



# CATHOLIC CHRONICLE.

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## THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

St. Jarlath's, Tuam, March 18, 1854.

"Nec aliud fere nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt; ita dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur."

My Lord—Should your lordship's curiosity happen to light on the volumes of the Four Masters that now repose on the shelves of the library of the House of Lords, you will not fail to be struck with the melancholy felicity of the quotation from the Roman writer which they have prefixed to the annals of Ireland. They felt how sadly it illustrated the fatal decomposition of powerful parties at several epochs of our history, as well as at the unhappy period when they wrote. And, doubtless, the Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary at War were equally conscious of the utility of the same old motto when they ventured to give expression to such contemptuous disregard for the spiritual interests of Catholic sailors and soldiers, as nothing but their experimental conviction of the unfaithfulness of Irish Catholic members could have inspired.

To the member for Meath we are indebted for his eloquent and feeling exposure of the spiritual privations to which Catholic soldiers and sailors are doomed by the unrelenting bigotry of the laws of England, and their still more bigoted execution. After exhibiting the interesting details of grievances, which could not be credited if they were not thus solemnly authenticated without any attempt at contradiction, he appealed to the humanity of the House and the policy of the Government to accompany with the consolations of religion those men who were called on to face the enemy and to pour out their lives in defence of the country.

To a temperate appeal for the redress of such terrible grievances affecting the dearest interests of man, what has been the reply of some of the members of the Government in the very crisis of an impending war? Of one the reported answer was, "that he despaired of satisfying the honorable gentleman, but he did not despair of satisfying those with whom he had been in communication on the subject." Next, however, such a vague admission, which gave no pledge of any definite redress, might be misconstrued by those who see in the waste of its worthless patronage convincing reasons for confiding in the present administration, Sir James Graham, if correctly reported, frankly avows, "that he could not hold out expectations which he believed were delusive, and he could not hold out hopes which he knew would be disappointed." However dispiriting was this declaration, it had, at least, the merit of candor, and left no room to complain of any subsequent disappointment, to which language less explicit might give rise. The disruption of the Irish Parliamentary party, to which the people had earned a claim to look with confidence, exercised its baleful influence on the minister, and emboldened him to advance propositions regarding the rights of conscience to which neither he nor any other member of the cabinet would have ventured to give utterance at the close of the last general election.

Had the Irish, and particularly the Catholic, members remained faithful to the covenants which they had so solemnly made with their constituents—had they only imitated the noble disinterestedness of which so many of the people had given such an instructive example in returning them to Parliament—had they fixed in their hearts and maintained by a corresponding line of conduct the solemn promise of withholding their support from any and every administration that would not guarantee to the Catholic tenants of Ireland legislative protection against the evictions and religious persecutions to which they are unceasingly doomed—had they but pursued one step farther that just and triumphant policy on which they had so recently acted, and inspired the coalition with a sure presentment of the same fate which they had so recently inflicted on some of its component parts—I do not say that your lordship's ministry would have experienced an early dissolution, for they mistake us much who think that the Catholics of Ireland feel any gratuitous satisfaction in the mere dissolution of ministries; but a more grateful, as well as a more probable alternative presents itself to the view in the deliberations of a cabinet resolved to do justice as the necessary condition of its own existence, and impressed with the conviction that should they imitate the unjust policy of the two preceding governments they could not complain if, in a similar break up, they were to share the same retribution.—Had forty or fifty faithful men steadfastly watched the fluctuations of debate, sternly determined to cast the balance in favor of justice and religious equality, as they were bound to do by their solemn and recorded pledges, the Lord of the Admiralty would not have spoken of the Established Church as if it were a fixed and immovable institution in the country, nor would he have closed his faint eulogy of the fidelity

of Catholic soldiers and sailors by the avowal of his appalling gratitude that they were doomed to fall on the decks, which might be streaming with their blood, without a priest by their side to soothe and sustain them in the agonies of their last hour.

It was creditable to the piety of the member for Meath that he could not be satisfied with the continuance of a policy so cruel and unchristian. Yet it appears that some of your lordship's colleagues, whilst persevering in the exclusion of Catholic service from the navy, "do not despair of satisfying those with whom they are in communication on this subject."—No doubt if they consult some of those who have wished to support them, utterly regardless of their promises, they will find them as flexible on the questions of the relative obligations of the laws of the navy and the laws of God, as they have proved themselves already regarding the force of their sacred pledges. It is not the first time that most lax and reprehensible opinions have been practically maintained by Catholic functionaries on this same subject of the admiralty. Nay, it has been confidently said that the attendance of Catholic sailors at Protestant services was insisted on and enforced, on the high ground, no doubt, that such was the law.—With the impression of such criminal subserviency of Catholic officials on their minds, it is no wonder if the Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary at War were so sanguine as to satisfy on those subjects those with whom they were in communication. Whilst, however, they persevere in a line of conduct which would have been befitting some of the worst of the ancient persecutors towards Christian soldiers, they cannot hope to satisfy the heavy responsibility of the pastors of their souls.

