fleet Street and all booksellers.

The *Bee-Hive* of July 27th reported that at a 'Monster Meeting' at Clerkenwell Green on the 21st the first of eight lectures by Finlen was given - on the poor laws, and that the coming lectures would be on the rates, pauperism, surplus population and on the Land and Currency question. After the second lecture on the 28th, on the rates, pauperism etc. he submitted a resolution, that they should go to Hyde Park to protest against the government's policy to restrict their rights to use the parks if they should proceed with the move. In August Finlen promised his three lectures on Oliver Cromwell would be delivered to the Bloomsbury Branch.

On Tuesday August 13th a meeting of the secretaries and delegates from the whole of the metropolitan branches of the Reform League and other Reform associations, plus 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. The general mood was to urge the government to create a committee to look into the matter rather than try to force a bill through quickly, in the hopes that they could get them to change their minds. A few members wanted a more direct show of antagonism in the form of a demonstration in Hyde Park the following Sunday. Finlen arrived late at the meeting and 'amidst much uproar, endeavoured to address the meeting, but was unable to obtain a hearing, owing to the clamour which prevailed.' His supporters were outraged and a letter was sent to the press;

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.

Sunday August 25th saw Finlen speak on the passing of the Reform Bill at a Meeting on Clerkenwell Green and on September 8th they planned to hold two monster meetings in the morning and evening there - the last of the season, but to continue agitating at indoor evening meetings at the Nag's Head. The secession from the Reform League was discussed but after compromises were made, Finlen was restored to the League. It was arranged that the National Reform banquet to

celebrate the passing of the Reform Bill of 1867 would take place at the Crystal Palace on Monday September 30th. Listed on the acting committee is J. Finlen, Polisher.

Perhaps Finlen was experiencing trouble at home - on Sunday 1st of September he was to have held a discussion on "Capital Punishment and the Alton Murderer," but due to *illness* wasn't able to do so. The Holborn Branch wanted to express their appreciation of Finlen's untiring and *gratuitous* services that he had rendered to the Branch, and proposed to hold a dinner and invite him to attend on Wednesday 11th - tickets costing 2 shillings. He must have recovered because he spoke, as well as acted as a steward, at the Reform Banquet at the Crystal palace on the 17th. He was active at the end of the month but October saw a pause in his activities.

It is possible that the situation at his home - now 4, Victoria Terrace, Queens Road, Islington, was deteriorating and his two and half year old son Jonathan was ill. His son died on October 4th, after ten hours of convulsions from *Quinsy* (?). [p. 7] Finlen still attended the Nag's Head discussions and on Sunday the 13th there he condemned the British stance on the Abyssinian Question [*which led to the invasion of that country in 1868*]. Jonathan was buried on October 18th at the St. Mary's burial ground in Islington. Two days later on Sunday 20th Finlen addressed a meeting of the Holborn Branch protesting at the Rate-paying clauses. One wonders what effect the death of his son had on Finlen - how compassionate was he with his four surviving children (assuming Lincoln survived, but was now adopted and elsewhere - and had just had his first birthday) - did he contact and commiserate with his wife - was she even informed about Lincoln and Jonathan?

On Monday October 28th Finlen lectured, very successfully, on "Manhood suffrage v. household suffrage" to the Cobden Branch of the League at the Britannia Tavern, Kingsland Road and he repeated the lecture on Tuesday November 5th to the Bethnal Green Branch. On November 1st a well attended meeting of the Reform League was held at their offices in Adelphi Terrace. The M. P. and vice-president of the League, Thomas Hughes, had resigned his office because he disagreed with some of their policies, such as the ballot. An article in the newspaper commenting on his resignation had accused the League of being 'the avowed champion of assassination and rebellion.' In response James Finlen said;

"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);"

Was this rather intemperate and extreme speech a result of the stress Finlen was undergoing in his private life? The Fenian cause had become a matter of great alarm to the government and public after the rescue and release by a group of some 40 Irish Fenians of the two Fenian prisoners, Thomas Kelly and Timothy Deasey, who had been on their way to Belle View prison in Manchester on September 18th. In the action a police officer Sergeant Charles Brett had been killed and subsequently five Irishmen were arrested, put on trial on the 28th October and five days later sentenced to death. More of this later. This event was to split the Reform league with some, like Finlen, supporting the Irish Republican cause while the majority were against it, especially when the populace in general was whipped up by the vitriol in the Press against the Manchester Fenians and which took an even more violent turn after events that were yet to come. This is the greatest turning point in Finlen's political career and had disastrous consequences for him.

