



CATHOLIC CHRONICLE.

VOL. VII.

MONTREAL, FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1857.

No. 50.

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ON THE IRISH EMIGRATION—TENANT RIGHT—SECTARIAN ANIMOSITY.

During the month ending April of the present year, the unprecedented number of 27,856 emigrants landed in New York: and the returns, too, from the Canadas, and from Australia, present an unabated current of population leaving Ireland for the British colonies. Some idea may be formed of the extent to which this desire to quit the country is carried, when one learns that during the last two weeks of the last Lent, upwards of one thousand persons, principally of the small comfortable farming class, left the railway station at Limerick for Liverpool. The scenes of heart-rending distress which take place on those occasions, at the parting of mothers and fathers from their children can never be forgotten by those who have once witnessed this indescribable separation: the heart of the greatest enemy of these classes of the Irish sometimes melts with pity, perhaps with sorrow, when the wild cry of the aged parents is heard, as, standing on the platform, the engine begins to move, carrying away for ever the children in whom their very lives are centred. Each packet that leaves our shores, crowded with the Irish youth, is an additional proof of the anomalous condition of Ireland, and of the partial legislation of England. Each year that witnesses this continued Exode, is a demonstration that the insecurity of the tenure of land, the terrors of the landlord, and the eternal lash of national bigotry, overcome the Irishman's innate love of home, and force him to burst asunder all the ties of nature herself to escape from a country—his own country—where the law of the State, the Gospel of the Established Church, and the hatred of a large section of the aristocracy are leagued against his conscience, against his social advancement, and, in fact, against his very existence.

There is no use in the case before us, to appeal to the sympathy of the Legislature; they have always replied to such an appeal by laws written in the blood of the Irish: and they have ever silenced our national murmurs by the drummer's lash, by convict fetters, or by the rope. In the present instance, the Government, before many years elapse, will be made to feel that all parties engaged in producing this Exode of the people will lose more than they gain by this anti-national combination. Each young man, who leaves Ireland for the United States is a loss (according to the value set on an able-bodied man in this country), of £40 to the army or the navy; he is a great loss to a properly-developed system of national agriculture: and when one takes into consideration the exciseable articles which each person consumes, the commercial articles which he buys, the English cloth which he wears, I think it may be fairly assumed that fifty thousand such individuals produce a loss of some several million pounds sterling to the State. We have given upwards of two millions of money lately to Sardinia to help us in the Crimea: and we have purchased the services of a German Legion at an enormous expense, which might be saved by keeping at home the thousands, and the tens of thousands of faithful, invincible poor Irish hearts, whom our rulers have starved or banished. But, perhaps, the greatest misfortune in this anomalous legislation is, that England not only subtracts from her own power all these expelled and lost resources, but, again, she adds them all to the American Republic. She weakens herself in order to give strength to America; she sends youth, muscle, and a full-grown army to America; and still more, she sends hundreds of thousands of aggrieved hearts breathing revenge and vengeance against the laws, the name, the very existence of the English Constitution. And if England shall choose in her hatred of the Irish Catholic, to continue this scheme of forced emigration, she will soon learn to her cost, that she will perhaps lose more millions of money in one war with America than would support all her expelled emigrants at home: and she may be yet compelled to feel, that honor, justice, equity, and liberty of conscience, would have cost her less labor and money, than her past sectarian code of bigotry, injustice, and class-legislation. The fate of Carthage, which Juno once dreaded from the future power of Rome, may, with truth, be feared by Britannia from the rising dominion of America; and an American Virgil might, with apt propriety and a slight change of the names of nations, say—

Progenium: sed enim Trojanae sanguine ducei Audierat; Tyrinas olim quos verteret arcas. Hinc populum late regem, belloque supernum Venturum excidio Libya; sic Volvere Parcas.

But although the causes which have determined the Irish laboring and small farmer classes to leave Ireland, are the same in the year 1857 as in the year 1848, their condition however, on the other side of the Atlantic and in Australia,

are widely different. In the commencement of their banishment they went to unknown settlements to seek and make a home amongst strangers; but now those who leave Ireland go to relations who have a home to receive them, and have means to uphold them. Although the sea passage is hard, the travelling into the interior of the country harassing, and the hardships from climate and limited resources difficult to be borne, still they have one bright hope left, namely, they have their kindred and a kind welcome to meet them, when they reach the end of their weary, heavy journey. And if any one argument more powerful than another could be adduced to prove the natural elevated character, the profound national sympathy, and the noble religious sentiment of the poor Irish, this argument will be found in the large remittances of money which come by every post to the parents and the friends they left at home in Ireland. The noble Irish, the illustrious poor, the untainted Irish children set an example in this unquenchable love of home, of friends, of religion, which their persecuting rulers never can equal or imitate; and it again proves that our legislation can neglect and banish as outcasts a race which under the most adverse circumstances (in their forlorn humble position) stands pre-eminently superior in every virtue which adorns our common nature, and adds lustre to religion. Is not the Fourth Commandment as well fulfilled by the love of the peasant boy as by the son of the prince: and is not the virtue of Lazarus dearer to Heaven than the character of Dives? Yes, the noble Irish in their love of their parents; in their fidelity to home, to their country, and their God, brand England's persecution and her partial laws with a character of injustice and cruelty which can never be effaced.

