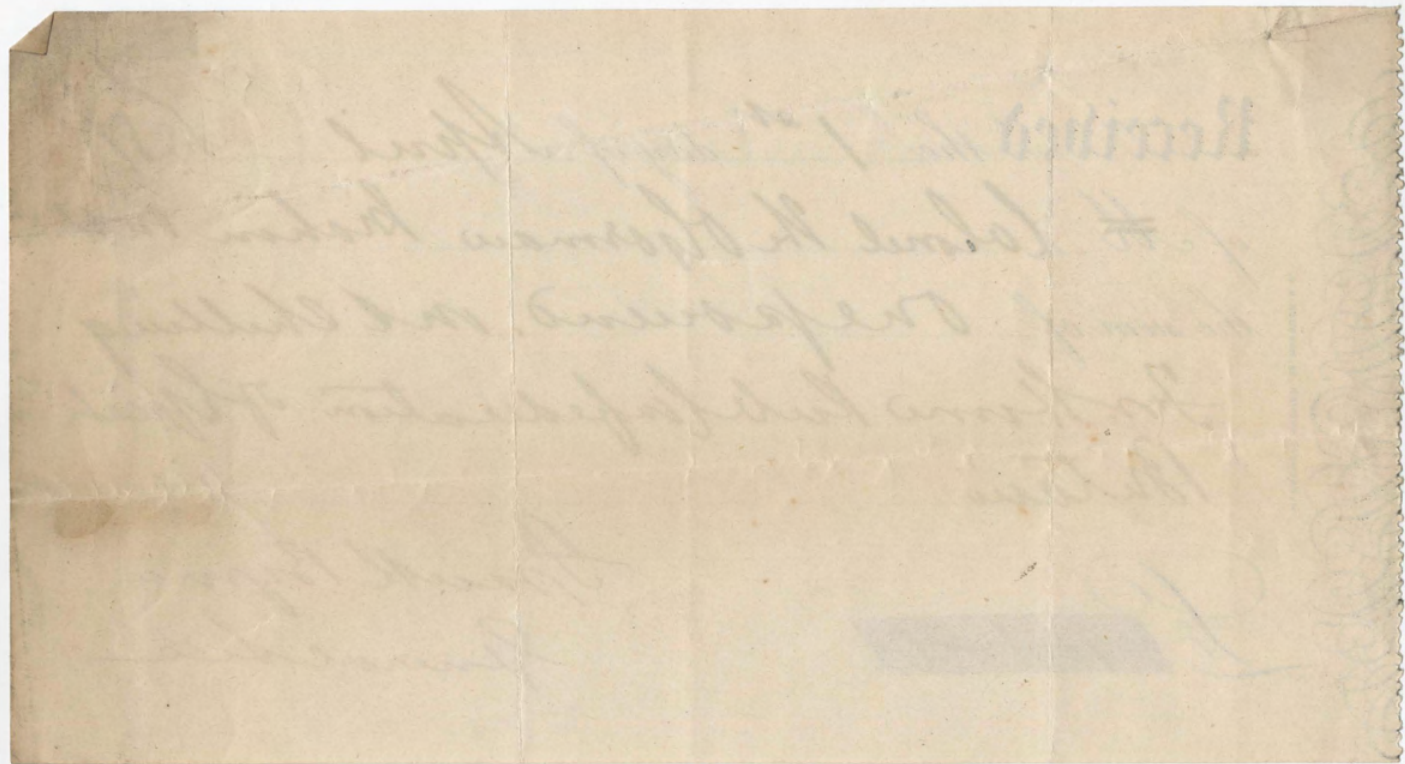


Received the 1st day of April 1881
of ~~H~~ Colonel The Honorable Graham Smith
the sum of One pound, not Shilling
For Home Rule Education of Great
Britain

L 110

Frank Byrnes
General Sec



HANOVER SQUARE CLUB.

Friday 4/2/80

Dear Col.

Would you kindly
give the Bearer Mr.
Sgt Taylor an order
for the Horse and
Sleigh. I was very anxious

Arthur has Robert

Lieut Col James Mahon.

R. P.

HANOVER SQUARE CLUB

per annum, with you,
come and dine with
me this evening or
tomorrow evening at
4 P.M.? at all events

send me a line

Yours Sincerely
Jack Clancy

2nd April 81

THE CRAVEN HOTEL,
CRAVEN STREET,
STRAND.

Dear O'Gorman

Last night I went
to the House to try and
see you, I should have
gone before but have
been unwell since
I received your letter,

However this whole
House was searched
but no O'Gorman they
whistled up tubes

And down again
I was then recom-
-mended by a kind Bokky
to try the dinner room
but it seems Home
Rulers & out sat,
I sent up my card
and waited an hour,
and I have made up
my mind never to
become a Member,
Will you kindly let

Me know ~~per letter~~
as soon as possible
what time would
be most convenient
for you to see me
(i.e. what day, and
what hour)? I want
to consult you about
some property that
through a fluke, I
believe I have come
into they say it is £3,000

Devonshire Club

St James's - S.W.

4 April 1887

"Guildford Kingston & London R."

Dear Sir.

I thank you very much
for your kindness in attending
& voting for the second reading
of the above Bill on last
Thursday evening.

Believe me
Yours very faithfully
W. D. Barnett

Col The O'Gorman Mahon & Co.

Washington Club
H. H. H.
H. H. H.

Washington Club
H. H. H.

Dear Sir
I have the honor to acknowledge
the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst.
and in reply to inform you that
the same has been forwarded to the
proper authorities for their consideration.
Very respectfully,
H. H. H.

H. H. H.
H. H. H.
H. H. H.

Very respectfully,
H. H. H.

