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## THE REV. DR. CAHILL'S LETTER.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

New Year's Day, 1852, Dublin.

My Lord,—It is now upwards of twelve months since I took the liberty of writing my first letter to you. I was urged, at that time, by several friends of mine to open a correspondence with you, in order to oppose some obstacle however weak, to the impetuous torrent of bigotry which you opened against my creed in November, 1850; and I continued to address your lordship in several letters during the course of the past year, in order to contradict the historical mis-statements which the public papers attribute to you in your various speeches in the House of Commons. I can considerably forbear to reproach you with the numerous misrepresentations you have made on those occasions against the doctrine and history of my Church, because I am at present perfectly acquainted with the prejudiced and the slanderous sources of your political education; but there is one great culpable event in your lordship's life, as a senator of 1851, which cannot be palliated by the future historian. You undertook to write to your various ambassadors throughout Europe to learn if bulls from the Pope were received by the different reigning European Catholic monarchs, as binding in their various kingdoms; and you stated, "that, having received their answers, they all declared that no bull from the Pope is received in those countries as binding, without the previous consent of the reigning power." My lord, I feel great pain in being compelled to tell you that you had received no such answers. I have, since that time, read the various replies which you received; and I am forced to tell you, and the entire civilised world, that Lord John Russell did not receive even one such reply; and hence I am reluctantly obliged to reproach you with having, in the House of Commons!—the senate of proud Britain!—stated in your place, as the first minister of the crown the thing which is not the fact—and thus an Irish Priest convicts (on the clearest evidence) Lord John Russell of palpably suppressing the truth, when it suited his views and his purpose to malign the Catholic Church, to misrepresent the Pope, and to belie the constitutional laws of Catholic Europe! I have introduced this significant fact at this opening paragraph of my letter to your lordship, because it will tend to explain the subsequent portions of this communication; and it will serve to prove the degrading subterfuge under which the highest station will shelter itself, to gratify bigoted rancor; and it will demonstrate that a cabinet, however powerful, constructed on the principles of stratagem and trick, must ultimately fall beneath public scorn and universal execration.

I have undertaken, during the past year, to inform your lordship of the universal hostility of Europe to the policy pursued by your cabinet, in reference to your undisguised attempts to uproot Catholicity in five different countries, while encouraging, at the same time a shameful rebellion against your ancient allies. I published the letter referred to on the 4th of November, the anniversary of the day when you gave the command to the people of England to demolish the Catholic Church, to burn the Blessed Virgin, and to spit on the cross; and I foretold that your trusty and fallen associate, Lord Palmerston, could not hold his place for three months in the British pandemonium of 1851. Your hired organs laughed at the audacity of an Irish Priest, for presuming to lecture the leader of that august assembly on the dismissal of one of his companions. I have, therefore, a triumph in the fulfilment of my predictions; and I now appear before your lordship with an additional claim on your reluctant consideration. You need not mistake me, however. I do not presume to bandy political knowledge with you. I own I am no politician; but I can publish the sentiments of men who are at least equal to your lordship in diplomatic experience; and hence, although a mere straw on the angry current of matured foreign opinion, I can point out to those who choose to watch my progress, the rapidity and the direction of the flood. With this brief preliminary, I beg your lordship's calm perusal of the following statements, which I shall, with much respect submit to your official attention.

The dismissal (for such it is) of Lord Palmerston from his position of the office of "Captain Rock of Europe," appears so to bewilder all circles of politicians in this country, that I shall briefly (through you) inform my countrymen of the real state of this clear plain case. Since your lordship formed your cabinet in '46, you seemed to have had only two objects in view in your foreign diplomacy, viz., firstly to revolutionise every nation where the smouldering fire of rebellion could be blown into a flame; and secondly, to uproot the doctrine and to defame the Priesthood of the Catholic Church. By the first section of your plan, you intended to advance your English commerce and influence; and by the second

