

AcN

3089

**SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S LIBRARY
PUNE 411 004
FOR INTERNAL CIRCULATION**

To be returned on or before the last date stamped below.

20 MAY 2002

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH

~ A RECORD OF HIS LIFE
AND WORK BY HIS DAUGHTER
HYPATIA BRADLAUGH BONNER

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
HIS PARLIAMENTARY
STRUGGLE, POLITICS
AND TEACHINGS, BY
JOHN M. ROBERTSON

VOL. I

LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN
PATERNOSTER SQUARE. 1898

V3y7M33

C8-1

FOURTH EDITION.

3084

PREFACE.

"I WISH you would tell me things, and let me write the story of your life," I said in chatting to my father one evening about six weeks before his death. "Perhaps I will, some day," he answered. "I believe I could do it better than any one else," I went on, with jesting vanity. "I believe you could," he rejoined, smiling. But to write the story of Mr Bradlaugh's life with Mr Bradlaugh at hand to give information is one thing: to write it after his death is quite another. The task has been exceptionally difficult, inasmuch as my father made a point of destroying his correspondence; consequently I have very few letters to help me.

This book comes to the public as a record of the life and work of a much misrepresented and much maligned man, a record which I have spared no effort to make absolutely accurate. Beyond this it makes no claim.

For the story of the public life of Mr Bradlaugh from 1880 to 1891, and for an exposition of his teachings and opinions, I am fortunate in having the assistance of J. M. Robertson. We both feel that the book throughout goes more into detail and is more controversial than is usual or generally desirable with biographies. It has, however, been necessary to enter into details, because the most trivial acts of Mr Bradlaugh's life have been misrepresented, and for these misrepresentations, not for his acts, he has been condemned. Controversy we have desired to avoid, but it has not been altogether possible. In dealing with strictures on Mr Bradlaugh's conduct or opinions, it is not sufficient to say that they are without

justification; one must show how and where the error lies, and where possible, the source of error. Hence the defence to an attack, to our regret, often unavoidably assumes a controversial aspect.

A drawback resulting from the division of labour in the composition of the book is that there are a certain number of repetitions. We trust, however, that readers will agree with us in thinking that the gain of showing certain details in different relations outweighs the fault of a few re-iterations.

In quoting Mr Bradlaugh's words from the *National Reformer*, I have for the sake of greater clearness and directness altered the editorial plural to the first person singular.

I desire to express here my great indebtedness to Mrs Mary Reed for her help, more especially in searching old newspaper files with me at the British Museum.

HYPATIA BRADLAUGH BONNER.

1894.

CONTENTS.

Part 1.

BY HYPATIA BRADLAUGH BONNER.

VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE AND CHILDHOOD PAGE 1

Origin of the Bradlaugh family—James Bradlaugh—Charles Bradlaugh, senr.—His marriage—Birth of Charles Bradlaugh—Needy circumstances of the family—Character and tastes of his father—Character of his mother—Schooling—Handwriting—Amusements—Early lessons in politics.

CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOD 7

Charles Bradlaugh as office-boy—Wharf clerk and cashier—Politics at Bonner's Fields—Sunday School—The Rev. J. G. Packer—Suspended from duties as Sunday School teacher—Bonner's Fields on Sunday—Mrs Sharples Carlile—The Warner Street Temperance Hall—A teetotaler—Mr Packer's methods—An angry father—The ultimatum—Leaving home—Mr Packer's responsibility.

CHAPTER III.

YOUTH 17

Alone in the world—B. B. Jones—A youthful "coal merchant"—The baker's wife—Selling braces—Mrs Carlile offers a home—"A little Hebrew and an imperfect smattering of other tongues"—Hypatia Carlile—Brother and sister—Youthful oratory—The *British Banner*—Austin Holyoake—George Jacob Holyoake—The first pamphlet—A "season's campaign."