A Copy of Mr. Jeunes Opinion on a Case formerly submitted to him on Mr. Chichesters behalf is sent herewith.

It was considered by Mr. Chichesters friends that the best mode of prosecuting his claim was to apply to the Lords of the Treasury for leave to inspect the documents in their possession or under their control in order to establish the facts that when Mr. Vansittart offered certain Admiralty Droits to the Loyalists in 1821 those ^{droits} ~~rights~~ were sufficient in amount to satisfy their claims in full & that in the following year Mr. Powell received only a part of the amount due to him & for which was given a receipt in the form set forth in the Case above referred to - Captⁿ Aylmer (Member for Maidstone) accordingly wrote to the Lords of the Treasury & after some delay received in reply the following letter.

Treasury Chambers, 28 March 1881.

"Sir, I am directed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant & to state in reply to the request preferred therein that my Lords are in communication with the Bank of England in regard to the accounts of certain payments made many years ago to some American Loyalists and which you allege to be in the custody of the Bank.

A further letter will be addressed to you hereafter on the subject.
(addressed) I am Sir, Your obed^t. Servant.
Captⁿ Aylmer M.P. (Signed) R. R. W. Linger.
House of Commons.

"Sir, Treasury Chambers 11 April 1881.
"With further reference to your letter of the 17th ult I am directed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to inform you that a careful search has been made at the Bank of England for any entries relating to the payment made to American Loyalists in or about 1821 but that no trace can be found of any such accounts. My Lords have also caused the Treasury Papers deposited at the Public Record Office to be searched & I am to say that the only documents which can be found relating to Mr. R. W. Powell's

"claim is a formal approval in 1822 of a Power of Attorney so
"authorising Mr. John Hopkins to receive Mr. Powell's share (the
"amount of which is not however mentioned")

"You will of course understand that my Lords would not be
"warranted in entertaining any question of reopening a claim
"which has been settled or dropped for more than half a century
"without requiring production of the clearest evidence from the
"persons making it & that even if any claim was proved it
"would be a matter for the discretion of the Board whether it
"ought to be allowed after being dormant for so long a period.

"My Lords think it as well to give you this notice in order
to save you unnecessary correspondence.

(addressed)

I am Sir, Your obedient Servant

Captain Aylmer M.P.

(Signed) J. Cavendish

House of Commons—

Diligent search has been made by Mr. Chichester in the Offices
of several London Solicitors & Notaries Public and others without his
being able to discover any trace of the Power of Attorney referred to
by the Lords of the Treasury in their letter to Capt. Aylmer
of the 11th April 1881. In 1822 Mr. Powell was residing for a
short time in Paris & it is quite possible that he may have
executed a Power of Attorney to his Brother in Law John Hopkin
(by mistake called John Hopkins in the Treasury Letter) but Mr.
Chichester contends that in the absence of the document it may be
fairly assumed that such Power of Attorney was simply a Power
to enable the Attorney to receive for his constituent a certain sum
of money & not a power to enable him to compromise his claim
or to act generally on his behalf. Moreover it is stated in the
Treasury letter that it was a power "authorising" the person to whom
it was given "to receive Mr. Powell's share". But Mr. Chichester's
friends are of a different opinion & surprised by the Statement
made in the name of the Lords of the Treasury that the
Bank Books as well as the Treasury Minutes have disappeared
& that no trace can be discovered of any matter or thing
relating to the payments made to the Loyalists (55 in number)

are strongly impressed with the belief that it is in the power of Mr. Chichester by instituting legal proceedings to compel the production of the required documents.

Counsel is requested to advise Mr. Chichester whether any and what proceedings can be taken by him and against what persons for the purpose of obtaining production of the required documents & as to the course proper to be pursued under the circumstances.

Opinion.

If it could be shewn that the Droits received from the Lords of the Treasury for distribution amounted to a larger sum than the amount distributed, I think that proceedings might have been taken to compel the distribution of the whole amount and possibly such proceedings might be taken even now. But for this it is essential that it should be shewn that some part of the Droits destined for distribution have not been distributed. At ^{the} present time there is no evidence of this, perhaps the statement of Mr. Baring is evidence the other way, and I do not gather that enquiries have been specially directed to this point. I recommend that they should be. Except in the above way I do not think that any legal proceedings can be taken.

I do not think that on the facts stated the alleged Power of Attorney at all militates against Mr. Chichester's claim. Unless it is specially provided that Mr. Hopton was to have power to claim he would have no authority to do so. Probably the Power of Attorney was given simply as a justification to the Bank to pay the money to him, and the Bank has for this reason preserved it.

F. H. June,

2. Naper Buildings
Temple,

June 18/81.

Case with the Opinion
of
Mr. Justice
McLure.

I can raise some
money on my prospects
to commence the
war ~~and my prospects~~
~~and my prospects~~

~~and~~ you can have
it, therefore will
you kindly let me
know when and
where I can see
you tomorrow

Believe me
Yours sincerely
Jack Clancy

Private

THE CRAVEN HOTEL,
CRAVEN STREET,
STRAND.

