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THE TRUE WITNESS
 AND
 CATHOLIC CHRONICLE.
 MONTREAL, FRIDAY, AUGUST 18, 1854.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

We have dates from Europe up to the 2nd inst. by the steamer *Union*; the news is of little interest. The Russians are abandoning Bucharest, and are taking up a position on the Sereth. A council of war, at which all the Generals of the Allied Armies assisted has been held at Varna; an immediate expedition against the Crimea has, it is said, been determined upon. From the Baltic, we have nothing new; but it now seems certain that Sir C. Napier will not dash his head against the granite bastions of Cronstadt. The operations in that quarter will, for the present, most likely, be confined to a strict blockade of the Northern ports.

A slight republican *emêute* at Paris had led to the arrest of some of the ringleaders. At Madrid tranquillity has been restored. The Queen has accepted the terms proposed by Espartero, whose star is again in the ascendant, and the triumph of the insurgents is complete, until the next Revolution.

By the *America*, we learn that the Russians were evacuating Wallachia, and that Omar Pacha was expected at Bucharest on the 21st ult. Cholera had made its appearance amongst the British troops.—The *Times* announces that an attack is about to be made on Sebastopol by a body of 80,000 to 100,000 men—French, British, and Turks.

The "Canadian Legislative Bill" passed its second reading in the House of Commons on the 4th inst.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The commencement of the fifth volume of the *TRUE WITNESS* furnishes us with an appropriate occasion, of which we gladly avail ourselves, to say a few words to our friends upon a subject upon which, as a general rule, we care not to dilate. We will then take this opportunity to "say a few words boldly" to our friends, about ourselves, and the policy which we have hitherto pursued.

And first, to our subscribers would we return thanks for the substantial support, and cordial encouragement which we have received from many amongst them. In common with our brethren of the press, we have to complain of the dilatoriness of some, in paying up their subscriptions, and of the consequent inconvenience to which we are often exposed. But as our City collector is about to call personally on all who are in arrears—and as an interval of, in some cases three years, has elapsed since we last heard from some of them—we trust that he will be favorably received, and that the amounts due to this office may be at once paid up, without further trouble, either to ourselves, or to the defaulters. To our different agents throughout the country, our thanks are also justly due, and sincerely tendered. To their kind exertions we are indebted for many new names on our subscription list, and confidently hope that we shall be indebted for many more.

It is a less pleasant task to speak of ourselves, and the policy which the *TRUE WITNESS* has pursued; but a few words in explanation of the one, and in reply to certain personal attacks upon the editor of the *TRUE WITNESS*, will, we trust, be allowed to us.

It has been objected that the *TRUE WITNESS* is too *political*; and in consequence has deviated from the pledges given in its original prospectus. How far this objection is well founded will be seen from a passage in the prospectus alluded to:—

"The *TRUE WITNESS* will not be a political paper, in the ordinary acceptation of the word. Confining ourselves to the discussion of those measures, the effects of which may be advantageous or prejudicial to the moral and religious well-being of the community—the acts, and not the persons of the members of the Ministry, will alone form the subjects of our censures or of our praise."—*True Witness*, Aug. 16th, 1850.

Thus it is clear, that, though the *TRUE WITNESS* pledged itself to abstain from all purely *political* questions, it by no means bound itself to keep silence on *politico-religious* questions, or questions into which the religious, as well as the secular, element enters. In these questions we not only feel at liberty, as Catholic journalists, to take part; but we feel that it is our duty to do so; as on their solution depend the moral and religious interests of this great country.

Accordingly, the *TRUE WITNESS* has devoted much of its columns to the discussion of two questions, which, at present, occupy a prominent place in public attention—viz., the "School Question" and the "Clergy Reserves" Question. Now, if these questions are *politico-religious*, that is, if they present a religious, as well as a secular side, the *TRUE WITNESS*, in discussing them, does not deviate from, but strictly adheres to, the course laid down in its prospectus for its guidance.

That the "School Question" is as much a question of religion, as of secular politics—that the spiritual, as well as the material, interests of the Catholic community are involved therein—needs, we think, no lengthy argument to establish. The simple fact, that the Catholic Church, speaking by the voice of her Prelates in Synod assembled—and whose decrees have been stamped with the recognition of Christ's Vicar on earth—has repeatedly, and in diverse countries—in Europe and America, in Ireland as in Canada—solemnly pronounced condemnation on the "Common" or "Mixed" school system, is sufficient to place the "School Question," or the question of Education in all its ramifications, amongst those *politico-religious* questions which it is the duty of the Catholic journalist to discuss, as the *great Catholic question* of the day. Every other question, therefore, which directly, or indirectly, can affect the solution of this great question properly belongs to the domain of *politico-religious* questions; has its religious, as well as its secular side; and forms the proper subject of discussion in a professedly Catholic journal.