CHAPTER IV.		PAGE
ARMY LIFE		25
<p>Poverty, hunger, and debt—Enlisting for the East India service—Enrolled in the 50th Foot—Transferred to the 7th Dragoon Guards—Family reconciliation—The father's changed character—Troubles at sea—Temperance advocacy under difficulties—"Leaves"—At Rathmines Church—A right-of-way—A new officer—Donnybrook Fair—An Irish tragedy.</p>		
CHAPTER V.		
ARMY LIFE CONCLUDED		35
<p>The father's death—Letters home—Death of Miss Elizabeth Trimby—Mother and Daughter—Purchasing his discharge—Advantages derived from Army life—James Thomson.</p>		
CHAPTER VI.		
MARRIAGE		41
<p>Changes at home—A soldier in search of work—With Mr Rogers, of 70 Fenchurch Street—Anonymous busybodies again—"Iconoclast"—The Hooper family—Old letters—Poetry—Calumnies refuted—Common-sense justice—First recorded lawsuit—Marriage—My sister's birth—My mother.</p>		
CHAPTER VII.		
HYDE PARK MEETINGS, 1855		52
<p>The new Sunday Bill—In Hyde Park—"Go to Church"—Hyde Park again—The Bill abandoned—The Royal Commission—Mr Bradlaugh's evidence.</p>		
CHAPTER VIII.		
THE ORSINI ATTEMPT		62
<p>Lecturing and writing—"The Bible: what it is"—Arrest of Edward Truelove—Felice Orsini—Simon Bernard—Thomas Allsop—"Thorough"—Recollections of W. E. Adams.</p>		
CHAPTER IX.		
EARLY LECTURES AND DEBATES		72
<p>Provincial lectures—First visit to Northampton—President of the London Secular Society—Robert Owen's last paper—<i>The Investigator</i>—Political meetings—Hyde Park—Guildhall—Debates: Thomas Cooper—Rev. Brewin Grant—Dr Mensor—Rev. T. D. Matthias—Mr Court—John Smart.</p>		

CONTENTS.

ix

CHAPTER X.

HARD TIMES	PAGE 90
The Manchester poisoning case—Mr Harvey—Rheumatic fever—Elysium Villa—My brother's birth—Kate—Railway journeys—A lecturer's profits—An editor's profits.	

CHAPTER XI.

A CLERICAL LIBELLER	99
An article clerk—The Naples Colour Company—Financial operations—"Black Friday"—Sunderland Villa—The Rev. Hugh M'Sorley.	

CHAPTER XII.

TOTTENHAM	108
Our home—James Thomson ("B.V.")—Harriet Bradlaugh—Father and children.	

CHAPTER XIII.

THE "NATIONAL REFORMER"	119
The <i>National Reformer</i> Company—The coming of Joseph Barker—Turkish baths and Secularism—The difficulties of a dual editorship—A house divided—Sole editor—G. J. Holyoake as chief contributor—More difficulties—Arbitration—Messrs Smith and Son's boycott—John Watts as editor—My father resumes—The <i>Saturday Review</i> —"B.V." replies—The Rev. Charles Voysey: 1868 and 1880.	

CHAPTER XIV.

THE "NATIONAL REFORMER" AND THE GOVERNMENT PROSECUTIONS	137
Prosecution of <i>National Reformer</i> by Mr Disraeli's Government—"Published in defiance of Her Majesty's Government"—The Act of James I.—Collapse of the prosecution—The Press—The Rev. J. Page Hopps—Prosecution of <i>National Reformer</i> by Mr Gladstone's Government—Abandonment of the prosecution—John Stuart Mill—Repeal of the odious Security laws—The Postmaster-General and the <i>National Reformer</i> .	

CHAPTER XV.

ITALY	152
Earning money for Garibaldi—Mazzini—An eloquent passport—Police espionage—Carrying despatches—An American sees "fair play"—The police and the Life Assurance Companies.	

CHAPTER XVI.