Tuesday 12th April
1881

Dear O'Gorman,

I am very sorry
that I was late $\frac{1}{4}$ of an
hour the other day to
meet you, and at same
time have to thank
you for calling on Messrs
Parole and Fearon. I
wrote on line to you

senses but the Myosin
gave it back to me
the next day saying
you had gone and
that the Police man
on duty refused to
receive it, I have
been ill with gout
since otherwise would
have called at the
house to try and see
you, I have a great
deal to tell you and
I feel satisfied that

THE GRAVEN HOTEL.
GRAVEN STREET.
STRAND

~~the~~ Constituents of the West - Let me mention
 that having been ordered by Medical ^{authority}
 to ~~stop~~ travel in the south ~~of the~~ with the
 view of removing a Branchial abscess contracted
 during the last session of ~~Parliament~~
 and finding the recess too brief
 to admit of obedience I resolved on
~~trusting to chance~~ & returning to
 my post on the 25th Inst. when as
 you are aware Mr Gladstone the 2^d
 Reading of the Irish Land Bill
 will be proposed. I shall be
 glad to have the pleasure of the
 League & if they wish Rev. Mr. M. W. M.
~~may suggested~~ I trust they will be
~~to be effected~~ I trust they will be
 communicate they to me in
 time to me. These ~~concerns~~ of
 seems to be a ~~stupid~~ ~~stupid~~
 on the part of the ~~the~~ Saxon ~~Verdict~~
 If the People & Clergy ~~with~~ ^{confirms} ~~stick by the~~
 as they ought in ~~unanimous~~ support of the
 Land League, their speedy ~~triumph~~ is
 inevitable - I wish I could be with you
 at the meeting - Amongst the masses of
 the West I should feel myself in the midst of
 the ~~masses~~ of the Ancient Celtic race
 resident in our County - My own Kirk & Ben with

the very poorest of whom I am proud to claim my kinship in England as
 well as Ireland - kindly say - that you will be of the people
 of the West & of the people of the West & of the people of the West

Sand League Hall
 Kilmurry Brickans
 Branch
 12th April 1881.

Colonel The O'Gorman Mahan
 M. P.

Hon. Sir.

I beg most respectfully
 to invite you to the Sand League
 meeting at Mullough on the 24th inst.
 The men of Patriotic Clans which
 you so truly and faithfully
 represent in an alien Parliament
 would enthusiastically hail your
 venerable presence amongst
 them. Should you honour the
 men of West Clans by coming
 to their representative meeting
 to Mullough it would be an in

estimable source of encouragement to them in ~~that~~ in showing that our beaten Government has indignantly and fearlessly they repel with contempt that contemptuous Coercion ~~ag-~~ against, the passing of which you, with other noble Irishmen, combated undauntedly.

Everyman from Kilmurry to Loop Head wishes that you would be amongst them that day if possible. Messrs Finigan and Dillon M.P.'s are expected to attend. Contingents from a dozen Land League Branches are ~~expected~~ to attend.

in expectation that ye would be in attendance and show how ready with such noble and faithful men at their head they would assist in any emergency.

The Curate of the Parish is to take the Chair.

Many Local Clergy will head their respective Contingents.

I have the honor

Dear Sir to remain
Your most Obedient
Servant

J. J. Kelly -
Hon. Sec.

Address: Kilmurry Bog
Cape of Hope, Enghien les Bains, France & Dis - France

My friend
In reply to ~~your~~ kind letter of invitation for which
I ~~am~~ sincerely thank you and ~~very~~

Ennis April 26 21
1881

Colonell The oforman Mahon M-C

Colonell I would have writen sooner
and return you thanks for the Compliment
paid me by sending me the Land Bell
but I didnot know the proper address to
write to

Colonell I glory in you as a clare gentleman
yes I say every Clareman should feel proud
out of you for you nobly done your duty as
a faithfull and fear less friend of Ireland
Ireland - but Colonell we must not look
upon you as the Patriot of yesterday you
like a soldier a catholic and an Irishman
stood up for faith and country at a time
when it was treason to love and death to

depend for I say the Constitutional rights
which our modern Patriots and orators at
present enjoy to day are the results of your
Herculean labours won by you at the
risk of your life and it must be a source
of consolation to every sincere friend of yours
to find you crowning your long life with fresh
Laurels in the present struggle

Colonell it would be most ungratefull on
my part if I was not thankfull to you for
the deep interest you take in me a poor
man and many liberal compliments you
conferd upon shall never be forgotten by me
but all I can say that wealth nor station
would not purchase me from your standard

