

The True Witness.

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MONTREAL, FRIDAY, JUNE 14, 1861.

To COBBOURG CORRESPONDENTS.—Messrs. Burke and Lilly are respectfully informed that the reason why their papers have not been forwarded from this office is, that the Post Office authorities of Cobourg have taken it upon themselves to return the papers of the above named subscribers, marked "Refused." This is not the first time that the same dishonest trick has been played upon the TRUE WITNESS by employees of the Post Office, hostile to its circulation, and we intend calling the attention of the proper authorities to the subject.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

THE topic of all absorbing interest, in the Old World as in the New, is the civil war now raging in the United States. For the moment, the interest in the revolutionary movements in the South of Europe has slackened, and tidings from Washington, or Harper's Ferry, are more eagerly inquired after, than are the latest news from Naples, Rome, or the Hungarian Diet. Indeed for the moment there is a lull in the European storm; and though there can be no reason to believe that the designs of the revolutionary party, either upon Venetia or Rome, have been abandoned, there is every appearance that they have been for a short season postponed. The patriotic party in the South of Italy have not yet been entirely crushed by Piedmontese mercenaries; and Victor Emmanuel deems it probably prudent to consolidate his Neapolitan conquests, before engaging in fresh quarrels with the neighbors whose territories he covets; besides he has plenty of work on his hand in the shape of church-plundering and priest-persecuting in the lately annexed Provinces, so that we may reasonably look for a temporary respite for the Holy City.

The intentions of the French Emperor, with respect to his troops in Rome, are as much a mystery as ever. He has his "idea," or price, of course, and will not consent to the withdrawal of the French garrison without an adequate consideration. He will, when the time comes, sell the Pope to his enemies, of that no man can doubt; but at present it is impossible to say what are the terms upon which the modern Pontius Pilate is prepared to consummate his long continued career of treachery towards the Holy Father.

British diplomacy has for the time triumphed in Syria. The French army has by this time been withdrawn, and the Christians have been again left without protection from any European Power to the tender mercies of their fanatical enemies. It is quite in accordance with "the eternal fitness of things," that Great Britain, the foremost enemy of the Papacy, should, at the same time, be the staunchest supporter of the Mahomedan Power; indeed the anti-Papal policy of Great Britain in Europe, and her anti-Christian policy in Asia, are in perfect harmony with one another, the second being as it were the complement of the other.

The British Ministry have succeeded in carrying their measure for the repeal of the duty on paper, in spite of the almost general defection of the Irish Members, who, disgusted with the foreign policy of the Palmerston Cabinet, voted with the Opposition. The American civil war had been the subject of long and animated debates in the House of Commons.

FREEDOM OF EDUCATION, AND EQUALITY OF REPRESENTATION.—These are the two great questions which chiefly interest the Catholics of Upper and Lower Canada, respectively, at the approaching General Election. In the first of these questions the Catholics of the East are but indirectly interested; but in the second, the interests of the Catholics of both sections of the Province are equally at stake, for on its solution depends whether the principle of Religious Equality, or that of Protestant Ascendancy, shall henceforward be the rule in Canada.

The solution of the School question depends upon the solution of the question of Representation. So long as we can maintain the political equality in the Legislature, of Catholic Lower Canada, with Protestant Upper Canada, so long, but no longer, may we reasonably hope to perpetuate the Separate School system, and to obtain for it a greater development. But Representation by Population once *un fait accompli*,

farewell, a long farewell, to Separate Schools, to Freedom of Education, and the last vestige of religious liberty in the West. This consideration, whose truth no sane person can doubt, no honest man attempt to impugn, we respectfully suggest to our co-religionists of the West, as worthy of their most serious attention at the present moment when they are again about to be called upon to exercise their right of franchise. Earnestly would we exhort them, by every motive which interest can suggest, by every principle of honor, above all by their allegiance to their Church, not to throw the weight of their political influence into the scale against Lower Canada; not to alienate for ever the sympathies of their brethren of the East; and not to lend their aid to impose upon themselves and upon us, the unholy yoke of Protestant Ascendancy.

