

The True Witness.

CATHOLIC CHRONICLE.
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY
At No. 223, Notre Dame Street, by
J. GILLIES,
G. E. OLERK, Editor.

TERMS YEARLY IN ADVANCE:
To all country subscribers, Two Dollars. If the subscription is not renewed at the expiration of the year then, a case the paper be continued, the terms shall be Two Dollars and a-half.
To all subscribers whose papers are delivered by carriers, Two Dollars and a-half, in advance; and if not renewed at the end of the year, then, if we continue sending the paper, the subscription shall be Three Dollars.
The True Witness can be had at the News Depots. Single copy 3d.
We beg to remind our Correspondents that no letters will be taken out of the Post-Office, unless prepaid.

MONTREAL, FRIDAY, MARCH 3.

ECCLIASTICAL CALENDAR.
MARCH—1865.

Friday, 3.—Of Crown of Thorns.
Saturday, 4.—St. Casimir, Conf.
Sunday, 5.—First of Lent.
Monday, 6.—Of the Feria.
Tuesday, 7.—St. Thomas d'Aquinas, C.D.
Wednesday, 8.—Ember Day, St. John of God, C.
Thursday, 9.—St. Stanislaus, W.

The "Forty Hours" Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament will commence as follows:—

Friday, 3.—Purification of Repentigny.
Sunday, 5.—St. Francis Xavier of Vercheres.
Tuesday, 7.—St. Patrick of Rawdon.
Thursday, 9.—St. Stanislaus.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Hissed and hooted out of Turin, pursued by the gibes, the jeers and execrations of the populace, hitherto the accomplices in, and the applauders of his crimes, the King of Sardinia has taken shelter in Florence from the storm of indignation which his acceptance of the Convention of September last has provoked in his ancient capital, and amongst his oldest subjects. In this retributive justice we see and we adore the hand of God; and we return thanks because already punishment and shame have fallen upon the head of one of the criminals against the Holy See. There is another who still seems as if he deemed himself secure against the lot of those who have taken part in acts of aggression against the Vicar of God; but high as he still holds his head, he is not more firmly established upon his throne than was his uncle when in his impious pride he presumed to array himself against, and to measure strength with another Pius, another successor of the great Apostle to whom the promise was given. Cavour has had his turn; Garibaldi has had his turn; now it is the turn of Victor Emmanuel: of whom next?

The war betwixt Louis Napoleon and the Church in France goes merrily on. The Bishops of Moulins and Besancon have been condemned by the Council of State for an abuse of their ecclesiastical authority, and for giving heed to the commands of the Vicar of God, rather than to those of "Jack in office." Nor is this an end of the affair. The Papal Nuncio at Paris addressed a letter to his Lordship the Bishop of Orleans congratulating that Prelate on his late pamphlet in defence of the Holy See. This letter was made public, much to the grief of the Emperor, who has addressed remonstrances to the Pope on the subject through Count Sartiges.

The Catholic community will learn with deep regret that the life of His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and Primate of England is despaired of, and we fear that the next mails will bring us the tidings of the death of this illustrious Prince of the Church. Yet his work will remain, and his influence upon the British Empire will be felt long after his mortal remains shall have been committed to the grave. By his writings, and his indefatigable labors he has done more than has any other man of the present century to restore England to the rank of a Christian nation, and to build up the holy places laid waste by the great apostasy of the XVI century; and already, so rapid are the strides with which Popery is advancing to the re-conquest of that fair portion of the Church's heritage, there is no reason to fear that the great work which the Cardinal so auspiciously commenced, and so prosperously carried on during his life time, will be sensibly checked by his death. Catholicity in England is no longer a delicate exotic, but has grown into a noble hardy tree of the forest, in whose branches the fowls of the air seek shelter, and beneath whose boughs the weary may find rest and shade.

The paragraph in the Queen's Speech congratulating the country upon the reviving prosperity of Ireland provoked a warm debate in the House of Commons. Though on a division upon an amendment the Ministry had a majority, yet it is evident from an editorial in the Times that the moral victory was with the Irish members who supported the amendment.