Believe me Colonell yours
ever faithfullly
Wm G. Constance
Secretary of Trade

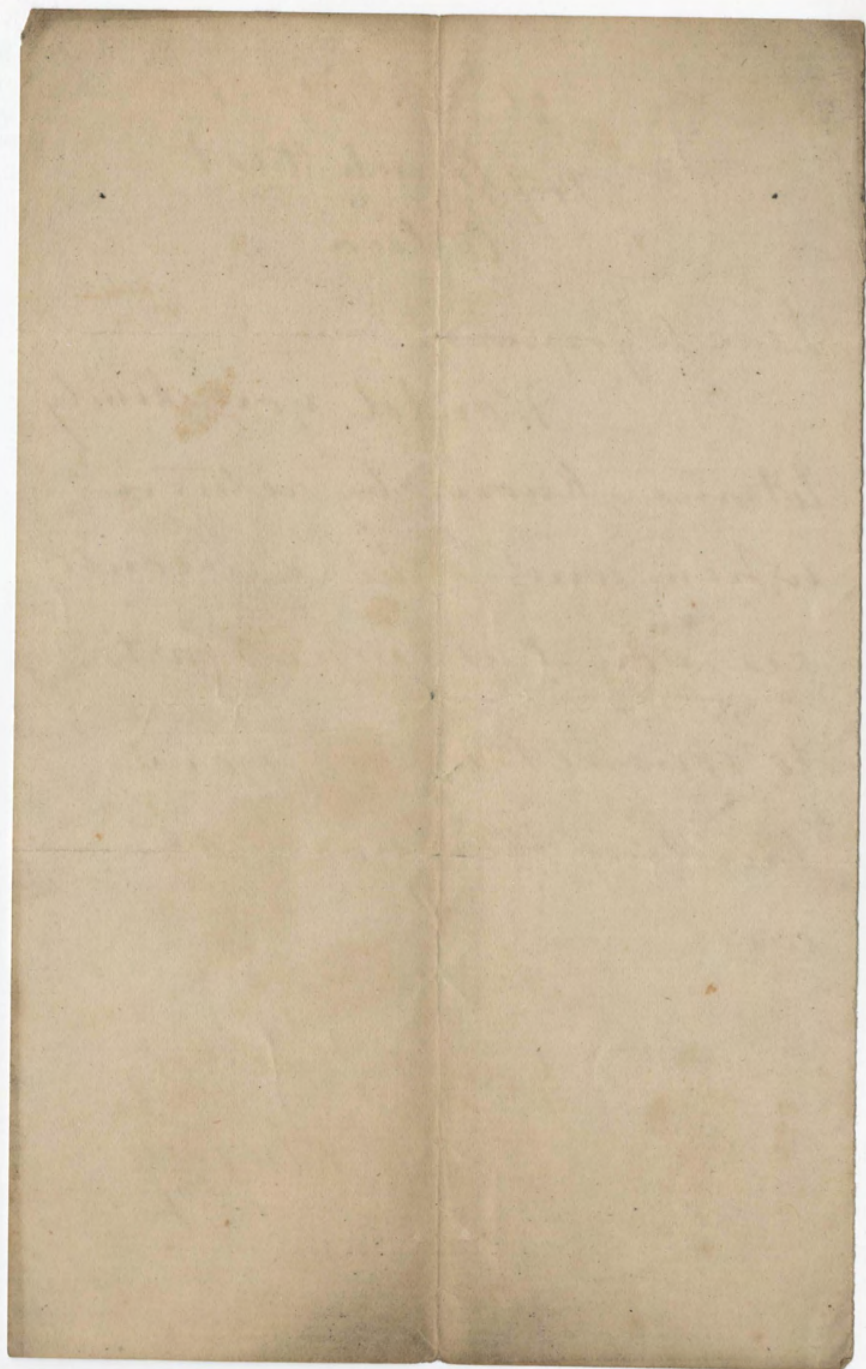
26th April 81
14th Church Street
Chelsea

Dear O'Gorman

Would you kindly
let me know by return
when and where I could
see you? as I want particularly
to consult with you
trusting that you are
well

Believe me

Yours Sincerely
Jack Clancy



heures avec vous. Il
m'a assuré avoir tant
en vous un bon et fidèle
ami pour la femme
En vous voyant
gémir lors de votre
départ. Je ne vous ai
pas renouvelé la
demande que je vous
avais faite. Je cédant
mais ne suis-ce que
quelques livres, je
vous serais mille fois
obligée. Je ne suis
avanç. Je n'ai resté
un paucinet de L^e

30. Bureau des Postes
Paris Mardi 26 Avril 81
Dearest Colonel,
Comment êtes-
vous arrivé? Comment
allez-vous? Et les vous
même, en ce moment?
Je suppose qu'aujourd'hui
vous avez repris vos occupations
politiques, mais surtout
soignez-vous bien. Je vous ai
en vue. Je vous ai
trouvé bien fatigué

et je crains que votre
voyage à Paris ne vous
ait par trop fatigué.
Enfin, l'essentiel c'est
que vous soyez arrivé
sain et sauf à Londres.

Julien n'a pas
encore contredit que je ne
sois pas allé jusqu'au
magasin; comme
c'est lui qui a la
caisse, et certainement
il aurait pu vous
dispenser de l'encre
que vous avez en en

quittant Paris. Mon Dieu quel
cœur, David. C'est moi, infatigable
de, une mèche, dans la tête
que vous êtes venu, que je vous ai
reçu, que je vous ai restauré
et que j'ai fait, toujours si bon
pour vous, toujours si bon
pour vous, toujours si bon
pour vous. Mon Dieu a été
si ingénieux de vous avoir donné
honneur, David, j'ai pu

à faire à Lincoln, le 30^e 11881
Benitt & Co serais
des plus honnêtes d'être
finis. Nous avons si
peu de chance dans
les opérations commerciales
que nous ne pourrions
vraiment pas y
pouvoir. Serois bien
que ce ne soit qu'un
prêt que vous me
ferez et qu'aussitôt
que mes économies
seront refaites, je vous
rembourserai.

Dans ma prochaine

Lettre je vous enverrai
la mèche souvenue,
j'en ferai une petite
brosse, selon votre
désir

Au revoir, bien cher
Colonel, je vous
embrasse de grand
cœur, et suis toujours

Votre enfant très-
affectionnée

Anna
L

CONFIDENTIAL.FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

Head Offices.

42, GRESHAM STREET, LONDON, E.C.

West End Branch.

53, CONDUIT STREET, REGENT STREET, W.

Branch Offices, England.

BIRMINGHAM—EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, NEW ST.

LIVERPOOL—71, LORD STREET.

MANCHESTER—14, BROWN STREET.

BRISTOL—4, BRISTOL CHAMBERS.

BRIGHTON—23, PRINCE ALBERT STREET.

BRADFORD, YORKS—1, BOOTH STREET.

GLOUCESTER—6, COLLEGE COURT.

LEEDS—6, SOUTH PARADE.

SOUTHAMPTON—150, HIGH STREET.

SHEFFIELD—85, QUEEN STREET.

NORWICH—POST OFFICE STREET.

NEWCASTLE—32, GRAINGER STREET, WEST.

PORTSMOUTH—85, HIGH STREET.

Ireland.

DUBLIN—1, COLLAGE STREET.

BELFAST—55, VICTORIA STREET.