Catholics, if faithful to their religion must never expect to be persecuted; and if for their fidelity they suffer persecution, then indeed blessed are they, and very honourable is their cross. "*Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum.*"

But if the persecution be not *propter justitiam*; if it be the result of their own folly, or of their own treachery, of their preference of party and personal interests to the interests of religion and the Church; if the consequence, not of their firm adherence to principle, but of their treacherous abandonment of duty, no share can Catholics, even when persecuted, claim under such circumstances in the divine beatitudes. The lash will be their portion—and well-merited portion in this world; their whinnings and howlings, as they writhe beneath the whip will but excite the laughter of their persecutors, and the contempt of the honest among their own co-religionists; and abhorred of God, and despised of men, they will deplore their folly and lack of honesty when there is no more time or place for repentance, and when the gates of mercy and forgiveness are for ever barred.

As yet, however, thank God, though the page of history is full of the records of persecutions endured by Catholics *propter justitiam*, there is no instance of Catholics having been accessory to their own sufferings, or of having wantonly provoked them by putting whips and scourges into the hands of their oppressors. Ireland—the martyr nation *par excellence* of the earth—made no tame surrender of her liberties to Protestants. Long and bravely, even if unsuccessfully, she fought for national liberty and for freedom of religion; and when she succumbed, she succumbed with honor, so that of her children it may be said, "Blessed are they." But were the Catholics of Canada directly or indirectly to give any countenance to the proposed legislative change, which must inevitably place their Church, their institutions, charitable and educational, at the mercy of their enemies; but were the Catholics of Canada basely to surrender the guarantee for their civil and religious liberties which in equality of representation they actually possess, and in which is the only adequate guarantee that under our social and political circumstances can even be conceived of—what right would they have to complain, if they were to be treated by their Protestant masters as have been their co-religionists of Ireland?

We would also again remind the Catholics of the West that their only chance of obtaining any amelioration in their School Laws depends upon the active co-operation of the Catholics of the East; and that they can hardly expect that the Catholics of Lower Canada can be such simpletons, so devoid of prudence, and so wanting in duty to their own section of the Province, as to provoke the hostility of the Protestant majority by voting for a measure to which that majority are opposed, unless they have the assurance that they for whose sakes they incur that hostility shall in return exert themselves, in so far as lies in their power, to protect the interests of Lower Canada, her laws, her language, and her religion, against the encroachments of Upper Canadian Protestantism. One good turn deserves another; and the Catholics of Upper Canada may be confident of this: That so long as directly or indirectly they give any appearance of political support to any man, or to any party, who, or which, may be reasonably suspected even, of being favorable to Representation by Population—so long they will neither receive, nor deserve, any the slightest sympathy from the Catholics of Lower Canada. The least that we expect as the condition *sine qua non*, for exerting ourselves in behalf of the Catholic minority of the West on the School Question is, that the latter shall at once and forever renounce all political connection with, and treat as their enemy, any and every man who upon any pretence whatsoever, seems even to lend a favorable ear to the Protestant scheme for swamping Catholic Lower Canada by means of "Representation by Population." Indeed, all we ask of our Western co-religionists is this: that they shall not put it out of our power to serve them, and that they be not themselves accessory to the establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, and to their own consequent humiliations and persecutions. The Catholics of Lower Canada look upon this question of Repre-

sentation by Population as one of life and death, as indeed it is to them and their institutions, in so far as the latter can be affected by law. They look therefore, and rightly, upon every man who does not to the utmost of his political capacity oppose it, as their enemy, as the enemy of their religion, of their Church, and of their God. It is a question upon which, without loss of honor, and the cowardly abandonment of all they most should cherish, the Catholics of Lower Canada cannot consent even to treat. If they are doomed to be swamped, to be "*improved off the face of the earth*;" if their nationality and language are doomed to the same fate as that which has fallen on the aboriginal denizens of North American forests, if perch they must, they must at all events perish with honor, and without surrender. Never we trust will the loyal hearted Catholics of Lower Canada be so vile, or such renegades to their ancestral faith, as to listen even for one moment to any proposition, no matter in what terms couched, for bartering away their national existence, their civil and religious autonomy; they will not, no matter what fate may have in store for them, forge their own fetters, or help to plait the thongs of the whip wherewith it is proposed to scourge them.