It is, then, a clear case, that until some remedy be adopted to give reasonable security and protection in the tenure of land; and till the legislature impose a rational restriction on the ferocious bigotry of the trunk and the interminable branches of the Church Establishment, the river of emigration will not be diverted from its present unnatural course. The same causes will always produce the same effects: and hence the country will, year after year, be drained of population and national resources till England finds it her advantage and her interest to alter the laws in reference to tenancy of land, and to check the disastrous sectarianism of an idle, useless, mischievous, creedless, and dominant church. Any scheme short of the views here humbly advocated can never give peace or confidence to the Irish people; they know that land may soon be placed in the same system of disastrous competition which produced the terrors of the years that are past; they believe that rack-rents, ejectments, and drivers, will again return by a regular cycle, unless an equitable law of Tenant Right be framed: and every man who can command the passage money, and who has a friend in America, will leave Ireland if he can. The Irish people, and the Irish Catholic clergy, have the most profound respect for Lord Carlisle; we all admit that a more benevolent nobleman never occupied the Viceregal throne: we are anxious to make him feel that we fully acknowledge the proverbial kindness, honor, and justice which has, as it were, by hereditary possession, descended through the blood of the Howards to the present Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But he should be told, and be thoroughly convinced, that if the Agricultural Society collected in the Phoenix Park all the model turkeys and geese in Europe, and if they presented cows with backs as broad as a billiard-table, and if they procured ploughs that would cut a sod to the North Pole, without the aid of men or horses, it will merely prove that the landlord aristocracy are only amusing themselves with breeding poultry while banishing the people: feeding bullocks while starving the Irish: encouraging man-gold-worzel while levelling seventy-five cabins in every hundred hovels of the poor—(See Report:;) and finally, this society will demonstrate, by their theatrical exhibitions of fat cattle, that they are fast converting the soil of Ireland into an aristocratic bullock pasture: enriching themselves by the expulsion of the tenantry, and then by promenades, luncheons, Viceregal speeches, cheap railway trips, throwing dust in the eyes of the public, and leading us blindfolded through their work of infamy in the deserted villages and the churchyards of the dead. Yes, if scientific turnips, and new Italian grasses, were piled up as high and as broad as the pyramids of Egypt, and if champagne ran through the grounds of the Royal Dublin Society as deep as the Liffey, the poor, beggared, persecuted Irish people will only feel additional hatred towards the hypocrisy of cattle shows, and the jimcrack deception of the census of poultry and corn, till the landlords and the Legislature evince an honest intention towards their interests by supporting an equitable law of Tenant Right for Ireland.

D. W. C.

June 25, 1857.

EDUCATED ENGLAND.

(From the Nation.)

For the hundred and twentieth time the ignorance and besotted condition of the masses in England has been forced upon the consideration of the notabilities in that country. During the last week three meetings were held, at the first of which Prince Albert, supported by Lord Brougham, numerous titled personages, and a large bevy of Bishops, discussed the Educational question, and passed a series of resolutions, the pith of which is, that the British masses do not care for instruction. The total child population of England and Wales, taken there from the age of 3 to 15, are estimated at 4,908,696, of whom only 2,946,848 have been found to attend school at all, and this for a very limited period. It will be recollected that in this estimate all classes, high and low, rich and poor, are included—the number of schools being 15,518 of a public, and 30,524 of a private character. Numerous, however, as such establishments may be, and abundant as the facilities undoubtedly are for cultivating the rising generation in the richest country of modern times, it is found that but one out of eight receive not education, but even its rudiments. For this remarkably inadequate result numerous causes are assigned. Among those may be mentioned the sectional state of religion, taken in connection with the fact that Protestantism is made a fundamental basis of education, a sine qua non of all Government systems; and it is this, as is but natural, the vast bodies of Dissenters, and other sects under different names, object. In addition to this, the English working classes, which in the agricultural and manufacturing districts evince the strongest disinclination to allow their children to remain at school, when their manual labor in the fields or factories can be rendered more valuable to their families. It is even found that the length of time allowed those children by their parents for educational purposes is extremely limited—42 per cent. of them being sent to school from six to nine months; 22 per cent. for one year; 15 per cent. for two years; nine and five per cent. for five and four years; and of the two million children sent to school at all only 600,000 are above the age of nine. From this last statistical fact it will be seen that the immense remaining aggregate, though nominally regarded as having received instructions, must remain in a state of almost perfect ignorance, and can scarcely be said to have received the light of education at all. Once grown up, the necessity of turning their labor to account and the exigencies of the working system, whose tendency is to make the creation a machine, capable of toiling for the longest possible period, render anything like education in future like an utter impossibility. Adding then the 2,000,000 who never enter a school to the number of children who for the short period of study and tender years may be said to be almost as ignorant, we find that, taking the juvenile masses of England generally, and including all classes from the son of the peer to the peasant, that but 600,000 may be said to have been brought under the control of enlightenment. All professions, commercial classes, &c., are included in this item, which counts by thousands annually; the millions are still in a state of ignorance.

