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REV. DR. CAHILL'S SECOND LETTER TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

Dublin, April 10, 1851.

Beloved Fellow-Countrymen,—There can be no doubt now that the English cabinet has encouraged revolution in several European states in order to paralyze the trade of these states, and thus open a more extensive market for English commerce; and it is equally true that during the progress of these revolutions, which England thus excited, she has, in all cases, where it could be done, employed her power to foment religious dissension, to weaken the authority of the Pope, and to overthrow the Catholic Church. In a word, she has sown the seeds of political and religious discord throughout Europe, in order to advance her commercial interests, and to establish on the continent of Europe, by revolutionary success, anti-Catholic premises, with the indirect view to the prospective annihilation of Papal authority in Ireland.

During the last few years, however, her conduct towards the various surrounding states has awakened the open suspicion and the undisguised hatred of almost all the continental cabinets; and this feeling of hostility has spread from the cabinets to the people, and is now openly avowed by all the friends of order in the various countries. In ill-fated Spain, English interference and support changed the ancient laws of the succession to the throne in 1833; and they advocated, without any doubt, the insurrection in that country, which led to the pillage of all the religious houses except *one*; which demolished the churches; excited the mob to the assassination of the clergy; and which laid waste ever since the whole fabric of the social, political and religious interests of that nation. Not later than last year our English Ambassador, Mr. Bulwer, was ordered home from Madrid at forty-eight hours' notice! His indecent political interference in the internal affairs of Spain, so irritated the Spanish court, that he was ordered to depart in the same tone as if he were a conspirator against their internal laws; and so maddened were the citizens of Madrid by his conduct, that the English embassy had to be guarded, and his person protected from the fury of the people. England has again, beyond all doubt, fomented and encouraged, by money and diplomatic stratagem, the revolutions in Switzerland, central Italy, Naples, and Hungary; and it is an agreeable fact for you to know that at this moment she has no such formidable enemies (if the occasion presented itself) as the cabinets of Petersburg and Vienna. Keep up your spirits, be united as one man, violate no law, or the very shadow of a law, and depend upon it England will want your services very soon. She is already betraying some symptoms of fear, which prove to a demonstration that her relations with Europe are not quite peaceable.

It is, of course, in your recollection that the insurgents of Hungary fled for protection into the Turkish territory; and the Turks were in the act of surrendering them up at the peremptory, united demand of Austria and Russia, till England interfered in such a menacing attitude (by sending our Mediterranean fleet to the Bosphorus), that the demand was withdrawn and the patriots protected. Oh, if England always employed the omnipresence of her meteor flag with the consecrated motive of protecting the weak and the persecuted of all countries, of giving shelter behind her impregnable naval barrier to the victims of tyranny all over the earth, she would justly earn the admiration of all people; her imperial name would fill the brightest record of human history; and England would be the watchword of the world's liberty: but her political and base designs are now too palpable, and are, fortunately for us, well known throughout Europe. Every politician is now able to see that the nation which can forge chains for her own subjects, and exclude them from the equality of her laws; that the nation which encourages liberty abroad while crushing it at home—that the cabinet which raises the standard of toleration abroad, while staining it with blood at home—must clearly impose on the world by a national hypocrisy, must make politics and religion a matter of national trade; and must barter the principles of liberty and the gospel in order to advance the interests of their commerce—in a word, Europe now thoroughly understands that the public profession of English freedom abroad, means the signal of foreign revolution, in order to fatten on the spoil of the contending parties, to drink in national life from the blood of other countries, and to fill their Exchequer with foreign gold. During the last four years they have advanced their commerce to the astounding amount of fifty-two millions a-year: that is the incomprehensible sum of upwards of two hundred millions of money spread over the field of her commerce; realised by diplomatic intrigue, and wrenched from foreign nations during the sanguinary phrenzy of revolutionary progress. This conduct of England resembles the savage, inhuman ferocity of a gang of land-pirates, who, during a