Here then is a simple statement of the facts of the case. The Catholics of Lower Canada are vitally interested in maintaining "Equality of Representation" as the sole earthly means of maintaining the religious autonomy of Lower Canada; and this we have the moral as well as the legal right to insist upon, because, when in a minority, the Protestants of Upper Canada energetically repudiated the principle of "Representation by Population." The Catholics of Upper Canada on the other hand are vitally interested in preserving and extending the Separate School system; and this can only be preserved and extended through the active co-operation of the Catholics of the Eastern section of the Province. From these premises, whose truth no one can impugn, the conclusion is irresistible; that it is the duty and the interest of the Catholic voters of both sections of the Province to make common cause; that in Upper Canada the Catholic vote should unanimously be cast in favor of maintaining Equality of Representation; and that in Lower Canada it should be given to the approved friends of Freedom of Education.

The Toronto Freeman of the 6th instant, reproduces from the York Herald a paragraph which appeared in our last, containing details of an outrage offered by some low Orangeman to the Catholic Priest of Thornhill; and having done so, our cotemporary asks us for an answer to the following question:—

"Will the True Witness recommend the Catholics of East York to vote for an Orangeman in preference to a man who has no connection with the Order?"

That would depend altogether upon circumstances. We would certainly recommend the Catholic voter, whether at East York or elsewhere, to vote for the Orangeman who on his part should engage himself to support the claims of Catholics on the School Question, in preference to the non-Orangeman known as the opponent of those claims. Orangism is a great evil doubtless, but "Common Schools" and infidel education are a greater. The one attacks our material and temporal interests, the other is ruinous to our spiritual and eternal interests; and it is good policy as well as good morality, to choose the less of two evils.

We abhor Orangism, but never has the TRUE WITNESS advocated the exclusion of Orangemen from the Legislature or from the Executive, for it would be most impolitic to advocate such extreme claims. All that we have ever contended for is this, and this we shall ever insist upon.—That no official encouragement or recognition of any kind should be given to Orangism or to any other secret politico-religious society; and that no members of any such societies should be appointed to offices connected with the administration of the Law. Not that in our detestation of Orangism we would insinuate that every Orangeman must be a rogue; but because a member of a secret society is exposed to influences from which others are exempt; and because to entrust to him any share in the administration of justice tends inevitably to make that administration suspect, and saps therefore the very foundations of civil order, which cannot subsist there, where the most perfect confidence in the impartiality and honesty of the duly constituted legal tribunals does not obtain. More than this we never have, and never will exact; and though we would not willingly give our vote to an Orangeman, yet would we rather vote for an honest Orangeman, from whom we might reasonably expect a good School Law, than for the Protestant Reformer or Liberal who was an opponent of Separate Schools. Here we would remind the Freeman of its own dictum:—

"The opponent of Separate Schools is a tyrant at heart, and as such deserves to be tabooed."—Toronto Freeman, 24th ult.

Our Catholic friends of the West are, we are well aware, in a very delicate position, situated betwixt two fires, and at best allowed only a choice of evils. Under such circumstances, they

must often feel embarrassed how to act, and we disclaim all pretensions of dictating to them upon the subject. Only as a sincere friend, as a fellow-Catholic, would we ask to be allowed to sympathise with them, to assist them, if by any means it be in our power to assist them, and respectfully to submit to them our opinions upon the great problems which they are called upon to solve. The facts of the case are these:—

They—the Catholic minority of the West—have but too often in the selection of representatives in the Legislature, no alternative betwixt the Orangeman, and the Clear-Grit, or Protestant Reformer. To whom, if he vote at all, should the Catholic give that vote?