Of those soldiers and sailors who are now on their way to be soon stretched on the field or in the ocean, there are numbers from this diocese trained in the great maxims of the paramount importance of salvation, which enabled them to conquer all the horrors of famine, no less dreadful than those of war. Those who fell under that awful visitation died with the patience, and often with the cheerfulness of martyrs, because the anointed minister of religion was at their bedside to cheer and strengthen their souls with the graces of penance and the holy unction. What a contrast between their death and the fate of the Catholics who fall in the engagements of sea and land; and what a depressing influence must be produced on the spirits and courage of the religious soldier by the reflection, that whilst he triumphs over his earthly enemies, he is sent utterly unsheltered and unarmed against those spiritual enemies mentioned by the apostle, and who are most formidable at the hour of death. This unmaning of the brave man's courage at the anticipation of being consigned to such a death is no imaginary picture, for I am only transcribing some of the words of a feeling letter, now before me, recently received from a military man in the Indies, who enjoins me by all that is sacred in religion and above price in the soul of a Christian to exercise any influence I can legitimately exercise to procure for the dying soldier those consolations of religion, which it is harrowing to think that any government should have so long and so ungratefully withheld.

Whilst, then, many of my poor faithful flock are on their way to the shores of Asia, and whilst the recruiting officers in our districts are receiving great co-operation from the unfeeling consolidators of large farms, banishing the small tenants, who, by a curious coincidence, can find no public employment from a temporary suspension of public works—whilst they are thus driven, by a combination of pressing influences, to look for some shelter under banners on which no endearing emblem of Catholicity is inscribed, I deem it a right opportunity to satisfy the pious requisition of the letter to which I have alluded, as well as my own deep sense of duty, to request most respectfully of your Lordship, as her Majesty's constitutional minister, to interpose, and to snatch the Catholic soldiers and sailors, some of whom are impressed into the service by an inexorable necessity, from the imminent danger to which their eternal salvation is exposed. In thus remonstrating on the absence of humanity and justice in the present laws, and appealing respectfully to the constituted authorities in behalf of my own flock, I am only yielding to the imperative requirements of duty, which will not be satisfied without having the sacraments of the Church placed within the reach of the faithful soldier.

Your Lordship will bear in mind that I am not appealing for any personal or public privileges or patronage beyond the one thing necessary, from which every Christian has an inalienable right not to be debarred. For this alone I am pleading, and for nothing more. I am not asking that the soldiers should be left free to enter a monastery before the stated term of their military service should expire. However great should be the freedom of a Christian

in following the evangelical councils, I am only advocating what is necessary for all, equally anxious to impress the duty of fidelity on the soldier as well as on his employers the duty of providing him with religious succor. This, if not their explicit agreement, should be the implied covenant of both, founded on the divine law; and your Lordship is well aware what weight the Irish people are beginning to attach to covenants, and with what bitterness they deplore the guilt of their violation.

There are now in this province, and doubtless in the other provinces too, several Catholics who gave their suffrages, nay, made great sacrifices to return to Parliament Catholic members pledged to tenant right and religious equality. And many of these voters daily witness their relatives sent adrift, and enlisting when your colleagues say they shall have no religious equality, nor any religious consolation; and yet those members are silent on such persecuting enactments—nay, they are the recipients and the dispensers of the patronage of the minister who, with cool, sarcastic irony, tells the member for Meath that indeed the whole grievance of the poor Catholic sailors lies in this, that the service of the navy is to be conducted according to the rules of the Protestant religion.

By all means let Protestants, when living and dying, be ministered to according to their own ritual. We only require that the rights of Catholics should be measured by the same standard. And if this justice is not immediately accorded, surely your lordship cannot suppose that any amount of patronage of which our pledged members may be the receivers would reconcile the betrayed constituents to those who, by supporting an administration that is systematically and directly exposing Catholic soldiers to the loss of salvation, become partners in the same unhallowed feeling, and as their constituents bitterly remark, and will not fail to tell them on the hustings, selling, as far as they can, the souls of the poor Catholic sailors and soldiers for a miserable mess of patronage in favor of some of the least deserving members of society.

As a liberal set off against the soul destroying policy of denying to those who are engaged in the public service access to the Sacraments, will be the pretended zeal of some of its advocates for our invaluable cloistered institutions. The heavenly virtues and heroic services of our females consecrated to God need not fear the most fiery ordeal to which they may be subjected. Were the members of your administration sincerely solicitous to protect them from annoyance, we would not find some of its best friends and supporters ranged amongst the adverse voters. But without waiting now to disengage the complication of deep and scendal deceit with which the people of Ireland have been so long misled and insulted on this ostentatious display of individual voting, there is not the least doubt but the issue of the nunneries question would be as triumphant as that of the income tax if ministers showed but the same zeal for the one which they displayed in the management of the other.