Finlen's speech was condemned as illegal by Mr. Acland, a fellow Reformer, at the meeting and a Mr. Mottershed said "Fenianism was a bastard movement of American birth [*both Kelly and Deasey were Americans*]. 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." Anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiment was a common feeling amongst people of all political hues still at this time. The obvious split opening up in the League was seen as a danger to their necessary unity by other members present at the meeting, and attempts were made to dampen the ire of the various parties such that a resolution repudiating 'any sympathy with assassination or secret organizations for political objects' was passed. In subsequent meetings during November there was substantial support for Finlen's pro-Fenian stance and at the Clerkenwell Green meeting held on Sunday 17th, attended by some 1500 - 2000 people, 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 [*the hangman*] 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.

Other speakers at the meeting questioned the evidence against the men, noting that one condemned man had been proven not to have even been there - the same witnesses who condemned him by their perjury having also given evidence against the three to be hung. No evidence existed that any of them held the gun that killed the policeman. Another speaker condemned in a violent speech "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.")" All this emotion led to a delegation being sent to take a memorial to the Secretary of State for the Home Department on behalf of the four condemned men. From this point Finlen became public enemy number one in the Press and his life begins a spiral downwards, out of his control.

The following account was given in the *London Evening Standard* of November 19th 1867;

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 (17th), a deputation, headed by Mr. Finlen, attended at the Home Office yesterday afternoon (18th), 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'Sweeney 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, thow, 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.

The incident was reported in the Press throughout the country with the story getting wilder the further it got from London and the later it was reported. Expressions such as *threatening to exterminate the government, terrified at the violence which they displayed, seditious nonsense, Fenian scare, National plague, assassinations* were used to frighten their readers and turn them against any thought of commuting the sentences on the prisoners. The *Newcastle Journal* asked; "is it wise to leave his [Finlen's] 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?" The *Fifeshire Journal* wrote; "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." Finlen's name becomes commonly pre-fixed with the epithet 'The Fenian'.

Not all accounts were completely negative and the following is taken from the *Birmingham Daily Post* of November 20th;

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.

Followed by a slightly different version of the following

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: Be 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. Calcrafft 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^cSweeney 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^cSweeney 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.

On Tuesday the 19th November the meeting was held again on Clerkenwell Green to discuss the circumstances of the refusal of the Home Secretary to receive the delegation the previous day. around 1,600 were present. They arranged for another meeting to take place on the coming Thursday, to adopt a memorial that would be taken to Queen Victoria at Windsor on the Friday [the executions being slated for Saturday]. 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."

On Thursday November 21st the promised meeting took place at Clerkenwell Green to discuss the memorial to Queen Victoria. It had been announced that it would be a torchlight meeting but this didn't happen, but it attracted a very large crowd of around 5,000 as a result. They were simultaneously harangued from two wagons drawn up in opposite parts of the square, both being lighted by two naphtha lamps. The *Morning Herald* of the 22nd reported as follows;

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 be 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.]

*This mention of Finlen's impoverishment, caused by his having lost his employment for supporting the cause of the Manchester Four, and the suggestion that he was contemplating emigrating to America show his probable desperation at this time. His penury is further exposed in the events of the following day, Friday November 22nd, when the deputation to present a memorial to Queen Victoria left by train for Windsor. Finlen couldn't even afford the train fare and set off at midnight on Thursday to walk the 21 miles distance, but he 'broke down' when two miles short, leaving his companions to carry on without him. At Windsor 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. 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 Clegg, Coffee and Canham, to Slough where they could catch the London train from Windsor a short while later. How the unfortunate Finlen managed to return to London isn't recorded but at the meeting later in the day, to report on what had happened at Windsor, he attended and 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).

However, he withdrew the resolution sooner than jeopardise the interests of the landlord of the house when the latter said that he wouldn't have let them use his room if he had known that it would be used for such a proposition, and that two detectives had come into the room. Some member were afraid of the consequences and called for the committee to be disbanded but 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). The meeting ended with a split between those who wanted to hold a funeral procession and those that were too afraid to do so.

The preparation for the executions to take place on the Saturday is reported in the following account "*from our own correspondent*" dated Manchester November. 22nd in the *London Evening Standard*:—

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. McDonnell, 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.

A clear account of the hangings appears in the *Shields Daily Gazette* of November 25th 1867:-

*THE FENIANS. THE EXECUTION AT MANCHESTER.
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 unmistakeable 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 ministration 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 go, 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^cGuire 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.

Despite the above balanced account of the hanging and Sunday's funeral procession the paper continued with the following not-so-balanced smear of Finlen. It should be remembered that Finlen had *no* direct association with the Fenians, wasn't a member, and was acting, at great cost to himself, as a humane actor trying to prevent a great injustice to save people he had never met.