Is it possible to over-estimate the importance of the "School Question" on the future of Catholicity? But the other day, the Catholic world was startled by the announcement that, within a few years, and in one country—the United States of America—Two MILLIONS OF SOULS had been lost to God and His Church, and gained to Hell and the Devil. It was publicly stated by a Catholic clergyman that, of the descendants of Catholic Irishmen, this fearful number had become—not converts to Anglicanism, Methodism, Presbyterianism, Jumperism, or any other form of dogmatic Protestantism—but apostates to the Catholic Faith; simply that they had left the Church, not that they had gone to swell the numbers of any other religious denomination. At this announcement, over which the Powers of Hell must have gloated, whilst Angels wept, Protestantism confidently foretold the downfall of the Catholic Church on this Continent; whilst Catholics, though of course recognising some exaggeration in the statement, could not but admit that it contained also much truth. But upon one point, Catholics and Protestants were agreed; both attributed the loss to the Catholic Church, and the consequent damnation of so many myriads of souls; to the pernicious and demoralising influences of the "Common" or "Mixed" school system. The grog-shop, the gambling-house, and the brothel, count their victims by thousands and tens of thousands; the Common Schools of America count theirs by MILLIONS.

In Canada is rapidly growing up the same accursed system as that which has borne such deadly fruit in the neighboring Republic. It flourishes here, and threatens to extend itself beneath the fostering care of the Government. And here too, if unchecked, if not at once, and effectually crushed by the vigorous and united efforts of the Catholic body, will the results be the same. We are indeed, in some respects, more happily situated than are our neighbors. We have a more numerous—we do not say a more zealous or devoted—body of Clergy; we have the schools of the Christian Brothers, and of the Nuns; we have Catholic Colleges and Seminaries, and numerous well conducted educational Institutions. But it does not thence follow that we can afford to despise the schemes of the enemy of souls; or that because, in Lower Canada, we may, at present, laugh his puny efforts to scorn, that in Upper Canada—where our brethren are poor, and enjoy few of the advantages which we, in this section of the Province, still can boast of—the work of perversion may not yet be crowned with results almost, if not quite, as fearful as those which have been brought about by the "Common" or "Mixed" schools of the United States.

We contend then that the question of Education, or the School Question, and every other question which can directly, or indirectly affect its solution, are religious, as well as political questions; affecting "the moral and religious" well being of the Catholic community; and are therefore questions which, by the terms of its prospectus, the *TRUE WITNESS* is bound to discuss.

We may say the same of the Clergy Reserves question; which is not only directly connected with the School Question, but is so inseparably bound up with it, that one cannot be fairly discussed without discussing the other. Besides, the discussion of the "Reserves" question immediately opens up the whole question of the relations of Church and State; involving the questions, of State assistance in aid of religion, and of the inviolability of religious endowments. It would therefore have been impossible for the *TRUE WITNESS*, consistently with the pledges contained in its prospectus, to have refrained from discussing the Clergy Reserves question; or to have kept silent upon the inevitable effects of secularisation, and the Ministerial plan for placing the funds so secularised, at the disposal of "Common" or "Mixed" schools, *exclusively*; a measure which, —if, through the apathy or venality, of Catholics it be allowed to pass—must inevitably, and within a short period, bring destruction upon the Catholic, or separate schools of Upper Canada, and which exposes all our ecclesiastical institutions in the Lower Province to the openly threatened attacks of our enemies.

Having thus shown that, according to the terms of its prospectus, the *TRUE WITNESS* was bound to discuss all questions of a *politico-religious* nature—and that both the School Question, and the Clergy Reserves Question are *politico-religious* questions, and therefore questions which fall within the legitimate province of a professedly religious journal—we will say a few words as to the manner and spirit in which the *TRUE WITNESS* has discussed them.

We have discussed them as a Catholic, and not as the political partisan; with reference to their effects

upon the interests of the Church, and with perfect indifference as to their influence upon the fortunes of parties, the interests of the Ministry, or the distribution of Government patronage; much, no doubt, to the disgust of Mr. Tomkins of the Red Sealing Wax Office, and of his dear brother, Mr. Styles, of the "Tape and Fool's-cap Department," who naturally dread the thought of being pushed from those high stools which they occupy with so much advantage to themselves, if not to society at large. From this quarter—that is, from place-holders, and from expectant place-holders, from those who have sold themselves, and from those who are still in the market waiting for some man to buy them—and from this quarter only, have we met any opposition; whilst from the independent Catholic body, we have received the most encouraging expressions of approval for the course which we have pursued, and for the policy which we have adopted; and which, once for all, we will define, as the policy to which we intend to adhere.

