

## THE TRUE WITNESS

## CATHOLIC CHRONICLE,

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## The True Witness.

MONTREAL, FRIDAY, NOV. 12, 1858.

## ST. PATRICK'S LITERARY ASSOCIATION.

THE MEMBERS of the ST. PATRICK'S LITERARY  
ASSOCIATION will meet in the ST. PATRICK'S  
HALL at half-past SEVEN o'clock on next SUNDAY  
EVENING, for the Election of Officers. A punctual  
attendance of Members is requested.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK.

By the *Kangaroo* we have Liverpool dates to  
the 27th ult. The Portuguese Government hav-  
ing yielded to the demands of France, and given  
up the *Charles George* to the latter Power,  
great indignation is felt and expressed by the  
British Press at what it treats as the abandon-  
ment of an ancient ally; and the Derby Cabinet  
comes in for no small share of censure for its  
apathy throughout this exciting affair. Thus has  
the "entente cordiale" passed away, and been  
replaced by mutual recriminations, and heart-  
burnings betwixt the two great nations whose  
soldiers lately fought side by side in the Crimea.  
It requires not the gift of prophecy to predict that  
when next they meet in the battle field it will not  
be as allies.

The other European news is unimportant, nor  
is there anything of consequence from India. The  
insurgents had again met with a repulse; but it  
does not seem that they are crushed, or that the  
insurrection is subdued.

THE BROWN-DORION BANQUET.—This long  
talked of political demonstration came off on the  
evening of Thursday the 4th instant, at the City  
Hall. The attendance was respectable; from  
six to seven hundred persons having sat down to  
table, including Mr. George Brown and his  
Ministerial colleagues, who attended as the guests  
of the evening.

Mr. Brown in replying to the toast of the  
Brown-Dorion Administration spoke at great  
length, but to very little purpose, if we may be  
permitted to accept the report given in the  
*Montreal Herald* as a fair sample of what he  
said. In that report we have looked, but looked  
in vain, for one word authorising us to change  
our former sentiments towards the man, or to in-  
duce us to place any confidence in him for the fu-  
ture. He may entertain the very best intentions  
towards us; he may be disposed to do us justice  
and to grapple fairly with the great questions  
which occupy public attention; but we must say  
that he has not as yet given us any valid reasons  
for believing that such is the case.

Mr. Brown and his friends argue, and not  
without plausibility, that they cannot be expected  
to develop their policy in their present position;  
that when regularly called in to prescribe for the  
patient, and in receipt of the usual fees, then, but  
not before, will they explain the mode in which  
they propose to treat the diseases of the body  
politic. All this may be very true; and if Mr.  
Brown chooses to take refuge behind this plea, we  
have no means of forcing him from his position.

But on the other hand it is equally true, that  
until such time as Mr. Brown shall have fully  
and openly declared his intentions, upon the  
"School Question"—the "Orange" or "Secret  
politico-religious Societies Question"—and the  
"Lower Canada, all important question of "Re-  
presentation by Population"—we Catholics are  
bound not to support him, not to countenance  
him, not even to desist from looking upon him as  
our opponent. Of a new man we require some  
pledge, some guarantee in the shape of a declara-  
tion of principles; much more than should we  
exact a similar pledge from one whom we have  
long known indeed, but known only as a rabid  
and inveterate foe.

When the curtain fell on the stage of the po-  
litical theatre in Toronto, hiding from our view  
the actors thereupon, Mr. Brown stood foremost  
amongst the most active of the opponents of the  
"Separate" school system. The last glimpse  
that we had of the man in his capacity as a legis-  
lator, represented him to us as the sworn enemy  
of "Freedom of Education"; and thus, judging  
him by his antecedents, and by his last public  
acts, we expect to find him, when again the cur-  
tain draws up, and he makes his appearance be-  
fore the audience, playing the same part. We  
may be mistaken, but we have as yet no reasons

for believing that we are so; and can, therefore,  
see no reason why, as Catholics, we should en-  
tertain any feelings less hostile towards Mr. G.  
Brown to-day, than those that we entertained to-  
ward him at the close of the last session of Par-  
liament. Those who in that session voted for  
"separate schools" and against the Orange In-  
corporation Bill we deem our friends, and shall  
continue so to deem them; for the like reason we  
still include all those who voted against the said  
schools, or for the Orange Bill, amongst our op-  
ponents.

We have not space to criticise a speech which  
as reported in the *Montreal Herald* occupies  
four columns of small type; some observations,  
we may, however, be permitted and indeed ex-  
pected to make.