CORK—70, SOUTH MALL.

Scotland.

GLASGOW—21, ST. VINCENT PLACE.

EDINBURGH—COCKBURN STREET.

With Agents and Correspondents throughout
the Kingdom, on the Continent of Europe,
and in the United States of America
and the British Colonies.

Telegraphic Address:
"STUBBS LONDON."

Ref. No. *4/12824.*

F.D.R. No.

Stubbs' Mercantile Offices,

Please address your reply
to "Foreign Department."

*42, Gresham Street,*London, E.C. *29th April 1881.**Sir*

We should esteem it a favor if
you would kindly forward us the address of
M^{rs} Choquet late of Cambrai last
present in Paris. As a letter addressed
by us to Cambrai has been returned
through the Dead Letter office marked 'Gone
to Paris'

Thanking you in anticipation
We remain

*Yours**Yours faithfully*

Stubbs & Co
John D. Kelly

Col Gorman M.P.
Hanover Square Club
S.W.

CONFIDENTIAL FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

Rel. No. 4/12834
F.D.R. No.

Stamps, Mercantile Offices

12, Graham Street

Please address your reply to "Foreign Department"

London, E.C. 2 27th March 1881

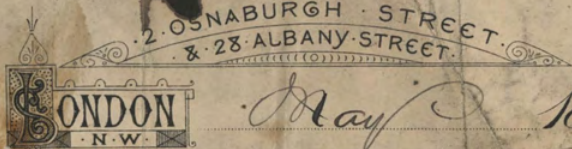
Head Office.
42, GERRARD STREET, LONDON, W.
West End Branch.
St. George's Street, LONDON, W.
Branch Office, England.
BRISTOL—1, BRISTOL STREET.
BIRMINGHAM—1, BIRMINGHAM STREET.
GLoucester—1, COLLEGE STREET.
LONDON—1, COLLEGE STREET.
MANCHESTER—1, BROAD STREET.
NEWCASTLE—1, BROAD STREET.
NORWICH—1, BROAD STREET.
SHEFFIELD—1, BROAD STREET.
SOUTHAMPTON—1, BROAD STREET.
TOTTENHAM—1, BROAD STREET.
YORK—1, BROAD STREET.
Ireland.
DUBLIN—1, COLLEGE STREET.
LONDON—1, COLLEGE STREET.
GLoucester—1, COLLEGE STREET.
Scotland.
GLASGOW—1, COLLEGE STREET.
EDINBURGH—1, COLLEGE STREET.
With Agents and Correspondents throughout the Kingdom, on the Continent of Europe, and in the United States of America, and the British Colonies.

Telegraphic Address: STUBBS LONDON

My dear Sir,
I have the pleasure to inform you that the
Stamps, Mercantile Offices, 12, Graham Street,
London, E.C. 2, have been established.
I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours faithfully,
John D. Stubbs



ESTABLISHED 1837.



May 1881

Col. The O. Forman Mahon M. P.

49 Portman St.

D^r to · JNO: B · LANCASTER ·
· MANUFACTURING · CHEMIST ·

Maker of "The Gilded Pill": The Original American Stoughton Bitters:
· LANCASTER'S · Celebrated · Zinc · Cream · Old English · Lavender Water · &c · &c ·

To be delivered

£ 5. 14. 10



Received with thanks
Aug 10th 81.

J. B. Lancaster



Much needed to stir up
the people of West. Clare.
And not have it any longer
said of them that they have
not done their duty towards
the principles of the Land
League

We would suggest your
next business to be soon. in
a near future, for you to say
what the date of your
convenience would permit
and then we will have
arrangements for your reception
so your time at present is so
essential in Parliament. I
hope you will confer with
your Brother Cuthy and
Borough Members and
we have fixed date

as there was never needed to
have a meeting so much as
at present.

Awaiting your reply
I remain Hon. Sir
Your Obedient Servant

Joseph Kell

Don See

Copy reply
H of Commons May 17. 1887
Dear Sir
My friends
Colleague Captain O'Shea have postponed
replying to your letter of the 14th
instant until we should have
some ^{more} certain information regarding
the proposed Land Bill to justify us
in ~~conveying any~~ ^{conveying any} suggestion to
do important a section of our
County Land ^{at the recent meeting}
League as that proposed ^{by the}
very Rev. Dr. Duggan and at which
your ~~valuable~~ ^{valuable} service by acting as
Mr Gladstone's powerful and eloquent
address

and not have it any longer
said of them, that they have
not done their duty towards
the principles of the Land
League and not having
the pleasure of your presence
since the time of your election
the people of West-Clare
would be most happy, to
again have the pleasure
of meeting you

We would suggest, your
next visit, or sooner
in a near future, for you
to fix and we will have
our arrangements made
to receive you.

Please confer with your
Brethren members, of
the Bunk, and Borough

on the matter, as there
was no time in the past a
Meeting was needed so much
Awaiting your reply
I remain Yrs. Sir
Your Obedient Servant

Joseph. Kett
Hon. Sec

Kilrush Co Clare

The Chief will answer this
letter for the 2 popular
members

Your sincere & old
friend

Wm. Allen Synges



~~The Press,
Guildford.~~

27 Young Street,
Rensington Square
May 9th 1881.

My dear F. Gorman

What years since
we have met —!
I live in Surrey; but
Thurber's daughter

has lent me her
house here for
a fortnight -

If you should
ever be in this
neighbourhood it
would be a real

pleasure to my wife
& daughter to see
you.