storm at sea, hang out at night false lights on their most dangerous cliffs, in order to misguide the laboring bark of the struggling mariner, that, when dashed upon the rocks, they may murder the crew and seize the floating wreck. Lord John Russell has had the indecency within the last two months, to say that the Exchequer was inconveniently full; and he did not blush uttering this assertion while the shrieks for bread still rang in his ears from the starved victims of the Kilrush workhouse. England produces changes and revolutions in the neighboring countries, as Baron Rothschild creates panics in the Stock Exchange; and there can be no doubt at all that at this moment all the *legitimate* cabinets of Europe look upon her as the great anarchist, and regard her diplomatists as their most dangerous revolutionists, and much more to be dreaded within their capitals (if the occasion offered) than the most furious Republicans which secret conspiracy could call into destructive activity at home. Hear the language of one of the truest Legitimists in France, the friend and the unflinching follower of the family and principles of the Bourbons; and in listening to his opinions, you may depend on the fact, that you hear the decided and the unmistakable sentiments of all the monarchist cabinets in Europe:—

“L'Angleterre, s'imaginant qu'elle seule est invulnérable, se porte aujourd'hui comme la caution de tous les réfugiés: elle croit qu'en semant les révoltes à travers de l'Europe elle n'en recueillerait les fruits: cette atteinte au sentiment de respect pour la religion du pays, et pour la loi, est fatale aux gouvernements et aux peuples. Au nom d'une coupable humanité, L'Angleterre s'empresse de couvrir de son pavillon tous ces réfugiés; ils se savent forts de cet appui qui ne leur manque; ils eurent la confiance de leur audace et de leur impunité. L'Angleterre comprit, que pour affaiblir et ruiner les peuples, ses rivaux, elle n'aurait plus besoin d'appeler la guerre à son aide; une révolution, venue à point, lui coûte moins cher, et lui rapporte davantage: c'est un calcul pour elle, que d'encourager, de soudoyer, et de protéger les révolutionnaires, à l'exception de ceux d'Irlande, et des îles Ioniennes: les Irlandais ou les Céphaloniens, qui prévent au sérieux le dogme insurrectionnel patroné hors du territoire Anglais, par la diplomatie, et la marine Britannique, sont à l'instant condamnés et punis: les Irlandais vont expier dans un cachot au bout du monde; les autres périssent sous les balles des tribunaux militaires. Lord Palmerston développe Radicalisme au travers de l'Europe, dans tous les foyers d'insurrection. L'Angleterre manufacture des chaînes pour les tyrans, des styles pour les esclaves, des poisons pour tous les peuples qui ont prit part au même temps contre l'alliance du droit nationale et de la vraie liberté: L'Angleterre voit sa fortune dans la ruine des nations, sa grandeur dans l'abaissement des puissances étrangères; fidèle à ce principe, Lord Palmerston s' imagine d'introduire en Europe la politique suivie dans les Indes par la Grande-Bretagne: mais l'Europe voit et bien comprend cette politique; et il y aura bientôt le temps, quand l'Angleterre la comprendra aussi dans la haine et la vengeance de toutes les nations: elle se trompe, si elle s' imagine que l'Europe puisse oublier le bouleversement qu'elle a causé, et le sang qu'elle a répandu, par sa diplomatie intéressée, artificieuse et cruelle.”

“England, thinking herself exclusively invulnerable, undisguisedly endorses, in our times, with her political sanction, all the revolutionists who fly to her shores for protection; she fancies that she will never feel the effects of the insurrections which she has excited through Europe. This opposition to the religion and the laws of other countries is alike injurious to the interests of the people and their administrations. In the pretended feeling of advocating an exile in distress, England spreads the mantle of her protection over all political insurrectionists; they, feeling quite convinced of this support, are encouraged in their treason, and have no fears from their crimes. England well knows that she has no necessity to send her armaments into the foreign states who may rival her power; but, that in order to weaken and overthrow these nations, she has at her command a far cheaper and much more advantageous principle of machinery, viz., by fomenting a well-timed revolution. She makes it as a principle of political calculation, to encourage, to keep in pay, and to protect the revolutionists of all countries, with the exception of the Irish and the Ionian Greeks; but if they seriously commit themselves to the revolutionary idea, the Irish are at once consigned to a dungeon during their lives in Botany Bay! while the Grecians are shot down by court-martial. Lord Palmerston has encouraged opposition to the constituted authority of nations through every insurrectionary point in Europe; and England is recognized in the multifarious character of supplying the tyrant with instruments of torture against liberty—presenting the poignard to the slave for the destruction of monarchy—spreading national