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 below for the speech – this author being anti-Finlen, despite his negative attitude having to compliment the handling of the event, obviously didn't want to be positive towards Finlen*] 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 (!).

[The day after the executions, Frederick Engels wrote to Karl Marx: "So yesterday morning the Tories, by the hand of Mr Calcraft, accomplished the final act of separation between England and Ireland. The only thing that the Fenians still lacked were martyrs. They have been provided by Derby and G Hardy. Only the execution of the three has made the liberation of Kelly and Deasy the heroic deed which will now be sung to every Irish babe in the cradle in Ireland, England and America ... To my knowledge, the only time that anybody has been executed for a similar matter in a civilised country was the case of John Brown at Harpers Ferry. The Fenians could not have wished for a better precedent. The Southerners had at least the decency to treat J. Brown as a rebel, whereas here everything is being done to transform a political attempt into a common crime."]

Finlen's sacrifice is forgotten but he and Engels had interpreted the hanging correctly - Monuments were later erected in honour of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien in Skibbereen and Ladysbridge, County Cork; Tralee, County Kerry; Limerick, Kilrush and Ennis, County Clare; Clonmel and Tipperary Town, County Tipperary; Birr, County Offaly; Milltown Cemetery, Belfast, County Antrim; Glasnevin Cemetery (Dublin), and in St Joseph's Cemetery, Moston, Manchester]. In Finlen's oration he had 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.

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."

Another speaker at the meeting, Mr. Mote prophetically 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)."

This is exactly what happened and in the following year Britain, at great expense, invaded and colonised Ethiopia.

The Morning Advertiser writing about the 'funeral' 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."

Finlen must have been feeling completely desperate at this time. Nothing had come of all his efforts to bring justice to the working classes he had fought for and attempted to educate, his family life had imploded and financially he was so broke that he couldn't keep up with his rent or afford to maintain his children. The smearing by the Press made him toxic by association and practicably unemployable. It was at this time in November 1867 that the *Shepton Mallet Journal* and the *Western Gazette* referred to him in their articles as having been engaged (some 16 years before) in the decorations at Butleigh Court which first drew my attention to him.

Not *all* the Press were so antagonistic. In Glasgow, where Finlen had lived in 1857 - 8 and where the Press *had* been so anti-Chartist, now had the *Glasgow Free Press* and on November 30th it printed;

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.

The denigration of Finlen was not confined to just the Press - The Duke of Sutherland claimed that Finlen was a junior counsel to the 'Judge and Jury Society' at the Coal Hole Tavern in the Strand. These J&J clubs were formed, mostly in public houses, purely for amusement, for re-enacting sensational trials, and it was a slur, much then repeated in the wider Press, intended to blacken Finlen's name. Despite his setbacks Finlen, lectured on the "Rights of Irishmen and the Wrongs of Ireland." at the Reform League, St. Luke's Branch, on Thursday December 5th. However, his financial and employment situation had deteriorated to such an extent that his only recourse was to consider emigrating to America and a group of friends formed a committee at the Nag's Head in Leather Lane to help him in this object 'as a recognition of his services in the cause of Democracy.' A Finlen Testimonial and concert was arranged for Monday December 16th at the Middlesex Arms, Clerkenwell Green at 8.30 pm. This might explain why, day before, he had addressed the Marylebone Branch of the Reform League on the subject of "England and America contrasted." The talented Finlen going to America could have been similarly as successful as Mr. Micawber emigrating to Australia - a struggle with no wife and four young children, but what could go wrong? In fact the disaster that struck him had already happened, two days before.

On the day the testimonial was to take place the *Clerkenwell News* of Monday the 16th December reported thus, and this contemporary account gives a full flavour of the event;

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 [*December 13th*], 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. Bartholemew'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 strewn 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 warden, 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 Gurnon, 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.

There then follows details of the injured in the Royal Free and in St. Bartholomew's Hospitals. Followed by;

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.

Several newspapers then contributed to this persecution suggesting that Finlen, and other Reformers by their speeches and demonstrations had led to this outburst of assassinations and murders and that they should be prosecuted. Such papers called for even harder treatment of the Irish and Reformers.