part of your scheme, you hoped to elevate your Protestantism. In a word, you conceived the new idea of at once suppressing foreign order and foreign trade, for the purpose of extending the products of the English market into disorganised states; and you intended at the same time to suppress all foreign religion and the Pope, in order to supply their places with a modern home-made gospel, manufactured at Bamford Speke, and published to those foreign Christians by some sleek Jumper, ordained by Cromwell, receiving his mission from Jeffries, and commanded by a righteous senate to convert the foreign Papists, by preaching slander in the name of God. In fact, both the gospel and the rebellion were conducted on principles strictly commercial; with this small difference, that both you and your colleague hated the Pope much more than you hated the kings; and therefore you both gratified the inherent, inborn, rancorous, bigotry of your infancy, your youth, and your old age, in the keen and vigorous prosecution of your grand plan for the demolition of the Catholic faith. So little doubt is there on these two points in the mind of every reading man in those Catholic countries referred to, and so public is the testimony to prove this treachery, that no attempt is even made by your bribed press in these kingdoms to write one syllable in contradiction of the universal and indignant public conviction. Your public agents at Berne, Vienna, Rome, Naples, and Paris, have acted in these matters with such arrogant notoriety, that your ambassadors seemed to take a pleasure in the amiable imputation, while your despatches stand forward as a perfect and complete documentary evidence to inculpate Lord John Russell as the prime mover in this English conspiracy. And so far have you carried this insane fanaticism, that you aided English agents during the year 1850, to distribute in France one hundred and twenty-three thousand English Bibles!! And you have published at Florence and in Turin eleven thousand copies of the same parliamentary inspiration!

One should be most unwilling to believe that a Cabinet could descend so low as to become diplomatic Jumpers amongst the French and Italians! But the fact of an envoy of Great Britain signing his name on the cheques of disbursement for circulating English bibles and tracts in Switzerland, can leave no doubt on the mind of any dispassionate man that ministers of state have, within the last few years, in the furious malignity of their apostate hatred to Catholicity and the Pope, forgotten the dignity of their office, the honor of their country, the majesty of their Queen, and even the material interests of England. In fact, Sir, you have been so successful in governing unfortunate Ireland and Canada, and India, by division and bigotry, that you fancied you could rule all Europe on similar principles. But your country will find to her cost, that you have misapplied your old nostrum: that political and Catholic Europe is quite alive to your stratagems; and that you have awakened a spirit of retaliation and of combination, which, before long, threatens to reduce England to a fifth-rate power on the map of nations. You have placed England in a position which she could not maintain without open treachery and perjury to her allies; and from which she is now compelled to retire, with the shame and the dishonor of convicted deceit. You may now change your cabinet as often as you please, but you may rely on the fact, that the mind of the continental powers will remain in immutable hostility to all your future cabinets whether Whig or Tory. You have placed several thrones in imminent danger; you have ranged several peoples in the battles of civil strife; you have glutted the rope and the guillotine with the victims of your conspiracy; and you have left behind you, throughout Europe, a lesson of terror, which may yet be retaliated with a vengeance against your own country.

Europe has, as it were, awoken from a dream; and now plainly and vividly beholds the deep abyss, which you had prepared to engulf her ancient institutions. You are yourself caught in a snare which you spread for her; and the accounting day of England's punishment, or national humiliation, may be much nearer to you than, perhaps, your cabinet can well believe. There is one resolve, on which Europe is perfectly decided, viz.—a united protest against your official interference in their national affairs, and against your unparalleled bigotry and persecution towards Catholicity. The English press, which you have in pay in the various capitals, shall be immediately suppressed; you will no longer be permitted to distribute through your "Jumping" ambassadors, the slanderous and the infidel tracts with which you have deluged all the European capitals. Your young "honorable" will not, in future, be allowed, under the cloak of the gospel, to sap the foundations of religion and constitutional law. The daily and weekly correspondents of your London journals will in future be hunted from every foreign city, as the correspondent of the

Daily News was shuttlecocked from Vienna to Berlin! and from Berlin removed in political quarantine to London, lest his presence might spread abroad the English infection of rebellion and infidelity. I beg your serious attention on this subject to the following extract of a letter received some time since from a person whose station and political experience would bear comparison with any diplomatist in Europe:—

19th, 1851, Paris.