If not, I will
come & see you
some day at the
house if you
have not forgotten

Recd
May 18. 81

are personal friends of
mine, and that I heard
your noble expression, when
standing on the window
parapet of O'Brien's Hotel
in Miltown, in the pouring
rain, "Here is the head that
never feared a shower of
rain, and here is the chest
that never feared a Paris
Bullet" - I hope you will
for the sake of the old country
& the national cause, not
turn a deaf ear to my
appeal. Am truly qualified
highest testimonials & references.

I remain

Dear Sir

Yours faithfully M. H. Molohan

Rail Sub office

May. B. S. O

Breconshire

15th May 81.

Col. The Oghman Mahon
M.S.

Sir

Though never having
had the honour of an
introduction to you, I
beg you will excuse the
liberty I take in writing
to ask if you would
use your influence

to obtain for me an
Appointment, as Surgeon
on board a Steamer
bound for a long voyage.

My health, in consequence
of a heavy winter's work
in a rough country practice,
has within the past few
months been very indifferent,
& would, I am confident,
be rapidly restored by a
long voyage. Direct
application to Shipping
firms is of little avail

in consequence of the
number of applicants.

All my friends in Clare
were warm supporters of
yours. When I mention
that my father & forefathers
were tenants to the Nation,
and that Charley Mahon
the present Sub Sheriff
of the County, spent all
his boyhood summers
in my father's house, and
that Dr. Hill, Miltown Mallon
and Father Ned O'Shaughnessy

PARLIAMENTARY OATHS AND AFFIRMATIONS.

SPEECH delivered at the CITY BRANCH of the
CHURCH DEFENCE INSTITUTION, 25 May, 1881,
by the RIGHT HON. J. G. HUBBARD, M.P.

I CAN imagine no subject more grave, or more entitled to command the attention of this meeting, than that which I select as my theme in opening this evening's session of the "City" Church Defence Institution.

Charles Bradlaugh, returned by the electors of Northampton, presented himself at the table of the House of Commons on the 2nd May, 1880, and claimed to be allowed to affirm in virtue of the Evidence Amendment Acts, which enable persons "upon whose conscience an Oath has no binding effect, to give evidence in Courts of Justice upon an Affirmation."

This claim of Mr. Bradlaugh, referred to a Committee of the House, was negatived, and thereupon Mr. Bradlaugh again presented himself at the table of the House—this time—to take and subscribe the Oath. He was stayed from doing this, and his claim to take the Oath was referred to another Committee, which, on 16th June, 1880, decided "that the compliance by Mr. Bradlaugh with the form used when an Oath is taken would not be the taking of an Oath within the meaning of the statutes, and that the House could and ought to prevent his going through the form," but concluded by recommending "that he be permitted to affirm, in order that his right to do so might be determined by the Law Courts."

Upon the discussion of this Report, it was moved by Mr. Labouchere that he be permitted to affirm; but the House, by 275 against 230, approved Sir Hardinge Giffard's amendment

(on the 23rd June, 1880), "That, having regard to the anterior proceedings, Mr. Bradlaugh be permitted neither to take the Oath nor affirm." This Resolution was (on the 2nd July) set aside by the motion carried by the Prime Minister (with a majority of 54), "That every person *claiming* to be a person '*entitled to affirm*' shall be permitted to affirm without question, but subject to any liability by statute."

Thereupon Mr. Bradlaugh made and subscribed the affirmation prescribed in The Parliamentary Oaths Act 1866 and 1868. Having thereafter sat and voted, proceedings were instituted against him for the recovery of the penalties which he had incurred. The result of the proceedings was, that all the judges before whom the case was argued, viz., Mr. Justice Matthew in the Court of Queen's Bench, and in the Court of Appeal, Judges Bramwell, Bagallay, Lush, Brett, and Cotton concurred in deciding—"that Charles Bradlaugh was not a person by law permitted to affirm," that his having given evidence on affirmation in Courts of Justice had no relevance to his claim to make the affirmation prescribed as a qualification for a Member of Parliament, and that he had incurred the penalty attached to the omission of the oath by any one who (being neither Quaker, Moravian, nor Separatist) was not "a Quaker or other person by law permitted to affirm."

During the course of these proceedings, and while his appeal against this sentence was still pending, on April 1st, 1881, a new writ for Northampton was issued on the ground that Mr. Bradlaugh had vacated his seat by not taking the oath required by Parliament. Thereupon Mr. Bradlaugh again sought and obtained re-election. Presenting himself at the table of the House on the 26 April, and proposing to take the Oath, Sir Stafford Northcote interposed to prevent his so doing, and in reply to cries of "order" the Speaker declared "that having regard to the former resolutions of the House, and to the Reports of the Committees in reference to this matter, he could not withhold from the House the opportunity of expressing its judgment upon the new conditions under which the Oath is now proposed to be taken."

With this sanction Sir Stafford Northcote moved and carried

by 208 to 175, "That Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of repeating the words of the Oath."

Mr. Bradlaugh, entering the House and refusing to withdraw in obedience to the direction of the Speaker or the House, was forcibly removed.

On the 10th May, Mr. Bradlaugh again forcing his way into the House, the House resolved, upon the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote, "That the Sergeant-at-Arms do remove Mr. Bradlaugh from the House until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House."

At this stage of the affair the Government proposed to terminate the alleged difficulty by legislation, and on the 2nd May the Attorney-General moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the laws relating to Parliamentary Oaths; the motion was opposed, and to this day leave has not been given, and our purpose is to consider what justification the Government have for their proposal. The grounds alleged for this measure are the following:—

1. It is to obviate a continued struggle between the House and Mr. Bradlaugh;
2. It is to avoid a denial of electoral rights to the borough of Northampton;
3. It is to extinguish the last remains of religious tests.