disaster through every country, and the incongruously joining the enemies of the rights of nations and the essential liberties of man. England founds her prosperity on the overthrow of other nations, and she maintains her power by their weakness and degradation. Lord Palmerston, the rigid follower of this principle, fancies he can introduce in Europe the policy adopted in India by Great Britain; but Europe is keenly active to this stratagem, and the day is not far distant when England will see the false step she has taken, in the universal hatred and revenge of Europe. She will yet awake from this political dream of progress, when foreign powers will take satisfaction for the national disorder she has fomented, and the blood she has spilled by her base, deceitful, and sanguinary policy.”

You will no doubt be glad to learn the sentiments of hatred and vengeance, so clearly expressed in the extracts I have taken from the decided exponent of monarchical feeling through Europe, is already beginning to make our English cabinet uneasy, and that it is highly probable they will be very soon forced to be guilty of an act of baseness and treachery towards foreign refugees, only equalled by the ingratitude, the deceit, and the ferocious bigotry evinced towards us by Lord John Russell's letter of last November. Could any one believe that the cabinet which employed Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Abercrombie, Mr. Howard, Sir Stratford Canning, and Lord Minto, to encourage revolution in five different states—which *officially* ordered its ambassadors, and envoys, to walk, to parade, to dine, and almost live with the most notorious ruffians, villains, and insidiers of modern times—which sent its very last fleet to Constantinople to protect Kossuth and his brave associates—can any one believe that this same cabinet is about to introduce a law for the expulsion from England of the very men whom they drove into insurrection? And if this be the fact, is it not evident that Europe is coalescing against England in defence of their internal laws, and about to reduce to practice the sentiments expressed in the extracts already quoted? Hear the following speeches delivered in the House of Lords on Thursday, the 27th March last, and you will be rejoiced to see that England is not quite secure in her foreign relations, and that she may very soon have heavier work on hands than burning nuns, and inspecting the private closets of their convents:—

“FOREIGN REFUGEES.

“Lord Lyndhurst called the attention of the house to the reprehensible conduct of certain foreigners who were at present living in this country under the protection of the laws, but who took advantage of that protection to make England a focus of revolutionary intrigues against foreign states. The noble lord then proceeded to illustrate the truth of his remarks by the examples of M.M. Mazzini and Ledru Rollin, as well as by that of General Klapka, and concluded by stating that he spoke in no unfriendly spirit to the government, but solely for the purpose of suggesting that something should be done to meet this great evil.

“Earl Grey replied that he would communicate with Lord Palmerston on the subject, whose attention he knew had already been directed to it. Lord Lyndhurst seemed to hint at a renewal of the extraordinary measure passed three years ago against foreigners which lapsed last session, but he (Lord Grey) thought that nothing but the occurrence of very grave circumstances could justify the government in asking the legislature to renew that enactment.”

In order to raise your spirits, and to give you further proof of the probable humiliation of the present iniquitous cabinet, I shall bring to your recollection some few facts of great importance, as regards our future prospects:—About the year 1843, the Emperor of Morocco, by his conduct towards France in reference to Abd-el-Kader, had provoked hostilities so far, that France had a slight naval affair at Tangiers, on the coast of Africa, in which the French were victorious. The Prince de Joinville (the young French Admiral) and one of his brothers so distinguished themselves in that action, that all France burst into a jubilee of joy at the idea of a French naval victory; and the young admiral, sharing the enthusiasm, wrote a pamphlet on naval warfare, and on the steam-navy of France; in which, beyond all doubt, he attempted to prove (without much disguise) that France, by the invention of steam, was able to dispute over again with England the sovereignty of the seas. That pamphlet caused considerable merriment at that time to the English navy (being as it were invincible), and to all others, except to the Duke of Wellington: but his grace (towards whom I entertain the most profound respect) had quite a different opinion on the matter, and he wrote at once to the government, in a letter of great wisdom and seriousness, the dangerous position of England from such a terrific neighboring enemy; representing the power

of France and the indefensible state of the English coasts. About the same time, one of the most distinguished naval officers of France, in toasting the health of the Prince de Joinville, used the following words, which are worth recollecting in our present circumstances:—