Mr. Brown commenced with a kind of com-  
plaint that he had been so misrepresented in  
Lower Canada, by his political opponents, as to  
be held "almost in horror." Here the speaker  
was in error. If Mr. Brown has been misrepre-  
sented at all, it has been by the editor of the  
*Globe*; and whatever may have been the case  
with others, we can assure him that we have al-  
ways looked upon him as a "humbug," as a very  
finite scarecrow or bugbear, fit only to frighten  
fools withal. This our estimate of the man's  
character has certainly not been in the least  
modified by his last speech at the Montreal Ban-  
quet.

In justice to Mr. Brown, however, we must  
add that he expressed his intention so to treat the  
politico-religious question of the day "as to  
sweep away the discords which have so long and  
so unhappily pervaded this country." Now if  
this be something better than those good inten-  
tions with which as the proverb informs us, a cer-  
tain nameless place is paved, Mr. Brown has it  
in his power to give us conclusive evidence of his  
sincerity. For this purpose, he must dismount  
from the "high Protestant horse" on which he  
has heretofore delighted to ride; and he must  
abandon at once and forever, all idea of govern-  
ing us upon "broad Protestant principles." He,  
and his, have been the aggressors, by attempting  
to force these principles upon us; but if for the  
future they will abstain from this, and turn the  
"high Protestant horse" out to grass, we shall  
be able no doubt to get on very pleasantly to-  
gether. These, however, are the only conditions  
upon which "the discords which have so long,  
and so unhappily pervaded this country" can be  
swept away.

And now if it be asked, in what position the  
Brown-Dorion Banquet leaves us?—we answer  
that we are to-day what we were yesterday, and  
shall be to-morrow. Mr. Brown has given us  
no reason to hope for justice on the School Que-  
stion from him; the present Ministry have given  
us positive assurance that they will not do us jus-  
tice; and that it is their firm determination not to  
break the shackles wherein the Catholic minority  
of Upper Canada are bound. Neither from the  
"Ins" then, nor from the "Outs" have we any-  
thing to hope; but must still put our trust in God,  
in the justice of our cause, and in our own right  
hands. God helps those who are willing to help  
themselves; but will not work miracles to rescue  
the apathetic and the slothful from the conse-  
quences of their own folly.

What then should we do? This at all events  
is certain: that, if we are still content to sit, as  
for some years past we have sat, with our arms  
folded on our breasts; and if the fear of  
harassing a Ministry, or disturbing the repose of  
the Gods of the official Olympus with our com-  
plaints, is still allowed to overpower every senti-  
ment of honor and duty—we must be content  
also to put up with whatsoever our Protestant  
masters see fit to impose upon us. But if, on the  
other hand, we prefer the immortal souls of our  
children to every other consideration; and deem  
it of more importance to do our duty towards  
God, than to keep any particular set of men in  
office, we shall at once take active measures to  
bring our influence so to bear upon the Legisla-  
ture and the Ministry as to convince them that  
we will no longer submit to be accessories to the  
eternal damnation of our offspring, by tolerating  
a system of education condemned by the highest  
ecclesiastical authority as imminently "dang-  
erous to faith and morals."

For this purpose it seems to us that the Cat-  
holic laity of Upper Canada—for to them it be-  
longs to take the initiative in this matter—should  
without delay prepare their petitions to the Le-  
gislation, detailing their grievances; and, in so  
far as possible, indicating the remedies those  
grievances require. Those petitions strongly, but  
respectfully worded, numerous signed, and sup-  
ported by the friends of "Freedom of Educa-  
tion" in the Legislature, will have the effect of  
convincing the Ministry that we are in earnest,  
and will no longer be trifled with; they will do  
away with the argument based by our opponents  
upon our apathy and long-continued silence; and  
by provoking discussion, and compelling our re-  
presentatives to declare themselves on one side  
or the other, they will enable us clearly to distin-  
guish our friends from our foes. It now only re-  
mains to see to whom shall belong the honor of  
taking the initiative in their great business; and  
from which city or district of Canada the greatest

number of signatures to a petition in favor of  
"Freedom of Education" shall be obtained.—  
We in Lower Canada can act only as auxilia-  
ries; but we think that we may promise to our  
Upper Canadian friends, our warmest sympathies  
and our active co-operation.