As Catholics, much that is dear to us is seriously menaced; we have therefore much to "Conserve."—As citizens, rights to which we are entitled are unjustly withheld from us; we have therefore much to "Reform." Now we may take it as a general rule, that all secular Governments, all administrations, are jealous of, and hostile to the Catholic Church: that they all, despite their liberal professions, rejoice to see her power and influence diminished—that none, not even the best of them, will ever sincerely labor to enlarge her sway: and that therefore, we need never expect anything from them but what we can compel them to yield, but what we can wrest from them by force.

Now if these premises be true—and the history of the world for nigh two thousand years, proves them to be so—it follows that Catholic rights will never be "Conserved," nor Catholic wrongs "Reformed," unless Catholics themselves adopt a bold and independent policy: unless they give up all fawning and cringing upon the secular powers; unless they give up toadying and truckling to the dispensers of Ministerial patronage; unless their policy has some nobler aim than a paitry government situation for themselves and friends; unless, in fact, they are determined to be neither bought nor sold. "Independent Opposition," the policy of Catholic Ireland, is the policy of the Catholics of Canada.—Opposition, steady, constant, uncompromising opposition to every Ministry which does not make "Justice to Catholics," part of its Ministerial programme. By "Justice to Catholics" we mean the concession of all claims which the Church—the sole competent judge in the premises—has declared to be just.

It is thus only that "Freedom of Education" for Catholics will ever be obtained. For many years, we have been coquetting with a *nominal* Liberal Ministry; trusting, in its fine promises, and not, as we should have done, relying on our own exertions. And what has been the result? What has been gained to the cause of "Free Education?" Nothing; we have not advanced one step; we have not made good one inch of ground. Nay! if in anything changed, our position has changed for the worse, under the auspices of Mr. Hincks' Liberal administration; and justice to Catholic Schools is further off than ever. We have had five promises, which have never been, and never were meant to be, fulfilled; and after four years, trusting and relying on the good faith of statesmen, we are roused from the dreams of a fool's paradise, in which too many amongst us have been indulging, by the announcement of the Prime Minister, "THAT HE IS OPPOSED TO SEPARATE SCHOOLS." No wonder that the "Act Supplementary of 1853 has turned out a "snare and a mockery;" the only wonder is, that Catholics should ever have allowed themselves to be duped by Mr. Francis Hincks. Surely we have tried the "confiding policy" long enough; let us now try what Independent Opposition can do for us. If it does us no good, it certainly can do us no harm.

This is the policy of the *TRUE WITNESS*; for advocating which it has been branded with Toryism by men who, if they were asked for a definition of Toryism, would not know what to answer. However, if it be Toryism, it is the only policy—as all experience shows—by which anything has ever been obtained for the Church from the State; it is the policy by means of which the patriots of Ireland wrung justice from the hands of their enemies; it is the policy which must commend itself to every honest mind, though of course it will be distasteful to the sordid, the mercenary, and venal. Finally, it is the policy which the *TRUE WITNESS* has always adopted, and to which, without regard to consequences, it intends with God's help to adhere for the future. We may add too, that it is the policy recommended to the Catholics of Canada by the Catholic Institute of Toronto. It is a pity that it was not more faithfully adhered to during the late elections.

The *Quebec Colonist* of the 11th inst., professes to reply to certain queries propounded to him by the *TRUE WITNESS* of the 4th. Of these the first was:

"Does not Mr. Hincks' 'Reserves' Bill give to the different County Municipalities of Upper Canada power to appropriate the funds accruing from the secularised Reserves to common or Non-Catholic School purposes?"—*True Witness*, 4th August.

The second question was:—

"Is not the same Bill so drawn up as to prohibit the said Municipalities from appropriating one farthing of the above mentioned funds to Catholic school purposes?"—*Id.*

The *Quebec Colonist* answers:—

"We cannot see how the Editor of the *True Witness* can see anything in the way the Bill is drawn up to justify him in saying that it prohibits the appropriation of Municipal funds to Catholic school purposes."

There is in this reply, a skilful, though not very

honest, transposition of terms; for—"funds accruing from the secularised Reserves"—our cotemporary substitutes "Municipal funds," in general. But let that pass: by the law as it stands at present, Catholic separate schools cannot share in any distribution of the "Municipal funds." Our cotemporary says that "he cannot see" how "we can see," anything in Mr. Hincks' Bill, prohibiting the appropriation of these funds to Catholic school purposes.—This must be owing to one of two causes. Either our cotemporary has taken no pains to compare the clauses of Mr. Hincks' Bill, with those of the existing School Acts for Upper Canada: or else the glitter of Ministerial gold has blinded his otherwise acute eyes, and rendered him not only unable, but unwilling, to see the truth. As the proverb says—"None are so blind as those who won't see."