“The modern invention of propelling ships by steam has entirely changed the art of war. By this invention the sea becomes a fortified camp. Naval war can be carried on in the depth of winter as advantageously as in the midst of summer. The future destiny of France, by this invention, shall record the former glory; and she may successfully dispute with England the claim she puts forth as the mistress of the waves. France can call out an army of nine hundred thousand men, and in the space of four days she could embark (in eight squadrons) twenty thousand men on board war steamers and light frigates, and carrying with them all the facilities for their disembarkation. The invasion of England is therefore a matter of easy attainment by usual stratagem. Naval warfare is no longer the conflict of *braved* seamen, it is rather the battle of *soldiers*; and hence Young France, by her innumerable land forces, will very soon be in a position to dispute with England the sovereignty of the seas. That time will be, when France will be urged to the contest by the call of justice and the cry of national revenge.”

Fellow-countrymen, you must recollect that all this remarkable demonstration occurred during the sway of Louis Philippe, and while he sat on the French throne in the zenith of his power. Believe me, the French sentiment has undergone no change since 1843. The pamphlet, and the naval speeches, and the warlike enthusiasm of all France (and encouraged by Louis Philippe) so much alarmed the Duke of Wellington, that he urged again and again the necessity of defending the coasts against the danger to be apprehended from France. At length he wrote a letter to Sir John Burgoyne, on the 7th January, 1847 (while Louis Philippe was reigning in security and power), in which he emphatically points out his fears of France, and the unprotected state of the English coast; and what a strange fact, that he had no fears about the loyalty of the Irish! He was quite right—the Irish are loyal to the death. There can be no question at all, that the hatred of France towards England is not only felt by the army and the navy, but that it pervades every rank of civil life, from the city scavenger up to the prime minister; and the danger to England not only is threatened during the *regime* of monarchy, but it exists, and will exist, always unabated under every form of their government. It is engendered, strengthened, and matured in the heart of every Frenchman, and can no more be eradicated than their national pride, and will gain fresh power and enthusiasm in every coming generation, till they fight Waterloo over again, and try their revenge in the field. You may recollect in the course of the past year, that in consequence of some slight misunderstanding in the settlement of the Greek question, between the French and English cabinets, Mons. Drouin de l'Huys, the French ambassador, was called away suddenly from England, and on that announcement being made by the President in the French assembly, the *entire house*, without one exception—that is, the Legitimists, the Orleansists, the Buonapartists—all, all, rose up, by one simultaneous burst of joy, and loudly cheered the glorious sentiment of a rupture with England. And let any man take the trouble of talking with Frenchmen on the question of England's power and superiority, and from Calais to Marseilles, from Bordeaux to the Rhine, there is not one man, either civil or military, or, in fact, ecclesiastical, whose eyes will not flash with consuming French fire, and whose struggling bosom will not leave in convulsed emotion, in the wild hope that France shall have in some future time the glorious opportunity of meeting England in battle line, and burying their eager and flashing swords in the heart of their deadly enemies, the sons of Britain. I have often found it most painful to hear the contumelious expression of their burning revenge, because, being identified as Ireland is with England, even by a parchment union, I resented the insult like an Englishman, and with difficulty I had often to restrain my indignation.

I shall now lay before you, an extract from the letter of the Duke of Wellington, to show the danger to be dreaded by England from their Gallican powerful foes:—

“Strathfieldsaye, January 7, 1847.

“My dear General—Some days have elapsed—indeed a fortnight has—since I received your note, with a copy of your observations on the possible results of a war with France under our present system of military preparation.

“You are aware that I have for years been sensible of the alteration produced in maritime warfare and operation by the application of steam to the propelling of ships at sea.