That cold water will again, as it has been be-  
fore, be thrown on our proposal, we are well  
aware. It will be opposed, frowned upon, and con-  
demned by all the "place-hunters" and Ministe-  
rial sycophants in both sections of the Province.  
It is as much the policy of the "Ins," as it is  
of the "Outs," to shirk the School Question;—  
and from the friends of both therefore, we may  
expect opposition to a system of tactics which  
will compel them to throw aside their masks, and  
to appear before the world in their true colors.  
To the men who make a profitable trade out of  
their good principles, their—"bons principes"—  
our policy must of course be most distasteful;—  
but knowing it to be the only policy which can  
have any successful results, we trust that it will  
be adopted by all true and independent Catholics.  
In the mean time, we invite discussion upon the  
subject from our correspondents throughout the  
Province, and invoke the co-operation of our  
esteemed cotemporary the *Canadian Free-  
man*.

HONESTY OF MEN OF "BONS PRINCIPES."—  
The *Minerve*, the especial official exponent of  
"good principles," as understood by office-hold-  
ers and office-seekers, has yet to learn the first  
principles of common honesty; has yet to learn  
her catechism, and to digest the meaning of the  
precept—"Thou shalt not bear false witness  
against thy neighbor."

In her issue of the 10th inst., our cotemporary,  
who finds that fair argument will no longer avail  
her, insinuates, indeed more than insinuates, that  
the TRUE WITNESS is an advocate of the Vol-  
untary system in religion, and consequently in  
favor of the abolition of tithes. She says:—

"Mr. McGee is in favor of the Voluntary system,  
as being the only sure system—le seul sur. The  
True Witness does not oppose it—ne le combat pas—  
but does not wish to appear as desiring the abolition  
of tithes."

In support of this assertion, the *Minerve*  
quotes a portion of an article from the TRUE  
WITNESS of the 15th ult., in which we say that  
in consequence of the preamble to the Clergy  
Reserves Bill, asserting the desirableness of  
doing away with "all semblance even of con-  
nection between Church and State," we look  
upon the abolition of tithes as inevitable, indeed as  
a mere question of time. But our honest cotem-  
porary, in proof we suppose of her "good prin-  
ciples," carefully abstains from giving the follow-  
ing passage; which stands in immediate con-  
nection with that by her laid before her readers, in  
support of the assertion that the TRUE WITNESS  
—"ne combat pas"—does not oppose the Volun-  
tary System:—

"We have never advocated the Voluntary Prin-  
ciple, and have always denounced as false, both in po-  
litics and in theology, the principle laid down by our  
Canadian 'friends of order and good principles,' that  
it is desirable to abolish all semblance even of con-  
nection between Church and State."—True Witness,  
Oct. 15.

The suppressio veri is as infamous as the  
*suggestio falsi*; and if by suppressing the words  
in which we do combat the Voluntary Principle,  
as "false in politics and in theology," the *Min-  
erve*—who tells her readers that she quotes us in  
full—"tout au long"—has undoubtedly been  
guilty of the former, so by asserting that we do  
not combat that Principle, she has been guilty of  
the latter; and approved herself a most worthy  
advocate of "les bons principes," as understood  
and practised amongst place-hunters, and office-  
seekers in Canada.

As a specimen of our "good principled" co-  
temporary's sophistry take the following.—  
Though every one knows that the words in the  
preamble to the Clergy Reserves Bill, which do  
in the clearest manner point to the establishment  
of the Voluntary Principle in Canada, were in  
violation of all precedent introduced as a sop to  
the Clear Grits and "Pharisaical Brawlers" of  
the Upper Province; and were by the latter  
accepted as a pledge for the speedy abolition of  
all State aid to the Church, our cotemporary  
contents that the obnoxious words—"that it is  
desirable to remove all semblance of connection  
between Church and State"—when interpreted  
according to a novel system of hermeneutics  
adopted by the "men of good principles," mean  
no more than this, "the perfect independence of  
the Church of all State control." It would be  
to insult the good sense of our readers to dwell  
upon such miserable sophistry; or to attempt to  
prove that connection between Church and  
State, by no means implies State control over the  
latter. The only answer that we can conde-  
scend to such paltry quibbling is this. Had it  
been the intention of the framers of the Clergy  
Reserves Bill to assert merely the autonomy of  
the Church, they could easily have done so in an-  
other form of words not liable to be misunder-  
stood; and that, from the context, it is evident as  
the sun at noon day, that it was their intention to  
assert the desirableness of doing away with all  
State assistance to any religious denomination.  
Taken in the sense in which the *Minerve* would  
have us interpret them, the words of the preamble

have no connection whatever with the Bill that  
follows; taken in the sense in which the framers  
of the Bill understood them, and meant them to  
be understood, the secularisation of the "Re-  
serves" flowed as a logical consequence, as shall  
also flow in due time, the abolition of tithes in  
Lower Canada. The men of "good principles"  
who were base enough to yield to democratic  
pressure in the case of the Clergy Reserves, will,  
we may be very confident from their antecedents,  
yield also to the same pressure when the interests  
of the Catholic Church are at issue. They base-  
ly submitted to, "ont subi" or rather actively  
supported, a measure which on principle they  
once opposed; so also, rather than risk their  
salaries, will they again tamely submit to any in-  
dignities which it may please the "Clear Grits"  
and "Pharisaical Brawlers" to impose upon them,  
their Church, and their Nationality. It is for this  
that we oppose them; for we can respect those  
only, who take for their motto "No Surrender;"  
and who would rather die at their posts than yield  
one inch to the clamors of demagoguism, or  
abandon one iota of a principle, even to save a  
universe from destruction.