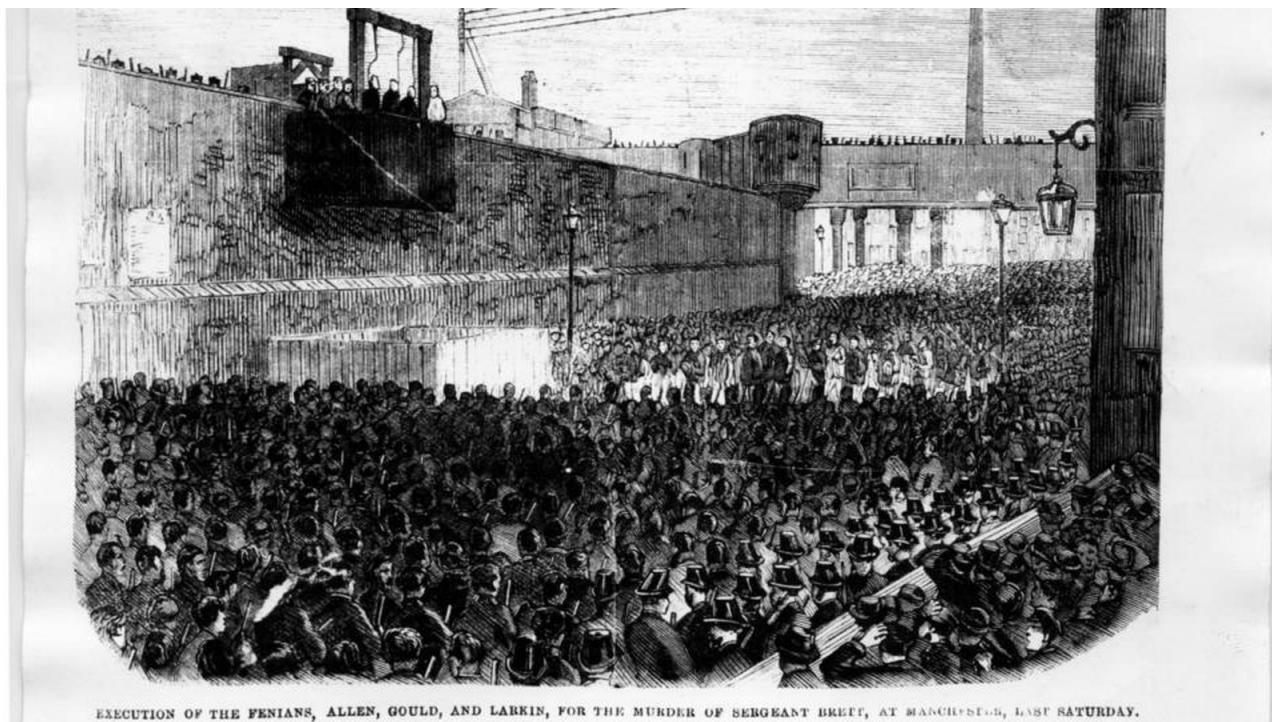
Of course Finlen not only had nothing to do with the bombing, nor with the perpetrators, but he didn't even claim the act was in any way a result of the hanging of the Manchester Martyrs. To put the matter straight he called a meeting to "expose the treachery of the Fenians" on Clerkenwell Green for eleven o'clock on Sunday December 22nd, to be followed at 3pm by another entitled "The men of Ireland resident in London." They were invited to express their abhorrence of the Clerkenwell outrage. Under advice from the Home Office the local magistrates banned the meetings and when Finlen appeared at the venue he spoke to Superintendent Gernon and agreed to call it off stating "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." He passed the same information to the people gathering for the second meeting and they "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."

In response to the Press misreporting of his views and efforts, Finlen was forced to write to them in his defence. His letter to the *Morning Herald* was published on December 25th;

"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.

It is a pity he didn't divulge his personal address, but then it would have led to him receiving more abuse and even possible violence. The landlord of the Nag's Head, Mr. Woodward, not only received negative publicity but was warned by the police that if he continued to allow the Holborn Reform league to meet there he could endanger the renewal of his license. The League cancelled their weekly meeting and Finlen declared the Holborn Branch defunct. Just as he had personally in his own name organised the funeral procession alone for the Martyrs, he would now convene a meeting on Clerkenwell Green on Sunday 29th and expect 20,000 to attend. "he would, at all hazards, hold a public meeting on Clerkenwell-green on 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." A heavy police presence on Clerkenwell Green, however, under Superintendent Gernon, saw the meeting called off. From the comments made it would appear that plans had been put in operation for Finlen to leave the country almost immediately - but it wasn't to happen. Lack of funds, lack of will, problems with the children, we shall never know, but it was all put on hold.



Hanging the Manchester Martyrs 18th September 1867



The Clerkenwell outrage 13th December 1867

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—DECEMBER 28, 1867.



THE FENIAN GUY FAWKES.