These primary objections are easily disposed of:

1. The struggle between Mr. Bradlaugh and the House is ended by the irresistible order of the House, which excludes him from its precincts, and until the expiry of this Parliament will ensure immunity from his intrusion unless the Resolution be rescinded.

2. Temporarily Northampton is represented by one member instead of two, and for that grievance, if it be one, the electors of Northampton have themselves alone to blame. Like every other constituency they are unfettered in their choice of a representative, but their elect must qualify himself for his seat by assuming the responsibility of the office through one of the forms appointed by law, and according to the sense in which they were appointed. They knew at the last election, from the resolutions of the House, taken in connexion with the decisions

of the Law Courts, that Mr. Bradlaugh had been pronounced incapable of taking either Oath or Affirmation, and their re-electing him with that knowledge entailed the inevitable consequence of his rejection. It would be supremely ridiculous to gratify Northampton by affronting every respectable constituency in the United Kingdom.

3. The Oath and Affirmation now obligatory upon every member of the Legislature are not religious tests, distinguishing between one religion and another; they are the forms in which allegiance to the Crown is plighted by men of all religions.

The Oath (to be taken by every Member at the table of the house whilst a full House of Commons is sitting, with their Speaker in his chair) runs thus—

I *do swear* that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors according to law, *so help me God.*

From this brief and simple form no one is excepted unless he be a Quaker, Moravian, or Separatist, whose objection is founded not on their denial of God but on their holding God and His Name in such reverence that they decline to invoke Him even for the most solemn and serious purpose, and require, that as made in His presence, a full reliance should be placed on their Affirmation, distinguished from the Oath by the substitution for the words “do swear” of the words “do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm,” and by the omission of the words “so help me God.”

As the existing Oath and Affirmation are not tests, neither are they the remains of intolerance. Their wise and enlightened purpose is to require from all admitted to the responsible duty of legislating for “the advancement of God’s glory, the good of His church, and the safety, honour, and welfare of the sovereign,” that guarantee for the truth of their asseveration, which is conveyed in the recognition of a supreme Being—expressly invoked in the Oath and emphatically recognised in the scrupulous reverence which induced the omission of God’s Name from the solemn Affirmation.

The precise form of the proposed Oaths Amendment Bill is not yet published, but the Attorney-General explains that it

consists in an extension of the fourth section of the Act of 1866, so as to enable any one to make the affirmation now assigned to “Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists.” I do earnestly trust that the descendants of the brave and God-fearing Quakers, who, suffering for conscience’ sake, won by their constancy the privilege they sought, will resent this attempt to confound their punctilious observance of God’s written Word with the contemptuous rejection of God and His Word, and place Atheists and Quakers in the same category. Yet this attempt has received through the unsanctioned publication of a private letter the incautious but powerful advocacy of the Lord Chancellor. Those who, from their recollection of Roundell Palmer, respect and esteem Lord Selborne, will readily accept his assurance of horror at Mr. Bradlaugh’s opinions, they will feel that nothing but a sense of justice which he pleads as due alike to Christian and Infidel would have evoked his advocacy of an odious cause, and they will with him rejoice to find that this advocacy is warranted neither by the facts of the case, by the law of England, nor by the law of equity.

I proceed to establish this proposition.

“It does not appear to me,” writes Lord Selborne, “just to assert against one particular man (however bad he may be) a power in the House of Commons to test the sincerity of an Oath which he *appears* to take in the manner prescribed by law—by an extrinsic evidence of his actual belief or disbelief.”

The conclusion would be correct, if the premisses were correct, but *they are not* correct.

Mr. Bradlaugh did not propose to take the Oath in the manner prescribed by law, for the law requires not only that certain words be recited but that they be uttered in the sense and intention of the Oath, and the sense and intention Mr. Bradlaugh had unmistakeably disavowed. No “extrinsic evidence” was required or alleged. Mr. Bradlaugh’s original claim to affirm as “a person upon whose conscience an Oath would have no binding effect” was conclusive upon the point of his disbelief, and had any doubt remained it would have been dispelled by Mr. Bradlaugh’s manifesto of the 20th May designing the Oath as an *idle and unmeaning form*. This manifesto was in the

hands of the Members of the House when Mr. Bradlaugh on the 21st May presented himself to take the Oath. The power of prevention then for the first time asserted by the House had truly *no precedent*, but truly also "there was no precedent of a Member coming to the table and intimating that an Oath would not as an Oath be binding on his conscience."

That this unprecedented conduct of Mr. Bradlaugh justified the intervention of the House may be maintained upon the dictum of Mr. Gladstone, that "taking the Oath in connection with the declaration that the words were of no value *was not* taking the Oath at all," a conclusion accepted also by Sir Henry James on the 21st June, 1880.

The contention that the House should have looked on complacently while Mr. Bradlaugh was reciting a form of words which to him were no Oath at all, because there was no precedent to guide them, is simply monstrous. No Englishmen could calmly permit their earthly sovereign to be insulted, still less could they tolerate an outrage to their heavenly King, and by their acquiescence be accomplices in an act of defiant profanity. "To take God's name in vain" is forbidden in the Decalogue, and the supercession of the third commandment by a parliamentary resolution would be but the first step towards the abrogation of other commandments exceedingly irksome to those who are aggrieved by the restraint of God's laws upon the indulgence of their vices and evil passions.

"Binding on his conscience" is a phrase constantly occurring in immediate connection with Mr. Bradlaugh's disavowal of a Supreme Being. A claim to having a conscience and a disclaimer of God's existence are self-destructive propositions. Conscience is the mind of man guided by God's spirit. The voice, the warnings, the reproofs of conscience, are the voice, the warnings, the reproofs of God. If there be no God, there can be no conscience; and if a man professing Atheism asserts that he too has a conscience—for he feels and obeys its motions his averment, if true, means this, that in him also, though he disowns it, God's Spirit moves, for God left not himself without a witness in the mind of any man made in His image. Intellectual pride and persistent wilful sin may silence and expel the

Spirit; but in the mind of man so deserted, as there is no God, so there can be no conscience.