All other things being equal, both candidates being equally opposed to separate schools, and equally hostile to Catholicity, the best thing in our opinion that the Catholic voter can do on polling day, is to remain quietly at home, and smoke his pipe. Better not to be represented at all, than to be misrepresented; and the "opponent of separate schools" must misrepresent Catholics. Betwixt such fellows as George Brown and Tom Ferguson, there is no appreciable difference, and the Catholic should vote for neither.

But betwixt two candidates, of whom one is willing to engage himself to support separate schools, whilst the other is their opponent, the case is clear: the Catholic vote should be cast for him who is in favor of "Freedom of Education," no matter by what party name designated.

This is all we can venture to say upon the subject, writing as we do from a distance, and conscious as we are that we have no right to dictate upon the matter, or to lay down the law to our Western co-religionists. We would simply quote here, as applicable to the case suggested by the Toronto Freeman, the words of Mr. McGee upon the same subject, in which we cordially concurred when they were uttered, and in which we cordially concur to-day:—

"For there exists for our friends in Upper Canada a second danger—a two-fold dilemma. In religious hatred the party designated 'Clear Grits' out bid and out strip the Orangemen themselves."—New Era, Nov. 29th 1857.

If to this we dare to add anything of our own in the shape of advice to our Catholic brethren of the West, it is this—That before coming to any determination upon the merits of the several candidates who at the approaching election may present themselves before them, they should kneel down before the Blessed Sacrament, and there, in the presence of God, of Him from Whom all holy desires, all good counsels and all just works do proceed, implore divine direction and light from on high; so that they may be enabled, discarding all party, personal, or other unworthy motives, to do all things for the honor and glory of His Most Holy Name, and the good of His Church. To him who in this spirit approaches the coming election, the path of duty, even if now apparently somewhat obscure, will soon become clear. He has but to seek first, and before all things, the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all other things necessary will be added unto him. Go to the polls, as you would go to church; with a perfect abnegation of self, with a pure and single heart, seeking only grace to know your duty, and strength to do it. This is all the advice that we, as a Catholic journalist, can presume to offer to our Catholic friends of Upper Canada.

We hope that the Freeman will be content with this answer; that he will accept it in the same spirit as that in which it is given; and that he will believe us, when we again assure him that we have no other object in view than that of the promotion of Catholic interests; no higher ambition than that of being a faithful fellow-worker with him in the same field; and that it is our earnest desire that in the cause of our common mother the Church, all rivalries, all jealousies, may be forgotten, and that all our energies be directed, not to the aggrandisement of this man or that man, this party or that party, but solely to the promotion of Catholicity, and the discomfiture of her internal and external enemies.

His Lordship the Bishop of Tloa, and Administrator of the Arch-Diocese of Quebec, has addressed a Mandement to his people with special reference to the coming election. We regret that we have not a copy of this important document to lay before our readers; but we find a full analysis of it in the columns of our esteemed cotemporary the Courier du Canada of the 10th inst., from which we make some extracts.

His Lordship does not dream of interfering with the political rights of those whom he addresses; but as their Pastor, he reminds them of the responsibility which the enjoyment of political privileges imposes upon them, and of their duty to exercise those privileges with a view to the interests of religion and morality. Above all His Lordship fervently denounces the disgraceful excesses, the drunkenness, rioting, and corruption, of which a General Election is often the prolific parent. He reminds the electors that God Himself sees, and will one day take them to task for, the manner in which they exercise the franchise which the law confers upon them; and he affectionately exhorts them to avoid all

quarrels, all violence, or appearance even of intimidation; and to conduct themselves like Christians and Catholics, with charity towards all men, and with disinterested zeal for the honor of God's Holy Name, and the good of His Church.

His Lordship avails himself also of the occasion to denounce in the most energetic terms the system of perjury, which, under one form or another, pollutes our political atmosphere, and which, it is to be feared, exercises its corrupting influences upon both candidates and voters, and encourages them to affirm by oath in the name of the Holy One, that they possess certain qualifications which the law exacts, and in which they are really deficient. These false oaths, these perjuries, may be so cunningly contrived as to evade the researches of human justice, and to secure for the unprincipled actors therein immunity before an earthly tribunal; but God cannot be deceived, and He will not hold him guiltless who taketh His name in vain.