Facts like these, established on the inexorable testimony of the statistics taken during the last census, are strange illustrations of the Mammon system of England, and the religion which, if we are to believe writers at the other side of the Channel, has left its permanent traces for good in British institutions and life. This being an age in which money is regarded as the summum bonum, it follows that all individual exertions should be concentrated on its attainment. The factory proprietor exercises the tyranny of capital over his workmen, while the latter victims of its effects, yet taking his wealth as the standard to which they should aspire, and looking to money alone as a means of earthly happiness, turn themselves and families into instruments for this purpose alone, and neglecting all that can elevate or purify, make the gratification of the appetite their greatest ambition. Whoever has seen one of the great Manufacturing towns of a Saturday night can well estimate the consequences of the present labor system in England. Numberless pictures have been drawn of those enormous and overworked populations rushing into every sensual excess. Those people, with minds unenlightened as that of the Indian, save on the one branch of labor by which they live, having no higher pleasures to fall back upon than such as the eating-house and gin shop afford, present, indeed, a curious problem in the history of progress, and have not inaptly been described as the savages of civilization. Nor does it appear that the agricultural districts are any whit purer, or that their inhabitants have been rendered subject to more elevating influences. The same energy in labor, the same degree of sensualism, the same ignorance of things, human and divine, are equally characteristic of both. Whoever glances from time to time at the police reports,

in the North of England papers especially, discovers evidence of a social state of things, which for ignorance, depravity, and superstition, might challenge comparison with the most barbarous people in the most barbarous age. It is needless to enumerate instances of boys brought before the magistrate for criminal offences, who, on examination, were found to be ignorant even of the name of God, of the system of concubinage existing amid all gradations of factory life, of the belief, general amid great numbers, and those not in the lowest ranks of society, in the curative effects of charms, in witchcraft, and all such absurdities. To cap the climax of horrors resulting from this unparalleled state of moral and intellectual ignorance, it was only necessary for the infernal burial club system to have been discovered to show that England, with her Church, press, railways, telegraph, and other means of progress and enlightenment, was yet capable of giving birth to a phase of depravity, compared with which the murderous association of Indian Thuggs assumes a mild and humane aspect.—Those assassins, at least, exercised their murderous functions on strangers; and from a fanatical belief in their actions, they did not speculate on their helpless children and aged parents for the purpose of gaining money by their death.

We have said that the Educational Conference was attended by a number of Bishops of the Establishment and a vast gathering of Clergymen desirous of having their names associated with the movement. In the face of such facts, however, as Prince Albert stated, the pretensions of Protestantism are placed in a very startling light. Is it not the boast of all adherents of this system that, if it has one merit greater than another, it is that of developing the intellect, opening the mind to the reception of all sorts of enlightenment, and elevating the moral standard of the people? How often have they pointed the finger of scorn to Spain and other countries, which they assert are sunk in ignorance because they are Catholic? How many sermons are annually preached, how many journals filled with dissertations spun from some cant text of progress in its connection with Lutheranism? Yet, in England, the happy centre of that creed, and where it is supported by all the power and wealth of temporal authority, statistics give the lie to their so often fulminated pretensions, by showing that but one man or woman out of every eight have received any education at all. On the one side you have an immense plalanx of so called Gospel ministers, thousands of schools, thousands of teachers, and around them a population who are not only as ignorant as that of Central Africa, but who absolutely refuse such moral and intellectual culture as is open to their children.—Among the many consequences arising from this stupid contempt displayed by Englishmen for all that can elevate life, for all knowledge apart from that by which he makes his bread, are to be numbered the vast increase of crime, and the apathy and indifference to all forms of faith which has now become so general. Imagine the condition of a people each of whom devote twelve or fourteen hours a day to some of the limited but innumerable branches of work which result from the division of labor, and which has a direct tendency to reduce them to a level with the machinery they tend; a people without even the rudiments of education, their minds vacant of ideas, their hearts uncontrolled by moral precept, being in complete ignorance of God, and unconscious of any other want than that supplied by their dinner. Paganism, in its worst form, could scarcely produce any thing lower than the condition in which three-fifths of the English masses have been reduced by the exigencies of a mechanical age which forms the boast of the political economist, at the same time that it is the humiliation of Christendom.