Lord Selborne's remark that "if it be wrong to admit unbelievers to share in civil government our laws ought to be made practically efficacious for that purpose, which every one knows they are not," is equivalent to saying that because you cannot read men's hearts and test the sincerity of their promises upon the most sacred and important matters you should abrogate all the sanctions which lend to those promises their solemnity and force, and through the appeal to a higher power secure the fidelity of him who promises. The denial of any power other and higher than himself cancels all responsibility and leaves a man free (whatever he may have promised) to follow the course which he deems most conducive to his personal advantage and present enjoyment.

It has been alleged, that when Mr. Bradlaugh returned to the House on the 26th April from his second election, he appeared and should have been treated as a new man. The history of the case leads to a different opinion. Mr. Bradlaugh's identity had not altered, nor had the House whom Mr. Bradlaugh insulted been changed. This Parliament has been treated by him with unexampled indignity; and by this Parliament his offence can never be condoned. The continuity of the parliamentary incident, and the justification legally and morally of the House to take the course it has pursued, are definitely established by the Speaker's deliberate decision upon the 20th May.

Mr. Collins, newly returned from Knaresborough, presented himself to take the Oath, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson interposed with a view to questioning him. Mr. Collins took the Oath, notwithstanding the interposition, with the approval of the Speaker, who explained his reason in these words:—

"The hon. Member for Knaresborough presented himself at the Table of the House to take the Oath of allegiance, as prescribed by the Parliamentary Oaths Act, according to the usual practice of this House. It had been reported to me, no doubt, that the hon. Baronet, the Member for Carlisle, intended to interpose, and I had determined that it was my duty, in case any interposition was offered by the hon. Baronet, or by any

other Member of this House, not to allow such interposition. I wish to point out to the House that the case of the hon. Member for Northampton was essentially different, that the hon. Member himself raised the questions which demanded the consideration of the House, and led to those proceedings with which the House is familiar. Had he in the first instance presented himself to take the oath, as the hon. Member for Knaresborough has done to-day, I should not have permitted any Member to interpose, and I am persuaded in so doing I have taken the course that is consistent with my duties to this House."

These well considered words must definitively close the discussion of this painful episode in our Parliamentary history—expressing as they do the impartial judgment of an authority from which there is no appeal.

In view of this authority it will be a relief to Lord Selborne to find that he can retract his charge of injustice against the House of Commons, who, fulfilling a public duty and acting within their legal rights, have thus far maintained the dignity of the Legislature and averted the perpetration of a flagrant dishonour to Almighty God.

These remarks are based exclusively upon occurrences passing within the House of Commons, but they should suffice wherever known to excite a determined protest against any legislation calculated to impair the serious and solemn responsibility which should attend admission to the Imperial Legislature.

30. Avenue Des Gobelins

Paris, 27 Mai

[1881]

Cher Colonel,

Je suis depuis
huit jours encore une
fois dans mon lit, frisé
d'une ardeur pulmonique.
Néanmoins je vous vous
griffonner deux mots au
sujet de ma Dernière
lettre. Je me désole de
plus en plus en voyant

approcher le 4 février,
car il nous sera de
toute impossibilité
de rembourser ces Messieurs
dont je ne me rappelle
ni le nom ni l'adresse.
Mon Mari est femme
jeu de me voir si
souffrante & tracassé
par ses affaires. Un
mot je vous prie; je
prie ma Sœur qui me
soigne de me laisser
écrire dans mon lit
bien que je n'en ai

pas la force. J'attends
deux lignes de vous et
toujours à vous pour le
m. Si au moins je
pourrais me guérir!

Votre enfant

Anne

35 King Street
Westminster
30 May 1881

My Dear Sir,

In reply to your favor
of the 26th Inst., I am quite satisfied
if you had power in the direction
sought. You would not be found
wanting.

I have now made my
arrangements to leave for Melbourne
in the Orient Steamer, and would
wish very much for a line of
introduction to Sir Brian Langhorne
from the pen of our Veteran Patriot

Yours faithfully

Frank M. Fairbairn

— Care of Mr. J. Byrne —

33 This
the
3

My dear Mr.

I have just received your
letter of the 25th and am
glad to hear from you.
I am well and hope this
letter finds you the same.
I have not much news to
write at present. I am
very busy with my work.
I will write again soon.
Yours truly,
J. B. [Signature]

30. Avenue des Gobelins

Paris 31 Mai 81

Dearest Clotel,

J'ai reçu ce matin
votre journal; pour la
première fois depuis quinze
jours je viens de me lever,
il fait un temps superbe.

Je ne sais si vous avez
reçu mes deux dernières
lettres, mais je me mors

D'inquiétude en voyant
arriver le 4 juin. Maman
est ici depuis quelques
jours. Très-triste, vous
savez de la sorte des choses
qu'elle a faites, sans cela
elle aurait dû répondre
pour les malheureux J. J.
Je vous en prie un mot!
Si encore il était le
moment d'en toucher
venant des parents de
Julien; mais non il n'est

pas encore temps.
Mettez-moi au courant,
je vous en supplie parce
que je ne vis plus. Si
je suis bien portante à
la fin de juillet
j'irai à Londres et
me mettrai en règle
pour avoir le maudit
argent. J'attends
quelques lignes de
vous, je ne sais où
vous êtes. Toujours à vous
Aime