The papers with reference to the Lake Erie and St. Alban's raiders have been laid before Parliament. One suggestion which they contain on the part of the Federal authorities is to the effect "that England should refuse the right

of asylum to their active enemies." Impudence can no farther go; but the offering of such a proposition to the British Government is a conclusive proof of how low the latter has fallen in public estimation. Only fancy Lord Russell writing to Mr. Seward to request that the U. States refuse the right of asylum to Irish political refugees! Such a proposal would be deemed a national outrage, and almost a *casus belli*; and yet a Federal Minister deems himself authorized to propose it to Great Britain, under a Liberal government which gives not only right of asylum to assassins, and suborners of assassins such as Mazzini, but public ovals to pirates and brigands such as Garibaldi. Mr. Seward no doubt knew his men well, when he presumed to offer to them his insolent suggestion.

The Confederates seem at last to have made up their minds not to arm their slaves. No great battle has been fought since our last, and the relative positions of the belligerents remain unchanged.

The debates on the Union scheme continue in the Legislative Assembly. There is much cry but little wool, no one apparently daring to propose an amendment. The Opposition are cowed. In the Lower Provinces it seems as if the Union was by no means popular. The Legislature of N. Brunswick has been dissolved; in that of Nova Scotia a great majority are hostile to the plan.

Owing to the indisposition of Judge Smith the St. Alban raiders have been remanded till next week. The contest for Mayor terminated on Tuesday in the election of Mr. Beaudry over his opponent, Mr. Dolery.

An attempt to burn the Seminary at Quebec was made on Thursday evening of last week by some scoundrel unknown. Luckily the flames were speedily extinguished, and no great damage done.

The sympathy of Canadians with the Confederates is very natural, for nothing can be more natural to man than selfishness; and nothing more self-evident than that the national independence and liberty of Canadians, are dependent upon the success of the South, and the defeat of the North in the terrible struggle that for these four years past has been carried on betwixt the Northern and Southern States of the great American Republic. It is not merely the cause which the latter represent, though that cause is a good and holy cause—the cause of liberty as against centralisation and democratic absolutism—that enlists the sympathies of all Canadians who love their native or adopted country, as the case may be, and who desire to see her free and independent; but it is the consciousness that their own welfare is involved in the struggle; that the future of Canada is being determined, not on the floor of their Provincial Parliament, but in Virginia and the Carolinas; not by Messrs Brown-Carter, and their political opponents, but by Lee, and Grant, and Sherman; that the South is fighting in short the battle of Canada and of their own national independence, that causes them to rejoice over every success with which God is pleased to bless Southern arms, and to mourn, as over a national misfortune, over every disaster that befalls them.

Let us eschew *bancombe*, and make an end of our silly common places, and ridiculous allusions to the existence of small but independent States in Europe. Let us look our position full and fairly in the face, or rather the position that will be ours, should the several States which extend from the great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, be by the triumph of the North consolidated into one Empire; an Empire possessing within itself, in men and material, all the elements for constituting the greatest military Power that the world ever saw.

The "*bancombe*," which we deprecate is the argument that—because there are free and independent States in Europe with populations not greater than that of British North America, and with no greater material advantages, therefore in North America and in the case of the British Provinces, the same phenomenon may be repeated. One moment's reflection should suffice to demonstrate the absurdity of this argument.

There are certainly in Europe free and independent States with no greater military resources in men and material than would be possessed by the British Provinces of North America, were they detached from Great Britain, and politically united among themselves. But the only possible guarantee for the freedom and independence of these small European States is, the mutual jealousies and rivalries of the several great European States, their neighbors. It is not to themselves, not to their own strength, not to any force that they could bring into the field in their own defence, that is owing the freedom or national independence of Belgium, of Holland, of Switzerland, or of Turkey; but to the mutual jealousies and rivalries of Great Britain and France, of Prussia and Austria, of Russia and the Western Powers, generally. If all Europe with the exception, say of the plains of Belgium, were consolidated into one State; if from the extreme North to the Mediterranean, and from the frontiers

of Asia to the Atlantic, Europe were Russian, how long would the freedom, and independence of Belgium be respected? The sole reason why there are, why there can be, free independent, though in a military point of view, weak States in Europe is, that Europe is broken up into many States, each jealous of all its neighbors, and directly interested in preventing any one of those neighbors from absorbing the others. The breaking up of the old Roman Empire was, next to the introduction of Christianity, the greatest boon to humanity; for without that disintegrating process, one great centralised despotism would still have been supreme, and the existence of small, but at the same time independent nationalities would have been impossible, because there would have been no "balance of power."