Let us hope that such facts as the above brought prominently before the attention of the English public by the Consort of their Queen, may have the effect of producing a better state of things than that which exists at present. It seems well nigh time that the stereotyped diatribes against the ignorance of the Irish should cease, when their detractors have confessedly reached a level beyond which it seems impossible that human nature could sink. Let the superior classes therefore arouse themselves to meet the difficulties of a position which is becoming daily worse; and endeavor to convince the world that the policy, religion, and progressive spirit of England can remedy the defects they seem hitherto collectively to have produced.

PROTESTANT TOLERATION.

(From the Weekly Register.)

The *Univers* of Thursday publishes a Bill introduced by the Government into the Diet of Sweden, in favor of religious liberty. It is a curious illustration of the meaning which these words bear in countries where Protestantism is strong enough to have its own way. Our readers are no doubt aware that by the old Swedish law, still in force, to become a Catholic, or to

dissent from the Lutheran establishment to any other Protestant sect, is a crime punished with banishment. Towards the end of last year the Government proposed a measure for the mitigation of this and other persecuting laws. That, however, though something better than the old Swedish law, was still so monstrous as to raise a cry of astonishment throughout Europe. The present proposal is a decided improvement on that. The *Univers* prints it at length. It repeals an enactment which punished "apostacy" by the loss of every species of inheritance, another imposing the confiscation of goods, and a Royal decree of 1726 against private religious meetings, and enacts instead—

1. That a Swede may join any church or sect authorized by the King, after having given notice to the clergyman of the parish, listened to his persuasions, and been registered by him as belonging to the other religion. Until this is done he is still bound by law to remain a member of the Establishment, neither may any persons under eighteen avail themselves of this law, except by the special permission of the King.

2. No person is permitted publicly to teach, whether by word or writing, so as to seduce the simple, any doctrine opposed to "fundamental truths and pure Evangelic doctrine" on pain of fine or imprisonment. Any clergyman convicted of teaching contrary to the doctrine of the Swedish Church is to be deposed. Other persons cannot be prosecuted for false doctrine, except by a Government officer.

3. The attempt to induce any one to abjure the "pure Evangelic doctrine" by "insidious means, threats, or promises of temporal advantage," or the teaching by any person charged with the education of children belonging to the Swedish Church of any other doctrine, is to be punished with fine for the first, and imprisonment for every subsequent offence; except in cases where it is already subject to more severe punishment.

4. All children born of parents who belong to the Established Church, must continue to belong to it, even though their parents should after their birth adopt another religion. With regard to children born after one parent has adopted another religion, they must belong to the Established Church, unless both parents unite to enter their names in the Parish register before their baptism, as belonging to another faith.

5. Members of the Swedish Church may meet in private for worship; but unless the parochial Clergy preside at such meetings, the public authorities or the Clergy of the parish may demand admission, and break up the meeting, if they think it necessary for the preservation of order. There is a fine on the owner of the house and on every person present, if these meetings are during church hours.

Such is the proposed new law of Sweden—a law, be it observed, not for religious persecution, but for "the greater extension of religious liberty." In Sweden it is regarded as a most wild and dangerous concession. It was very warmly discussed by the Diet on June 17th. The Clergy say that its sure result will be, that multitudes will renounce the established Lutheranism, and adopt no other religion. In the Houses of Nobles, "M. Nils Tersmeden implored his brother nobles to consider the imminent risk, that if they conceded liberty, the Swedish Church would be swallowed up by the Catholic, and pointed them to the warning examples of Holland and England." M. Ijerta, "the warmest supporter of the measure, warmly demanded the addition of a clause to punish with exile any one who should have the audacity to make proselytes in Sweden in the name of any Catholic authority. This it is likely enough he will get. Another of his demands will be less easily satisfied: it was, that the pure evangelic should be defined." If Sweden at all resemble other Protestant countries, there are not two in the Houses of Clergy who would define it alike.

It would be premature confidently to reckon upon what may be before us. Many Liberal Protestants are seriously alarmed at the danger to religious liberty from the increased and still increasing power of Puritanism. Should it ever gain the power, it is certain that England would be as ill off for religious liberty as Sweden, for Protestantism cannot long co-exist with religious liberty. In the meantime, we English Catholics have very much for which to be thankful. Under the shadow of the British Constitution we have, in spite of unjust and insulting exceptional laws, a degree of religious liberty which no other Protestant land certainly affords, combined with a degree of civil and political freedom greater than is possessed by any Catholic country. Long may it please God to preserve them to us?

'Twas not a bad saying of the old English officer to a young one of a crack regiment ordered to China. Said he "I hope you will not fall into the hands of the Chinese for I understand they are addicted to eating pup pies."