Again, as a specimen of the *Minerve's* logic  
take this.—In support of its thesis, that the ma-  
terial assistance given by the State to the Catho-  
lic Church in Lower Canada, by enforcing the  
payment of tithes to the Parish priest, does not  
involve "any semblance even of connection be-  
tween Church and State," he argues in this  
wise:—That the enforcement of the payment of  
tithes by the State, no more implies a connection  
between it and the Church, than the fact that  
the State also lends its aid to the proprietor of the  
TRUE WITNESS to enforce payment from his de-  
linquent subscribers, implies any connection be-  
twixt the State and the proprietor of the TRUE  
Witness. Thus argues the *Minerve*.

But, if the State had taken upon itself to de-  
termine the price of subscriptions to the above  
named journal; and if moreover it had made it  
obligatory upon all professing Catholics within a  
certain district to subscribe to the TRUE WIT-  
NESS, without regard to their individual wishes—  
(in the same way as it has determined the amount  
of the tithe, and rendered payment of tithe obli-  
gatory upon all persons professing Catholicity,  
whether they avail themselves of, or reject, the  
parish priest's services)—then indeed there would  
be a good deal more than a "semblance of con-  
nection" between the State and the TRUE WIT-  
NESS. The essential difference betwixt sub-  
scriptions to a journal, and tithes, consists in this.  
That in the first case the legal obligation of pay-  
ment arises from a mutual and explicit contract  
betwixt the individual subscriber, and the proprie-  
tor of the journal; and that in the other case, the  
legal obligation of paying tithe springs from the  
act of the State itself; and not from any con-  
tract betwixt the person paying, and the priest re-  
ceiving the tithe. The *Minerve* will please re-  
member that we are here speaking of the legal  
obligation only, which obligation alone the State  
can enforce. The obligation "in foro con-  
scientie," of paying tithes, is one which the Civil  
Magistrate has neither power nor right to enforce;  
for in the domain of conscience we deny to him  
any independent jurisdiction. The State, how-  
ever, has, and we think most wisely, made that  
which, but for its interference, would be obliga-  
tory in foro conscientie only, obligatory in law  
also, and before the civil tribunals; but it has done  
so in virtue of a very close connection with the  
Church; a connection which for the interests,  
both of Church and State, we trust may long be  
permitted to continue, in spite of the mendacious  
preamble to the Clergy Reserves Bill.

Having thus to the best of our ability exposed  
our cotemporary's dishonesty, sophistry and bad  
logic, will the *Minerve* have the goodness to ex-  
plain the cause of its refusal to lay before its Cat-  
holic readers the "Orange Manifesto" to which  
we lately called its attention. Orangeism is cer-  
tainly a fact in Canada; a fact in the Government  
House whilst Sir Edmund Head is Governor; a  
fact in the Cabinet, seeing how many sworn  
Orangemen take their seats at the Council Board;  
a fact too in the Legislature and throughout the  
country, to which no one who is not wilfully blind  
can be insensible. How then is it that the *Min-  
erve*, professedly Catholic and the supporter of  
"good principles," fails to call attention to this  
other, and to all Papists, this most important fact,  
that Orangeism is, by its own showing essentially  
"an Anti-Papal Organisation"? Would it not  
be better, more consistent with its Catholic profes-  
sions, for the *Minerve* to warn its fellow-country-  
men, and fellow-Papists against this most dan-  
gerous, most powerful, and rapidly increasing  
"anti-Papal organisation," than to be forever  
misrepresenting the TRUE WITNESS, and bother-  
ing us with its anile twaddle?

The advocates of State-Schoolism almost in-  
variably start with the assumption, that the  
ignorance of the children of the poorer classes of  
society is owing chiefly to the want of schools;  
hence they argue that it is necessary for, and  
consequently the duty of, the State or civil gov-  
ernment to provide schools for, and to control  
the education of, its poorer members. Their

formula is thus expressed, "a tax upon the pro-  
perty of all for the education of all."