PLATFORM WORK, 1860-1861	PAGE 158
------------------------------------	-------------

Debate with the Rev. B. Grant at Bradford—Dr Brindley—Pursuing Mr Bradlaugh to New York—Debates with Dr Baylee and others—"Extended propaganda"—The *Wigan Examiner*—Mr Hutchings—Dispensing "justice" to the Atheist—More debates—Norwich and Yarmouth—The Yarmouth Magistrates.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DEVONPORT CASE, 1861.	175
-----------------------------------	-----

The speech in Devonport Park—Opening a fortnight's campaign—Arrest—Imprisonment—The Guildhall—A marine adventure—The case against Superintendent Edwards—Mr Robert Collier, Q.C., M.P.—Mr Montagu Smith, Q.C.—An unjust judge—The Court of Common Pleas—Lord Chief Justice Erle—Mr Justice Keating—The Court of Appeal.

CHAPTER XVIII.

"KILL THE INFIDEL"	189
------------------------------	-----

Religious liberty at Guernsey—Challenging the island authorities—Bill-posting extraordinary—"Kill the Infidel"—An infuriated crowd and a shrewd landlady—The courageous Harbour Master—"An act of natural justice."

CHAPTER XIX.

PROVINCIAL ADVENTURES, 1860-1863	194
--------------------------------------------	-----

Altrincham—Shaw—Sunderland—Rochdale—The Bellman of Leigh—Warrington Journalism—Dunfries—Burnley—Chesterfield—Counter attractions at Worksop—At Boardman's Edge, discussion precedes the lecture—The Dewsbury poster—Leeds—A dream of Voltaire.

CHAPTER XX.

A FREEMASON	203
-----------------------	-----

The Philadelphs—The Grand Lodge of England—The Prince of Wales as Grand Master—"To the oppressed of all Nations"—Joshua B. Smith as Junior Warden to the Adelphi Lodge—"Ill winds" that blow good to a Masonic charity.

CONTENTS.

xi

CHAPTER XXI.

DEBATES, 1860-1866 PAGE
207

The Rev. W. Barker—Thomas Cooper—A frank avowal—The Rev. Woodville Woodman again—Mr Porteous—A one-sided debate—Mr Porteous again.

CHAPTER XXII.

“THE WORLD IS MY COUNTRY ; TO DO GOOD IS MY RELIGION” 214

Sympathy with Garibaldi—Irish Catholic Opposition—An attempt to stab Mr Bradlaugh—Lancashire distress—“Viva la Polonia”—Death of B. E. Jones—Sheffield inundation—Help for the needy—A Hall of Science Company.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REFORM LEAGUE, 1866-1868 220

The National Reform League—Primrose Hill—Trafalgar Square—Sir Richard Mayne's prohibition—The Derby Cabinet—Hyde Park—Another prohibition—Fall of the Hyde Park railings—Agricultural Hall—Bristol—Attacks upon Mr Bradlaugh—Northampton—Luton—Matthew Arnold casts his stone—On horseback at Trafalgar Square—Agricultural Hall again—The *Saturday Review* and its followers—Hyde Park again—The Government “admonition” served and withdrawn—Mr Bradlaugh's resignation—Its result.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROVINCIAL LECTURING, 1866-1869 238

The Mayor of Liverpool—David King—Huddersfield: Arrest; Release; Before the Magistrates—The Rev. J. M'Cann—Huddersfield again—The Murphy riots at Manchester—The New Hall of Science—Blyth and Mr Thomas Burt—The “infidel” on Portsea Common—The people who loved my father—A liberal priest.

CHAPTER XXV.

IRELAND 252

English Misgovernment—The Fenian Brotherhood—Colonel Kelly and General Cluseret—The Irish proclamation of 1867—The Manchester rescue—The death sentence—The Clerkenwell explosion—Pamphlet on “the Irish Question”—A Quakers' discussion society—Lectures on behalf of Ireland—A visit to Dublin.

CHAPTER XXVL

	PAGE
NORTHAMPTON, 1868	263

Mr Bradlaugh's determination to seek a seat in Parliament—The choice of Northampton—First election address—Scorn of the Whigs—Enthusiasm of the people—The election colours—John Stuart Mill—*The Daily Telegraph*—The Irish Reform League—John Bright—W. E. Gladstone—Mr Charles Gilpin and Lord Henley—The press—Dr Lees—Canvassing—The Lord's Day Rest Association—Mr Giffard, Q. C.—Mr Charles Capper, M. P.—Anti-Compulsory Vaccination—The nomination day—The poll—Tributes from the Mayor and from Mr Gilpin—Ministers who rejoiced.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SOUTHWARK ELECTION, 1869	280
Mr Bradlaugh and Mr Odger.	