Now upon the hypothesis that the North triumph over and annex the South, and that the whole of the North American Continent south of the Lakes and the St. Lawrence, with resources in coal and iron, the first and the indispensable elements of wealth and military greatness, surpassing those of all Europe, be consolidated into one great Empire, where will be the "balance of power?" where the possibility for a small State, with a sparse population, with no triple line of fortresses to protect its extensive frontiers, and sadly destitute—if geologists speak truly—of coal and iron, the chief elements of military strength, to maintain its independence and separate national existence? We have heard of military despotism, and our fathers have declared unto us the outrages perpetrated on the weak by a Louis XIV and a Napoleon; but within a few leagues to the southward of us is growing up the greatest military power, the most hideous military despotism that the world ever saw. It is silly to depreciate the great military qualities of the Yankees. No people possess more abundantly than they do all the raw materials of an army and a navy; if their officers are no great shakes, their soldiers are equal to any in the world; and in their navy, their Fraguats and their Porters remind us by their pluck of the race of the sea-kings from whom they are descended, of the Drakes and Raleighs of days of old, who made the name of England terrible to her enemies. Much as we may detest the cause in which they are fighting, and the democratic principles which they represent, we cannot but recognise and render homage to the pluck, and sterling fighting qualities of the soldiers and sailors of the North.

But on the other hypothesis, that the South succeed in making good its independence, it will be with North America as it has been with Europe. The secession of the South will be the signal for the secession of the Pacific, from the Atlantic States; of the West from the East: of the States having their natural outlet through the Mississippi and its tributaries to the Gulf of Mexico, from the States which have their natural sea-ports on the Atlantic. The process of disintegration once commenced, it will not cease to operate, until this Continent be broken up into several separate and independent States, and thus become fit for the existence of small and free nationalities. That this may be the consummation of the present conflict, every one who hates centralisation and military despotism, every one who loves freedom and national liberties, must earnestly pray. It is the cause of human liberty and of the happiness of the human race on this Continent, that the Confederates are fighting for; because freedom and human happiness are best and most surely promoted by the breaking up of great States into small States, provided that the latter can be guaranteed against the aggressions of their neighbors. As a general rule it may be affirmed that small States are more conducive to the happiness of mankind than are great States; and that the disintegrating process, or the breaking up of Great States into small States, is favorable to freedom, whilst consolidation and centralisation are always fatal to liberty.

But at all events it is a self-evident proposition that, no matter what political arrangements they may make amongst themselves, the British Provinces of North America can maintain their national independence only upon the condition that there be established on this Continent, an order analogous to that which obtains in Europe; and to which alone is owing the national independence of the smaller European States, and which guarantees the weakest of those States against absorption by its more powerful neighbors. Of two things one. Either North America will be broken up into many States; or, in so far as it is habitable by the races of European origin, it will be consolidated into one gigantic State. Of these two conditions either is possible; but what is impossible is, the division of this Continent into two States, each maintaining its independent national existence. If the North triumph in the present struggle, the second of these conditions is inevitable for a season at least; if the South triumph, the first condition is secured, and with it the possibility of an independent national existence for the Provinces of British North America. Even if selfish, therefore, nothing can be more natural than that Canadians, all of them at least who are not heart

and soul Yankee, should sympathise with the South, and should pray to God day and night that He would grant to them the victory, and to this Continent peace and the possibility of freedom.

From all parts of Upper Canada we continue to receive letters on the School Question, and all containing bitter complaints of the injustice under which the Catholic minority labor. Of the intentions of the Ministry in this matter we are still profoundly ignorant; and all that has as yet officially been announced on the School Question amounts to this:—That the Ministry have it in contemplation to introduce a measure for giving further facilities to the non-Catholic minority of Lower Canada in the matter of establishing and alighting their educational institutions. For the Catholic minority of the West no one seems to care one straw.