"MONSIEUR LE DOCTEUR ET BIEN DIGNE PERE—On my arrival here from Madrid I found your two letters before me. You cannot too much exaggerate the revolutionary spirit which Protestantism develops in all the Catholic countries, where it is allowed to exhibit its pernicious natural tendencies. It was born in ecclesiastical revolution, has been nursed in opposition to ancient authority, its very essence is unbridled licentiousness. Professing no obedience to any rule, except its own will, it is necessarily selfish, arrogant, and rapacious; and, novelty being its first principle, it stands like the fortress of an enemy in every country, to disturb the order, to overturn the institutions, and to corrupt the faith of society. From a long official residence in ———, I am rather conversant with the feeling of even Englishmen towards it, and I am justified in asserting, from this long observation, that England maintains this onerous incubus, not so much from any conscientious devotion to its moral usefulness, as because its immense revenues make it the outpost to defend the aristocracy and the throne. Whenever an English panic seizes the mind of the working classes, their first thoughts of redress are turned towards the wealth of the English church, and, therefore, the aristocracy and the Queen of Great Britain are perfectly secure from internal revolution, as long as a sous can be taken from the law church. It is, then, the political much more than the religious bulwark of this church, which stands between all invasion of the senate and the throne; and therefore England will maintain it in its entirety for the safety of dearer and higher interests. And this idea leads me to reply to your other inquiries. Our Church throughout Europe is a bulwark too, but one of a different kind from the English garrison—it protects the aristocracy and the throne, not by its material treasures, but by its spiritual supremacy; and it has in every age made a more powerful and effective resistance to the encroachments of the revolutionist by its moral influence than it could have possibly done by golden resources. Therefore, I do say (but not officially) that the Catholic powers will not permit England (without a struggle) to annihilate any portion of this moral bulwark in Europe; they will not allow so dangerous a precedent to pass without a public mark of their indignation; and it is quite certain that Portugal and Spain, and Upper and Lower Italy, and the Pope, and Austria and France will send a united note of remonstrance to England in the event of her attempting to prosecute and crush the freedom and existence of the Irish Catholic branch of the Church. My own impression is, that my Lord Russell will not dare to do it in the face of the insult to all Europe—in fact England has of late assumed a wrong position in politics and religion; and unless she is met by a determined front, there is no knowing the extent of mischief she is capable of producing by encouraging and allying herself with the enemies of order in every country."

From this decided extract it appears, Sir, that the Irish Bishops are not entirely indebted to your kind forbearance in not hanging them, in your English fashion for having dared to obey God in preference to your late New Zealand enactment, which declares that the Papist Bishops of Great Britain and Ireland shall be devoured, consumed, and annihilated for presuming to say that they have noses on their faces, and for daring to assert that the Queen of this country, in her cradle, is not the spiritual head of Christ's Church on earth, the legitimate successor of the Apostles, by direct lineal descent, and the infallible source of all divine truth, through the British geographical area lying within the evangelical limits of thirteen degrees longitude, and extending from the 46th to the 58th degrees (inclusive) of north latitude!! Depend upon it, my lord, you have overbalanced yourself. These are not the times to insult the world by a ferocious and an exploded bigotry. You are certainly caught in your own trap; your own fall is inevitable; and you have ruined your country. And when your place shall have been filled by your official successor, whether Whig or Tory, it is all but certain that he will have heavier work on hands than unrobbing and insulting loyal Catholic Bishops, and that English statesmen will have a larger field for their courage than killing the poor, faithful Irish, writing ferocious articles on the extinction of the Irish race, and burying tens and hundreds of thousands of the subjects of the Queen (the head of Christ's Church) in one common, red, oozing pit,

without shroud or coffin,—thus proving the care with which the head of the church (!) watches over her dying flock. Ah, Sir, if we were not the most loyal people in the world, I ask you, would not your cruelties to us almost force a wish from our oppressed hearts, praying that the day might soon arrive when a foreign foe would take deep and just revenge on your country for your cruel oppression of Ireland. Poor captive Ireland seems never to have any hopes of redress, save in the overthrow of England; and in the language of an Irish orator, now no more,— "She is like an outlaw, bound in chains, on his voyage to Botany Bay, his only hope of escape being the wreck of the ship."