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LITIGATION, 1867-1871	282
---------------------------------	-----

English Joint Stock Bank (Limited) and Charles Bradlaugh—Bradlaugh v. De Rin—The Oath question in different Courts—Confusion of the law of evidence—A costly victory—The Evidence Amendment Act, 1870—The *Razor* libel case—Mr O'Malley, Q. C.—“Outlaw or Citizen: Which am I?”—Action against the Mirfield Town Hall Company—Mr Digby Seymour, Q. C.—Mr Justice Willes.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PERSONAL	299
--------------------	-----

Financial difficulties—Mr Bradlaugh gives up business in the City and devotes himself to public work—Our home sold up—A scattered family—My brother's illness and death—His burial—The Rev. Drummond Ash—The Rev. Theophilus Bennett—My father's grief.

CHAPTER XXX.

LECTURES, 1870-1871	304
-------------------------------	-----

Freethought and Republican activity—A full lecture list—The “Impeachment of the House of Brunswick” — A misleading announcement—Stourbridge and Lord Lyttleton—The High Bailiff of Newton Abbot—The Sowerby Bridge champion wrestler—Dr Magee at Norwich Cathedral—Mr Disraeli and the Queen—Mr Gladstone's “Questionable Book.”

CONTENTS.

xiii

CHAPTER XXXI.

FRANCE—THE WAR PAGE 312

Mr Bradlaugh's position—Republican France—Madame de Brimont—"France and Peace"—St James's Hall—Thanks of the Republican Government—Pleading for the recognition of the Republic by the English Government—The conference of European powers—M. C. Tissot.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE COMMUNE, AND AFTER 322

Communist friends—An effort for peace—Arrested at Calais—Expelled from France—A second arrest—Allowed to proceed to Paris—A lecture for French refugees—Prince Jérôme Napoléon—Emile de Girardin—Emanuel Arago—Léon Gambetta—Yves Guyot—A Marxist attack.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A DOZEN DEBATES 332

George Jacob Holyoake and Secularism—Alexander Robertson and the Existence of Deity—The Rev. A. J. Harrison—Father Ignatius—Mr Burns and Spiritualism.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FAMILY AFFAIRS 346

Father and children—School in Paris—W. R. Bradlaugh.

CHAPTER XXXV.

REPUBLICANISM AND SPAIN 352

English Republicans—Conference at Birmingham—Mr Bradlaugh carries English congratulations to the Spanish Republicans in 1873—Adventures between Irun and Madrid.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MADRID AND AFTER 364

To Lisbon and back—Senor Castelar—Enthusiasm of the Madrid Republicans—The return journey—Reported death.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GREAT GATHERINGS

The Parks Regulation Bill (1872)—Agricultural labourers at Exeter Hall—Miners' meetings in Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire—Agricultural labourers at Yeovil.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FIRST VISIT TO AMERICA

The "London Correspondents'" puff extraordinary—Welcomed on arrival in New York—The Lotos Club—O'Donovan Rossa—Financial panic—At Steinway Hall—Stephen Pearl Andrews and Mrs Victoria Woodhull: a contrast—Wendell Phillips—Charles Sumner—William Lloyd Garrison—Henry Wilson—Joshua B. Smith—An accident at Kansas City—Carliile's daughters at Chicago—Ralph Waldo Emerson—Julia Ward Howe—Dissolution of Parliament—Return to England.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TWO NORTHAMPTON ELECTIONS, 1874

The first General Election under the Ballot Act—Northampton and its absent candidate—Reception on his return—Charles Gilpin's recommendation: his death—The bye-election—Mr William Fowler—The bitterness of the contest—Departure for the United States on the night of the poll—Rioting at Northampton—Hostile camps—Better counsels prevail.