Besides, the *Toronto Leader*, the Ministerial organ of Upper Canada, in an article, which we copied into our columns on the 28th ult.—and which we commend to the attention of the *Quebec Colonist*—clearly pointed out, how, the manner in which Mr. Hincks' Bill was worded, whilst it made the funds accruing from the secularised Reserves, disposable for Non-Catholic school purposes, put it completely out of the power of the County Municipalities to devote one penny thereof to Catholic or separate school purposes. This, in the eyes of the said Ministerial organ, constituted one of the principal excellencies of Mr. Hincks' Bill; and in his speech at the public dinner in London, to which we alluded in our last, Mr. Hincks not only put on record his "opposition to separate schools," but claimed the support of all Non-Catholics for his Bill, because, in his own words:—

"WHEN THE FUND WAS GIVEN TO THE MUNICIPALITIES, IT COULD NOT BE APPLIED TO SECTARIAN PURPOSES."

Now, according to the peculiar terminology in vogue amongst the enemies of our religion, by "sectarian purposes" is meant, the support of Catholic separate schools. Again we say, the blindness of our cotemporary is marvellous: and can be attributed to no less an agency than that of the "Almighty Dollar."

And to come to the words of the Bill itself—Mr. Hincks' measure provides that the County Municipal Councils shall have power to appropriate the funds accruing from the secularised Clergy Reserves to those purposes only for which they can at present legally raise money. Now, the at present existing School Laws give no power to Municipal Councils to raise money for Catholic separate school purposes: but provide, that, Catholic separate schools shall not share "in any school money raised by local Municipal assessment."—*Act Supplementary, Sec. IV.*

Thus, as by the at present existing School Laws for Upper Canada, the County Municipal Councils are prohibited from raising money for Catholic separate school purposes—and, as by Mr. Hincks' Bill the said Councils are not authorised to devote any portion of the funds accruing from the secularised Clergy Reserves to purposes for which they cannot at present legally raise money—it follows that the County Municipal Councils aforesaid, are, by Mr. Hincks' Bill, effectually prohibited from devoting one farthing of the fund accruing from the secularised Clergy Reserves, to Catholic separate school purposes. The *Quebec Colonist* must indeed be blind if he cannot perceive this. Again we recommend him to study the article from the *Toronto Leader*, which he will find in the *TRUE WITNESS* of the 28th ult.

Our cotemporary, still afflicted with the same dimness of mental vision:—

"So thick a drop serene hath quenched his orbs"
 "Or dim suffusion veiled;"

protests that he "cannot see:"—

"how the measure is unjust towards Catholics, or injurious towards that system of Catholic separate schools which the Bishops of Canada have called upon their flocks to establish."

Here again one sees the misfortune of being sold to a Ministry. A journal, *professedly* Catholic, "cannot see" the injustice of a measure, which lavishes funds accruing from the *public* property of the country—(for when the Clergy Reserves are secularised, they immediately become *public* property)—upon Non-Catholic schools—upon schools pronounced by the voice of the Church, altogether dangerous to faith and morals; but which refuses to allow Catholic schools—schools recommended by the Church—to receive one penny of the same *public* funds! It is unjust to Catholics, because Catholics are, by right, entitled to receive as much support from the *public* funds for Catholic schools, as Non-Catholics are, for their Non-Catholic schools; it is unjust, because it is unjust on the part of the Government to favor one particular denomination more than another; it is unjust, for the same reason that the Irish Protestant church establishment is unjust towards the Catholics of Ireland; finally, it is unjust towards the Catholics of Upper Canada for the same reason that the present distribution of the Reserves, is unjust towards those Protestant sects which have no share therein.

And the measure will be injurious to Catholic separate schools, because it will increase the already numerous advantages which the Non-Catholic schools possess over the Catholic schools. If it takes nothing from the latter, it adds enormously to the power, wealth and influence of the former. But it does take from Catholic separate schools; not indeed what they *have*; but what if the Reserves are secularised in justice they are entitled, to have; viz., a fair share of the funds devoted to school purposes, accruing from the said secularised Reserves, according to the number of children attending such Catholic separate schools.

But, argues our cotemporary, as Catholics cannot pretend that the Reserves ever belonged to them:—
 "We cannot see how their division to general pur-