His Lordship points out also that the exercise of the elective franchise implies the performance of a solemn duty; and that it is incumbent upon the elector so to give his vote as to secure the election of men truly honest, and imbued with the spirit of religion. The material interests of the country cannot safely be entrusted to the knavish political adventurer; or the higher interests of morality, education, and religion to the profligate, the rowdy, and the sceptic.

"The only candidates"—we translate from our cotemporary the Courier du Canada—"worthy of the suffrages of their fellow-citizens are those who are ready firmly to defend our civil and religious rights. But experience has shown on more than one occasion that on these points no reliance can be placed on the man who is not himself solidly religious, and whose integrity is not equal to the most severe trials. How guilty then," continues our Quebec cotemporary—"how guilty must they not be, who, forgetful of their duties, and slighting the most sacred interests of their religion and their country, are influenced in election time by vile personal interests—by caprice, by the spirit of party, of ambition, pride, hatred or vengeance; and who, moved by such motives, unworthy of the Christian and of the honest citizen, consent to vote for a person unknown to them, and perhaps incapable of discharging the duties of a Legislator; for men without honor, without principles and without faith."

The electors are reminded that:—  
"Though human justice may often leave these infamies and these iniquities unpunished, there is another tribunal, which will act in a very different manner—that the Supreme Judge Himself will one day exact a strict account for every vote given, and will hold a severe reckoning with the guilty."

Violence, falsehood, bribery—these are the infamies, alas, too common at our elections, which the zealous Prelate indignantly denounces, together with the also too frequent practise of slandering an antagonist, and of sowing the seeds of strife and hatred. What excuse shall they who are guilty of these things be able to urge when they appear before the tribunal of an All-seeing and All-just Judge!

We pray to God that the words of the watchful Pastor may sink deep into the hearts of those to whom they are addressed; and that so the approaching election may be characterised by peace, honesty, and sobriety, instead of being like too many of its predecessors, infamous as a season of rioting, fighting, intimidation, hard drinking, hard swearing, rowdyism, and all black-guardism; of neglected churches, of groggeries frequented, religion profaned, liberty vilely betrayed, and the Holy Name of God sacrilegiously profaned.

STATE-SCHOOLISM IN UPPER CANADA.—If we are content to take the Rev. Mr. Ryerson's word for it, this is one of the most perfect systems the wit of man ever devised. There is however one little objection to placing implicit faith in that Reverend Methodist minister's assertions; and that is, that he is himself a well-salaried government official, whose bread and butter depends upon the maintenance of State-Schoolism.

If however we may attach any credit to the statements of those upon whom the burden of supporting the system, and of finding the Rev. Mr. Ryerson with the bread and butter aforesaid falls—we shall be justified in coming to the conclusion that State-Schoolism is objectionable to many Protestants as it is to all Catholics; and that the former will be compelled ere long to rise up against the entire system, and asserting their natural rights as parents, to denounce State-Schoolism as a monstrous invasion upon those rights—as false in theory, as ruinous and degrading in practice.

Hitherto the opposition has chiefly proceeded from the Catholic camp, for it is upon Catholics, of course, that in the first instance, the evils of "State-Schoolism" press. The Common School Laws of Upper Canada are as the Rev. Mr. Ryerson himself tells us, a servile copy of the anti-Catholic school code of New York, and were therefore especially designed to check the growth of Popery, and to grind young Romanist children into Protestant grist. Of this the admirers and advocates of Yankee State-Schoolism make no secret; and the success of the institution has almost, if not fully realised the most sanguine expectations of its Yankee originators.

And it is to this fact that we must in a great measure attribute the success of the system; and that State—New York—has also been long famed for its Common School system; and was the source whence the provisions of our School Laws have heretofore been very largely borrowed."—Annual Report, 1859, p. 15.