What a masterpiece of financial policy; and, like the charity to the soldiers, and sailors, and inmates of the cloister, how calculated to display their love of justice to the Catholic clergy, to subject to the inquisitorial rigors of the Exchequer officials the voluntary offerings which the people bestow! It is not long since the clergy were sharing in all the afflictions of their suffering flocks, carrying, of which we had several instances, their little supply of meal several miles to comfort some of their perishing people. Yet, during that time not a penny was proffered to relieve them by any of those who are now so eager for bringing them within the pale of the Treasury. It is only when the state bestowed its endowments the state used to think of exercising the correlative rights of burdening those endowments with taxation. It was reserved for your lordship's administration, so lauded by the fiscal farmers who share in the taxes which their pledge-breaking friends enabled you to impose even on the public alms of the clergy, to have such alms set down for the first time amidst taxable commodities.

Yet I will not do you nor your colleagues the injustice to suppose that it was cupidity or state necessity that swayed you in its imposition. No; the clergy, happily placed outside the influence of the Exchequer, so powerful in other departments, exercised without control or hindrance that religious freedom which they retail for the discharge of the duties of the ministry. What room for appeal to the charitable dispensations of the Treasury is supplied by an acquaintance with the scanty revenues of the Catholic clergy? Were the clergy of Ireland not to avail themselves of the advantage of the law in looking for legal exemption from a tax as unconstitutional as unprecedented, they would not be deserving of that happy exemption from secular in-

terference in their religious concerns which they so long enjoyed. It is in vain that governments and their supporters may claim the praise of being liberal in their anxiety to pension afterwards, as well as to tax the Catholic clergy. If they suffer themselves to be caught in this liberal snare, they may recollect that the government of Baden is a liberal and a constitutional government—nay, as liberal and constitutional as the Home Secretary, with all his predilection for liberal and constitutional governments, could desire. And though it appears that the few ecclesiastics who were known at any time to be anxious for a state pension are now the loudest in praise of the fiscal scheme of clerical taxation, at least among the most discreet, in its censure they may reflect, not without some alarm for the future, that one of the most powerful engines of tyranny now wielded by the liberal government of Baden against its brave Archbishop is the depriving the legitimate ecclesiastics of their state pension, and its unhallowed transfer to unprincipled schismatics, who owned in the secular power a title to their ecclesiastical obedience, which they refused to their lawful Bishop. I trust that our virtuous poverty and freedom, untaxed as well unenclosed, will preserve us in perfect peace, and save the Catholic Church on the one hand, and the state on the other, at any future time, from those angry collisions that are disturbing and injuring the one and the other in Baden, as well as in other parts of Europe.

I have the honor to be,  
Your Lordship's faithful servant,  
† JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.

## FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND IRELAND.

(From the Nation.)

The letter of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, to the Editor of the *Univers*, is worthy of a place in the Blue Books of the War. Its guarded tone—the result not merely of Dr. Cullen's calm and astute temper, but of the delicate policy, which, as Delegate of the Holy See, necessarily moulds his actions here, and especially, we presume, in reference to foreign countries—barely veils a most formidable meaning. We see at a glance, that the persecuted Archbishop of Freiburg, merely appears upon this occasion as a species of legal fiction, as a means of bringing the conduct of the English Parliament and Government towards the Catholics in their army and navy, and towards our Religious Houses, directly under the notice of the French Emperor and People—that it is, in fact, an appeal to the sympathies of "a nation so thoroughly Catholic and so sensitive to every Catholic interest" against the persecuting policy of her ally. That appeal has already been answered in part. His Grace's letter is dated the 8th ult. On the 18th a Decree appeared from the French Emperor's hand, making an extraordinary provision of Chaplains for the expeditionary army. If we should hear that some of them are Irish by birth, and that they all have got orders to attend to the spiritual necessities of the Irish Catholics serving under the British flag, it is no more than we should expect. But it will be a proof of an *entente cordiale* not grateful to England.

The moving yet moderate language in which this appeal to the charity of the French clergy is stated hardly equals in its subdued force of expression the grave and subtle irony of the passage which reflects upon the conduct of the Government. Lo! it seems to say, our ten thousand Catholic soldiers, scattered from Constantinople to Kalafat—our 4,000 or 5,000 Catholic sailors, some in the Baltic, some in the Black Sea, all exposed to the perils of a merciless warfare, and in hourly danger of death, are, among them all, to have two Chaplains! England demands, not alone the shedding of their blood, but the sacrifice of their souls. Let us be duly grateful. We owe this vast concession to "the liberal spirit of the present Ministry."

Let us, before it passes out of memory, read them a slight commentary on this *mot* of the Archbishop, this cutting and sarcastic phrase, "the liberal spirit of the present Ministry!"

Last week, the first formal prosecution ever instituted in Ireland for language spoken by a Priest from a Roman Catholic altar, was instituted by the Attorney-General for Ireland, and conducted by his *Procureurs*. Thanks to the liberal spirit of the present Ministry!

Last week, the Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant publicly sent to the Secretary of a bigoted Protestant Association an insulting and unfounded censure upon a Catholic Magistrate, of just and irreproachable character, who had endeavored to protect a member of his creed from the outrages of a hireling proselytiser. Thanks to the liberal spirit of the present Ministry.

The week before, a Bill to interfere with the property and the vows of Religious Women was introduced into the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston