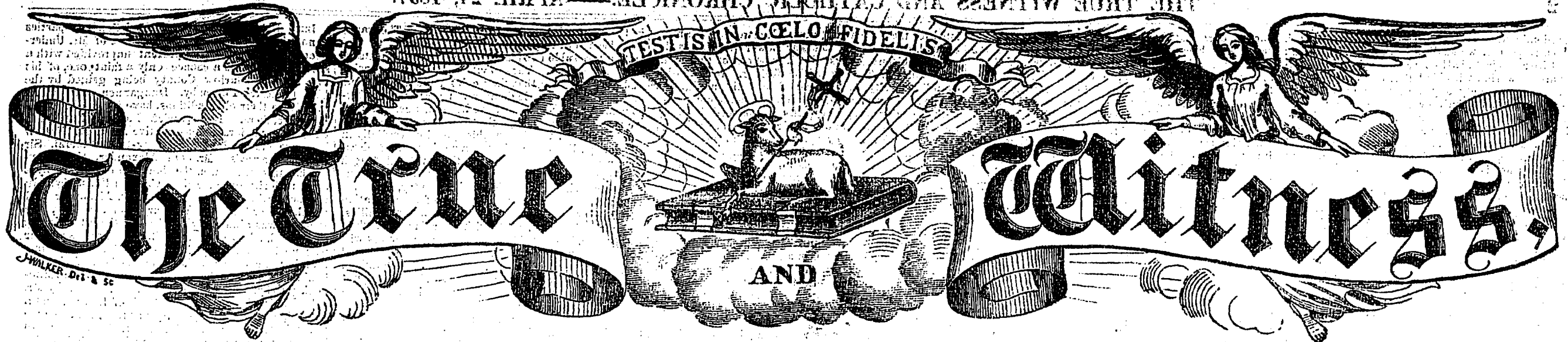


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REV. DR. CAHILL ON THE SHAMEFUL ILLIBERALITY AND INJUSTICE OF THE LOCAL ENGLISH PRESS TOWARDS THE IRISH.

If I know anything of the Irish Catholics resident in Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and the smaller towns of England, I can well understand the burning anger which they must feel on reading in the Derbyshire Times of Saturday, the 7th March, one of the most rancorous articles which could emanate, even in the worst days of Cromwell, from the lying Press of the persecuting Saxons...

self, and the infliction of injuries upon others gives him no more trouble than to cry—and your real Irishman is always crying when his evil actions bring him into difficulties.

If these are the national characteristics, as they unquestionably are, it is plain that a greater mistake cannot be committed than to treat them with leniency. Oliver Cromwell well understood their requirements when he placed them under martial law: They require the exercise of the strong, not of the merciful hand. And unless this latter is used on them, these street brawls which we may now despise, will one day swell into a disturbance as will require more ingenuity than most men possess to quell.

The Editor of the Derbyshire Times must be surely asleep since the end of the twelfth century, when he states that an Irishman has no conscience—of course in contradistinction to an Englishman, who has a conscience!!! There is not one inch of the surface of Ireland which has not deeply carved on it, in legible characters, the plunders, the vices, the perjuries, and the persecutions of England: and not a cabin of the Irish poor, not an inmate of the Irish poorhouse, not an exile in the emigrant ship, not a tombless grave in the Irish churchyards which do not all unite in proclaiming the fidelity, the courage, and the unstained conscience of the Irish race. The worst enemies of Ireland have done willing justice to the invincible fidelity of the Irish people, by their maintaining, in the face of the persecution of centuries, the inviolability of their conscience and the liberties of their country.

Whilst the historian narrates the plunder, the crimes, and the unjust laws of England towards Ireland, he at the same time, and by the same proofs, explains and demonstrates the honor, the patriotism, and the conscience of Ireland. In order to arrive at an accurate result of an English conscience, I shall extract some few items of Saxon scruples from the history of "Scully's Penal Laws."

Firstly, then, at page 14, it appears that the annual moneys plundered from Ireland, by the pure breed of England, amounted, in the year 1691, to the sum of £700,000.

Secondly.—The annual moneys taken from Ireland, and spent in England by the Irish adherents of England, that is, by the descendants of Englishmen born in Ireland, amounted, in the year 1729, to the enormous sum of £2,223,690.

Thirdly, at page 29, it appears that the remaining English party in Ireland, added to the two classes already named, had been, in the same year, in possession of the entire territory of Ireland; and by an act, called "the Act of Forfeiture," had confiscated the entire soil of Ireland, viz.:—

Table with 2 columns: Description of land, Acres. Forfeited up to the close of James the First's reign, 2,836,837. Forfeited up to the close of Charles the Second's reign, 7,800,000. Forfeited at the "Glorious Revolution", 1,060,792. Total, £11,697,629.

Here we have a statistical account of the value to be set on the English conscience in Ireland, so far as the English laity are concerned: and when we superadd to this statement, the plunder of the Church Establishment, the seizure or appropriation of the million of acres of land; the occupation, or the demolition of our Catholic churches, together with the expulsion or death of seventy-five thousand Irish Catholics, we arrive at something like a definite idea of the gross historical ignorance, the ill-conditioned mind, and the depraved heart of some of the libellers of Ireland.

The conduct of England in the case before us will be placed in a prominent point of view when we recollect that by the law of nations, when a people are conquered, they are still left in the possession of their lands and their houses, with a guarantee for the preservation of their lives. It was so in Canada: it was so in India: it was so in Caffraria; it is so in all civilised nations: it is, in fact, the code of European law. But not so in Ireland; she seized our lands, our churches; she banished our priests, beheaded our fathers, and she perpetrated an injustice, a persecution, a cruelty unknown in the history of warfare, reprobated by international law, and abhorred by universal mankind. I have stated that the proof of England's infamies in this country is also the demonstration of Ireland's conscience and national perfection, viz.:—

Firstly—During several years in the reign of Elizabeth, a price was set on the head of a priest; yet no Irishman ever betrayed the priest, even in one instance.

Secondly—If any son became Protestant, he could recover the confiscated lands of his father; yet we have only forty such instances, in a territory of eleven millions of acres!

Thirdly—If any man took the oath of abjuration, and swore against the Blessed Virgin, and against the Mass, and against the Pope, he would be restored to all the privileges of the State; yet we have not one hundred such instances.

Fourthly—The sons of Ireland would be admitted into Parliament, would be elected Sheriffs, would be entitled to all the honors, and emoluments of the Commonwealth, if they became Protestants; yet till Catholic Emancipation was carried, all Ireland, for conscience sake, preferred chains and slavery, to state-position and perjury.

Fifthly—All the laboring classes of Ireland, during three hundred years of persecution and trial, have in every year, every week, almost every hour, been tempted by the Protestant Bibleman to receive food, clothes, money, and employment, if they would only change their ancient faith; yet these poor faithful fellows for three centuries have preferred nakedness, starvation, and cruel insult sooner than clothe their wives by the wages of apostasy, sooner than feed their children on the food of perjury, sooner than even preserve life itself, by drinking of the perfidious cup of English relentless bigotry.—The Bible Societies, with an annual revenue of £5,200,000, and the Established Church, with an annual increase of upwards a million pounds in Ireland, have been unable to take a man from our faithful ranks to swell the apostate assassins of our country.

When the Derbyshire Editor will have read a little of our history, he will not in future gibbet himself on the pillar of public scorn by maligning Ireland. If he were generous, as he ought to be, he would rather condemn England for not giving employment in Ireland to her Irish subjects: he would inveigh, as an honest man, against the multitudinous barracks, goals and poorhouses of Ireland, while he would write in scathing indignation that there is scarcely one factory in our country to encourage commerce, to give employment to the poor, and to feed the honest laborer.

We have no idea in Ireland of calumniating Englishmen; no, we respect the honor, the integrity, the commercial industry of Englishmen of the present day. We would not convert a petty row of low Englishmen into an ungrateful or indecent theme for the abuse of the whole nation. We make a wide distinction between the English Government and the English people; and while we believe the one capable of any injustice or persecution against Ireland, we accord to the English commercial people the just merit of honor, sympathy, and honesty.

The Irish laborers in England are driven from their own country by grinding laws, by persecution, by injustice: their presence in England is a disgrace to the Legislature: their absence from home is a proof of bad laws, of sectarian bigotry, and of ferocious persecution. Whatever faults the poor Irish have in England our rulers are to blame, who have forced them to a career of emigration in the hard struggle to live; their virtues are their own, their faults are the crime of England. I know they are disposed to be quarrelsome, and I am sorry for it. I am aware of their tendencies to engage in civic contention, and I regret it; but from my experience in travelling through England, I am familiar with the galling insults, the wounding gibes, which they constantly receive from the brutal lower classes of the English and in almost all cases, from the Derbyshire row to the Stockport tragedy, these contentions take their rise perhaps more from English derision than from Irish disorder.

Fifty years ago an Irish laborer, caught alone at night in the lanes and alleys of Liverpool, was set upon and beaten by professional gangs of English workmen, in order to banish the poor Irishman from all employment in the city. This fact, being the constant practice in the streets at night, was the cause of forming combinations amongst Irishmen, in self-defence. In process of time the English were reinforced by Orangemen from the North of Ireland; and, as a natural consequence, the Irish enlarged their defensive combination. The only difference in the case was, viz.: that the English and the Orangemen commenced the disorder; the Irish were merely a defensive organization. On the 12th of July and on St. Patrick's Day, annual murders were committed. Under the guidance of the Rev. Mr. Sheridan, of Liverpool, and by the co-operation of Sir George Grey, I became a willing instrument of breaking up both these societies, in the year 1851. The peace of the city was annually disturbed; blood was spilled on both sides every year: one party threatened to murder the Catholics; the other threatened to burn the shipping in the harbor; and now that these

yearly processions are all ended, it is true to say that the commencement of these terrific sanguinary annual collisions sprung exclusively from the combined hatred of Englishmen and Irish Orangemen to the poor Catholic laborers in Liverpool. D. W. C. Limerick, March, 1857.

REV. DR. CAHILL ON THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE LATE MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AGAINST LORD PALMERSTON.

The late combination against Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons, on the Canton question, was, under all the circumstances of the case, the natural result of his own past conduct. The majority, who registered their votes against him, acted, in the strictest sense of the word, from a sudden but yet a well organised combination. Lord Palmerston, during the last twenty-five years, has at different times made political enemies of every section of the House: his un-fixed policy, his apostasy to every shade of opinion, his adherence to contradictory and contrary Administrations, have placed him before the nation as a kind of political Swiss, who, for station, power, and emolument has been Tory, Whig, Democrat, as each party appears in the ascendant, and governs the empire during the sickle passion of the passing hour. If the war in the Crimea had continued Lord Palmerston would not be disturbed in his position: not because he is a prudent Leader, but because he is a reckless adventurer. When the barque of the State is in a storm, he walks the deck in fearless composure: he commands the ship under terrors, where more skillful captains, from their very ability, dread the impending danger. Hence he is always selected to steer the vessel in the tempest: but when the danger is past, no man will sail in company with him, from the perfidy of his official character; and in fair weather he is always discharged. No man living knows the public feeling against him better than his Lordship himself: he saw the combination beginning to be formed for his discharge: and, therefore, with his usual tact, he planned the raising of a little storm in Canton, to keep his ship still chartered for active service. But he had nearly overdone the stratagem: the wind was not high enough to awaken much fear: and in the meantime the Derbyites, the Whigs, the Free Traders, the Methodists, the advocates of foreign Revolution, the Bigots of Exeter Hall, and the Irish Independent Oppositionists, all united in one hour and hurled him into the deep sea, where he is now battling with the waves which he has himself lashed into fury; and where we hear him calling on all his former companions to rescue him, and to bring him back to his old command. If the storm continue to rage they will certainly rescue him, and replace him for a while in his old reckless station: but if a calm should set in, it is certain they will let him make his escape from drowning as best he can.

The vote of the House on the Canton question is the perfect exponent of the public feeling of all parties against him: perhaps such a fact has never before occurred in Parliament, namely, that a man is suffered to hold the reins of Government in his hands, from his want of principle, from his very imprudence, and from possessing a quality which, in any other Nation, would disqualify him from holding any place of public trust or National responsibility, namely, the attribute of reckless political apostasy. Any one who has watched him, these few years past, can make an interesting study of him, as a phenomenon in the political kingdom. If his political formations could be preserved and fossilized, the future Antiquarian in cabinet curiosities could defy the world to produce a specimen of such contradictory characteristics in political science, united whole and entire, in any one man, as might be detected in the diplomatic structure of Lord Palmerston. I shall now quote the various opinions entertained of him by the different sections of the late combiners of the House of Commons: and, as it happens that I know something personally of the Noble Lord, I shall also endeavor to do justice to my own opinions in his regard. Let us first hear the sentiments of the Free-traders, from Mr. Cobden's late speech, in the Free-trade-hall at Manchester, as follows. He said:—

"You are going to constitute Lord Palmerston the despotic ruler of this country. (No, no.) If he is not to be checked by Parliament—if the moment Parliament does check him, he dissolves, and, instead of sending up men who are independent, to assert their and your rights, you send up mere creatures of his will, what is that but investing him with the power of a despot? Aye, and let me tell you, it is a despotism of the clamsiest and most expensive kind, and, at the same time, the most irresponsible on the face of the earth, because you surround him with the sham appearance of a representative form of Government. You can't get at him whilst he has a Parliament beneath whose shield he can shelter himself; and if you don't do your duty in your election, in sending men up who will vigilantly watch the Minister of the day, then I say you are in a worse plight, because governed in a more irrespon-

sible way, than even if you were under the King of Prussia or the Emperor of the French.

"But who is Lord Palmerston that we are to invest him with despotism? (A Voice—A traitor.) I will say nothing worse of him here than I have said to his face in Parliament. (Laughter and applause.) But when I want to know what a man is, I ask what has he done. (Hear.) There is no other test but that. That was Napoleon's question always if any one talked to him about somebody being a great man. 'What has he done?' Lord Palmerston has been 60 years in Parliament. (A Voice—52.) Yes 52 years. The Times newspaper, which spent 15 years in trying to blow his reputation, is now polishing him off every day. (Laughter.) I remember that that paper, when it had said everything else that was gross, vulgar and vindictive of him, wound up by saying that he had been boots to every administration for 30 years. (Hear and laughter.)