The various political circles in this country seem quite puzzled, endeavoring to explain the cause of Lord Palmerston's expulsion by you from the British cabinet. But the case is so clear, that the facts have only to be stated in order to understand this most necessary act of your strange policy. It cannot be forgotten that Lord Palmerston grossly insulted (during the progress of the Swiss revolution which you caused) the ambassadors of Prussia, Austria, and France.—He enjoined, deceived, and ultimately insulted them. He insulted the Spanish ambassador by taking part with Sir Henry Bulwer in his audacious interference with the internal laws of Spain. He insulted Naples by sending Mr. Gladstone's misstatements to not less than fourteen independent dynasties, in order to brand Naples with cruelty. He insulted the Neapolitan ambassador by refusing to send an official contradiction to these slanders; and he thus doggedly denied to a King, the reparation which, by the rule of social courtesy, is due by one gentleman to another. He insulted Austria by embracing the "Orange" Kossuth, and listening to a deposition which described the Emperor as an assassin and a tyrant. He insulted the Pope by patronising every rebel and infidel who endeavored to overturn the ancient pontifical dynasty. In fact, his official life during the last five years is made up exclusively of a series of political insults; and such is the impression he has produced on the continent, that common civility is never expected in the communications of the evangelical ex-minister. But Austria decided that this state of things should be at once put an end to, and resolved in privy council to resent the insult offered to her in reference to Kossuth; and hence she refused to receive the credentials of the Earl of Westmorland, as your ambassador at the imperial court. From the 8th of last October to the 14th of December, the English earl waited at the hall door of the Emperor, with his official hat in his hand and his official head uncovered! begging to be received. But no—Austria trampled on you and on the earl, and for ten long weeks refused to receive a visit from England, unless an ample and a satisfactory apology should be made jointly by Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. Some one of the three things should therefore be done, viz., to make an abject apology, to resign your office, or to decline all further relations with Austria. Now "comes the rub." Lord Palmerston, in his right honorable doggedness, refused to make the essential apology; and Austria must not be provoked in the present state of French politics; and Lord John Russell will not resign till turned out the fourth time! and hence Lord John Russell decided at once on one of these three things, viz., to dismiss his former colleague and tool. And thus the Premier-Whig who lately reversed all his former principles, who betrayed Ireland, and who insulted Christianity, has added one more claim to public respect (?) by summarily dismissing (as a necessary act) the very man whom he encouraged, during six years of rampant bigotry, to blaspheme God, and to insult man, through all the nations of the civilised world. The pretext for the dismissal of Lord Palmerston, put forward by the public journals, viz., "that Lord Palmerston differed with you on the late French *coop d'etat*," is a mere sham. You have expelled him, because you dreaded the displeasure of Austria; and because you did not wish to resign your official position. Every one knows that your lordship has kept your place during the last year at the expense of your personal honor; and hence one can easily believe, even without a proof, that the man who can sacrifice principle and reputation to an official position, can much more readily immolate private friendship and collegue-ship to the venal preservation of diplomatic pre-eminence. Lord John Russell is therefore the man who had employed Lord Palmerston during six years, in the work of revolution and bigotry, and the same Lord John Russell is the same man who has dismissed the same servant when it suited his diplomatic taste to get rid of the same hated official instrument. This statement, therefore, settles this question, as far as my countrymen are concerned; and if Lord Palmerston should find it necessary to bring the fact of his dismissal before the ensuing parliament, (which I can hardly believe,) I