The danger is that the latter will be amused with fair words and specious promises until it be too late for them to obtain any substantial redress. Once the Union Resolutions are carried, Catholic support to the Ministerial programme will be of little consequence; and it cannot be expected that a Cabinet of which Mr. George Brown, the bitter enemy of Catholics and of "Freedom of Education," is a leading member, will, from any abstract love of justice, and when nothing is to be gained by conciliating the Catholic vote, willingly incur the hostility of the non-Catholic bigots of Upper Canada by introducing a measure for putting the schools of the Catholic minority of that section of the Province on an equally favorable footing with that of the schools of the non-Catholic minority of the Lower Province. We remember how, for long years, the Catholics of Upper Canada with the Bishop of Toronto at their head, clamored in vain for that justice, of which at last, upon a change of Government, they obtained an installment from the Macdonald-Scottie Ministry; and remembering this, and how and by whom their hopes were frustrated, and their just claims scouted, we confess that we are not very sanguine as to the results of the present agitation. We will still continue however to hope for the best; and we do trust that the Catholic members of the Legislature and in the Ministry, will in this instance, for once lay aside all party considerations, and make up their minds to allow no measure conferring any advantages on the non-Catholic minority of Lower Canada to become law, unless the same advantages in every respect, in the matter of the endowment of schools, colleges, and a University, be also at the same time conferred upon the Catholic minority of Upper Canada.

But our friends of the West will do well to bear in mind that God helps those only who help themselves; and that without relying too much upon the co-operation of the Lower Canadians, they, if they are in earnest in their agitation for educational reform, must act as if all depended upon their own exertions. They must not allow themselves to be put off, or diverted from their purpose, either by vague promises that their claims shall be taken into consideration at a more convenient opportunity; or by fear of embarrassing this party or that party, or of creating what in Parliamentary slang is called a "crisis." Deeds, not promises however fair and flattering, are what they require, and with which alone they should be satisfied; and as upon their chances of obtaining a good educational system before the proposed new Constitution comes into force, depends their last chance of saving the souls of their children from the demoralising influence of "Godless education," they should not shrink from urging their claims, and insisting upon their rights, no matter what the consequences of their importunity to any existing political combinations. The question in short should be publicly put to the Ministry:—Do you, or do you not, intend to bring in, simultaneously with a Lower Canada School Bill, a Bill for putting the Catholic minority of Upper Canada in all respects, in so far as education is concerned, upon precisely the same footing as you propose to put the non-Catholic minority of Lower Canada? This is a question which must not be shirked, to which a plain straightforward answer, Yes or No, should be immediately and publicly given; and we trust that some member of the Legislature who takes an interest in Catholic education, will force this question upon the Ministry before the final vote on the Union Resolutions. It will be "too late" to do so afterwards. The misfortune is that there is not one Catholic in Parliament upon whom the Catholics of Upper Canada can rely.

THE UNION OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES.—This is a pamphlet printed it is said, at the expense of the public, and made up of a series of leading articles written by M. Cauchon in the *Journal de Quebec*, in favor of the Ministerial scheme of Union. It must not be confounded with another pamphlet, on the same subject by the same author, but in which views diametrically opposite were put forward, and warmly sustained by M. Cauchon in 1858. If the two pamphlets were bound up together, they would make an extremely funny book.

A CLEAR-GRIT OPINION.—Mr. A. McKenzie, a Clear-Grit of the first water; in his speech in favor of the Union Resolutions, defended the conduct of the Liberals of Upper Canada in detaching themselves from the Lower Canadian Opposition party, and allying themselves with the French Ministerialists; upon the grounds that the latter are more liberal towards Upper Canada than are the former, and more disposed to grant all the demands of the Clear Grits of the West, on the vital question of representation.—Mr. A. McKenzie also pointed out that the present Ministerial policy was not only identical with that laid down as its platform by the Clear Grit Toronto Convention, and which formed the basis of the Brown-Dorion alliance; but that it conceded more to Upper Canada than in 1858 the most advanced Upper Canadian Liberals deemed it prudent to ask for, or possible to obtain. For these reasons he, Mr. A. McKenzie, as a Clear-Grit, faithful to his principles, supported the present Ministry and their Union policy. Here is an extract from his speech, which we copy from the *Montreal Herald* of the 24th ult. It is so suggestive of itself, that it needs no comment:—