Experience however has shown, and the best  
writers on National Education in England have  
at last admitted the fact; that the chief difficulty  
in dealing with the poorer classes of society  
proceeds, not from the want of schools, but from  
the impossibility of persuading parents to send  
their children to the schools gratuitously open to  
them. The problem as it presents itself to the  
thinking mind in England, is not so much how to  
find schools for the children, as how to find  
children for the schools.

This new and most important feature of the  
School Question was strongly brought out at the  
late meetings of the "National Association of  
Social Science." From a very interesting pa-  
per read in the "Section on Education," it ap-  
peared that "by far the larger proportion of  
children in the poorest classes left school before  
the age of eleven;" and it is evident that whilst  
such is the case, no augmentation of the number  
of schools, or no reduction upon school fees, would  
have any appreciable effect towards diffusing the  
benefits of school instruction amongst that parti-  
cular class of society for whose especial benefit  
the State professes to interfere with "Freedom  
of Education."

It is not because the parents are indifferent to  
the advantages of education, but because they are  
unable to avail themselves of those advantages,  
that they thus early withdraw their children from  
school. As a general rule it may be asserted that  
the amount of education—meaning thereby the in-  
struction ordinarily imparted at schools—amongst  
the children of the poorer classes, will vary in-  
versely as the pressure upon the means of sub-  
sistence, irrespective of State provision for  
schools and teachers. Where that pressure is  
great, and when labor of all kinds, even juvenile  
labor, is in high demand, poor parents cannot af-  
ford to keep their children at school, even though  
those schools be "free," or charge no fees. The  
child of poor parents must, under such circum-  
stances, be not only a bread-eater, but a bread-  
getter; and must from his first years contribute  
his share towards defraying the current expenses  
of the family. This fact was dwelt upon at con-  
siderable length, and with much force at the  
meeting of the National Association above refer-  
red to; and was recognised by the speakers as  
the chief obstacle to the general education of  
the poorer and laboring classes of society.

Of the extent to which in England juvenile la-  
bor is in demand, an idea may be obtained from  
a statement made by a Rev. T. P. Kirkman—  
apparently a Protestant clergyman of some de-  
monination—when arguing against the proposi-  
tion of another speaker, to the effect that educa-  
tion be rendered compulsory. The Rev. Mr.  
Kirkman argued that one great difficulty in the  
way of such a scheme, especially in that part of the  
country with which he was acquainted, was to be  
found in the fact that at a very early age, the la-  
bor of the child was profitable to its parents;  
and he asserted of his own knowledge, that so  
much was this the case, that in his district un-  
married mothers were actually in demand as  
nurses. But that we find it so reported in the  
*Times*, we should hardly dare to give insertion  
to such a fearful imputation upon the morals of  
the poorer classes in England; but here are the  
very words of the speaker, as given by the great  
British journalist:—

"The Rev. T. P. Kirkman stated, as one difficulty  
in the way of such a scheme, that in the district with  
which he was acquainted, where the people were  
principally engaged in weaving, a very young child  
was made useful to the parents. A very young child  
could nurse a baby while the mother wore; a very  
young child could hold the bobbins while the mother  
wove. So much was this the case, that if a young woman  
happened to have had one or two children before  
marriage, it was actually an advantage to her in secur-  
ing a match among many of the practical husbands of  
that district of Lancashire."

It is not however for the sake of the light that  
it throws upon the moral condition of certain  
classes in England, and of the peculiar views that  
obtain amongst that class as to the merits of clasti-  
city amongst their wives and sweethearts, that we  
cite the above; but as illustrative of our thesis,  
that the problem with which the advocates of  
State-Schoolism have to deal is, not how to find  
schools for the children, but how to find children  
for the schools; and as an answer to those who  
attribute the more general diffusion of education  
amongst the working classes in America, as com-  
pared with the same classes in the Old World, to  
the School Laws of the United States, and the  
legal provision therein made for the education  
of the people. We admit, with certain restric-  
tions, the fact that education—[i.e., the arts of  
reading and writing, together with an elementary  
knowledge of arithmetic and geography]—is  
more generally diffused amongst the laborers and  
artisans of the United States, than it is amongst  
the corresponding classes in England; but this  
we attribute, not at all to any superiority in the  
School Laws of the first named country; but to  
the simple fact that, owing to physical causes in  
the New World, the pressure upon the means of  
subsistence is far less than it is in the Old; and  
American parents therefore can more easily dis-  
pense with the profits accruing from their chil-  
dren's labor. If these views be correct it fol-  
lows that the oft-reiterated boastings as to the  
intellectual superiority of the people of the U.