Now, let us hear what the Tories, the Whigs, and the Democrats think of him:—

"But what did Lord Palmerston do in December, 1853, when Lord Aberdeen's Government was preparing a new Reform Bill, to be brought in in the session of 1854? Why, he left Lord Aberdeen's Government because he objected to that modicum of reform which was then brought in. (Hear.) That Reform Bill, introduced in the spring of 1854, which bore upon its back the names of Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham—certainly not two very rash or democratic Reformers—which proposed to give the 110 franchise to counties and to give a modified, or slightly reduced, franchise to the boroughs, so slightly, indeed, that some of my friends said that it would in some boroughs operate rather as a restriction than as an extension of the franchise—that Bill was too much for Lord Palmerston to swallow in 1853, and he left Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet avowedly because he objected to it. What has he done since? What has he done this very session? Why he has opposed everything that can bear the mere semblance of reform. He voted against Locke King's motion for a £10 county franchise, which formed a part of the Bill of 1854; he has opposed even the 40s. freehold franchise for Scotland, if you can believe the Lord Advocate, who has gone down and announced that the Government are opposed to it. Now, will you tell me on what ground I am to be called upon to surrender my independence and freedom of thought and action to the will of a Minister such as this? (Hear.) What do you propose to get by such a policy? It appears to me that it is about the most audacious attempt on your credulity that was ever practised in this country, to think of raising the cry at an election in favor of one man—for there is no other cry attempted on the hustings—that man to be the leader of the Liberal party, and not to have one Liberal tenet in his profession of faith! (Hear, hear.) Why, when I remember the men whom I have hitherto considered to be earnest Reformers, and have read their speeches and addresses in which they have said, 'I am for the ballot, for the extension of the suffrage, for the shortening of Parliaments, and against Church-rates, and will give my hearty support to Lord Palmerston's Government'—my natural question is, are these men idiots, or are they dishonest? (Voices—Both.) If you attempt to carry on a business in private life, you don't go to a man who has objects directly opposite to yours, and put yourself under his guidance. But Lord Palmerston is not content with a mere passive resistance to what you desire as Reformers; he lends active opposition, and votes and speaks against every measure of reform which is brought into the House of Commons."

Now we shall read what the foreign Republicans think of him:—

"We are told that Lord Palmerston is a great friend to freedom abroad. Go and ask those men in this country who represent freedom abroad. Ask Kossuth! (Applause.) I will tell you what happened to my knowledge when that illustrious Hungarian was expected in England after his confinement in Turkey. My lamented friend Lord Dudley Stuart, whose devotion to the cause of those foreign refugees was unbounded as it was sincere, went down to Southampton to meet Kossuth, and receive him on the arrival of the steamer. Having to wait a day or two there, and being in the neighbourhood of Broadlands, where Lord Palmerston lives, he went to see him, and received from him a request to bring Kossuth over to the Broadlands on his arrival.—I remember receiving a letter from Lord Dudley Stuart announcing this intelligence with the greatest glee; and as soon as the vessel arrived, he announced it to Kossuth, when to his astonishment he found that Kossuth would not accept it, and would not go near Lord Palmerston. I got another letter from Lord Dudley Stuart, asking me to use all my influence to induce Kossuth to call on Lord Palmerston, but he would not do it; and my answer was, 'You may depend on it that Kossuth knows a great deal more of Lord Palmerston than you do.' (Hear.) I could not go into the particulars now; but they are all familiar to me. I defy any human being to show me an instance in which one person on the face of the earth has been happier or freer in consequence of Lord Palmerston's Administration (Applause.) He endorsed the invasion of Rome by the French—we have it on our Bluebooks. He was the first in red hot haste to congratulate the Emperor of the French after his usurpation, when the blood was still flowing in the streets of Paris. He refused to see an envoy sent by the Hungarians, because he should treat with none but the Austrian Government; and he treated the Italians in the same way.

Again let us study the character which the Times gave him in 1850. On the 22nd of June, 1850, we find:—

"There is no constituted authority in Europe with which Lord Palmerston has not quarrelled, there is no insurrection that he has not betrayed. From first to last, his character has been the want of a firm and lofty adherence to the known interests of England, and it is precisely from a want of such guiding laws of conduct that our foreign policy has degenerated into a tissue of caprices, machinations, petty contentions and everlasting disputes." This was pretty well; but, four days later, the picture received a little extra colouring:—"Under Lord Palmerston we are assured that the triumphant spread of self-government is secure; the British interest will