Mr. A. McKenzie resumed the adjourned debate on Confederation. He commenced by alluding to the position he had occupied heretofore in discussing those constitutional questions which had so long separated parties, and involved the two sections of the Province in serious dissensions in order to meet the charges of inconsistency brought against himself and others, because they supported the present coalition government, with a view of obtaining a solution of the difficulties in a way not hitherto advocated very extensively, especially in the section of the Province to which he belonged. He and others had been charged with deserting their party, because they had ceased to act with the public men in Lower Canada with whom they formerly acted. He denied that this charge was just. What was party but merely an association of individuals holding opinions in common on certain public measures or certain grounds of public policy? The portion of their politics on which he and his friends had most strongly insisted, was that which concerned the representation of the people in Parliament, and as soon as they found their political friends in Lower Canada ceased to take advanced ground in that matter, and that the other party had become willing to do so, it became clearly their duty to unite with that party. Had the Liberal party of the West declined to support a government which was really giving them all they demanded, they would have been guilty of taking the most suicidal course which it was possible for people to take. This was, in fact, the very scheme of the Toronto convention, although extended further than the Convention thought advisable or possible at the time. It had been stated by the members for Huchelaga and Chateaugay that the scheme of the Toronto Convention took no hold on the public mind. He asserted on the contrary, without fear of contradiction by any Western man, that no measure ever took a stronger or more complete hold of the public mind in Western Canada than that of the Toronto Convention. He believed confederation was, in the first place, desirable, in the second place attainable, and in the third place that it was the only thing we could get, which was perhaps the strongest reason for it. (Hear, hear, hear.) It was quite clear we must have a settlement of our difficulties in some way, and he thought the scheme proposed was a very favorable one, more so, perhaps, than some of them expected when the present Government was formed. He thought it would be the greatest madness that any Western man could perpetrate to vote against it. (Aear.) Upper Canada had obtained by its representation by Population, its due share in the control of financial policy, and besides had obtained a measure which would tend to build up a great British Union on this continent.

LIBERALISM AND DESPOTISM.—There is no tyrant so unscrupulous as a Liberal, none who entertains so thorough a contempt for the rights of others, or who cares so little for the violation of law and justice to secure his ends. Note the following from the *Toronto Globe* of the 13th ult:—

"The Prince Edward Island papers do not give us the utmost reason to expect the speedy enactment of the scheme by that Province.

"We trust the good sense of the Prince Edward people will prevent the question whether the British Government ought to interfere to annex them to the Confederation against their will from ever becoming a practical one. Such a measure would be utterly inconsistent with the ordinary policy of Great Britain towards her Colonies. Yet as the *Examiner* shows there are arguments in its favor which could hardly fail to have some weight in England."—*Toronto Globe*, 13th Feb.

There spoke the genuine Liberal, the liberal political descendant of the Jacobins, the worthy brother of Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Italian revolutionists. What renders the threat to the people of P. E. Island, conveyed in the above extract from the *Globe*, the more amusing, the more appropriate as a commentary upon "Liberal principles" is this: That the motto prefixed to the *Globe* in capital letters, runs thus:—

"The subject who is truly loyal to the chief magistrate will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures."

From the "arbitrary measure" which the *Globe* by no means obscurely advises to be applied to the colony of P. E. Island we may judge of his "loyalty to the chief magistrate;" we may form a shrewd guess also as to the treatment to which minorities will be subjected under a form of Government in which Liberalism will be in the ascendant—when we see that the organ of Mr. George Brown heitates not to advocate the adoption of the most arbitrary of measures in order to compel a people who have as much right to self-government as have the Upper Canadians, to sacrifice their independence and to contract a union which they abhor.

A GOOD TIME COMING.—Mr. Geo. Brown, of the *Globe*, and Brother Mawrora of the *Montreal Witness*, are lashing away at one another in the most rancorous style. This augurs good; for, as the proverb says, "when a certain class fall out, honest men come by their own."