

The True Witness.

CATHOLIC CHRONICLE.
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We beg to remind our Correspondents that no letters will be taken out of the Post-Office, unless prepaid.

MONTREAL, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

ECOLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.

SEPTEMBER, 1864.

9, Friday—Of the Octave Sem.
10, Saturday—St. Nicholas of Tol. G. d.
11, Sunday—Seventeenth after Pentecost. So-lemnisation of the Nativity of the B. V.
12, Monday—Of the Octave, semid.
13, Tuesday—Of the Octave, semid.
14, Wednesday—Exaltation of Holy Cross, d.m.
15, Thursday—Octave of the Nativity, d.
The "Forty Hours' Adoration" of the Blessed Sacrament will commence as follows:—
10, Saturday—St. Bridget's, Montreal.
12, Monday—St. Cecile.
11, Wednesday—St. Joseph, Ohambly.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

The Continental news presents little of interest. Some political importance is attached to the visit of the Spanish King Consort to Paris, and it is hinted that its object is to negotiate a marriage between a member of the Bonaparte family, and one of the Spanish Bourbons. The Emperor's fête on Monday the 15th ult. was a brilliant affair.

In Belgium the Liberal party have obtained some advantages over the Catholics in the late elections. This victory was appropriately celebrated by insults to Catholic priests, and public demonstrations in the streets of the most obscene character. Of one of the songs of the Liberal party, wherein the triumph of their principles is chanted, the *Bien Public* remarks, that it "exceeds all that can be imagined of obscenity and impiety."

The accounts of the Pope's health continue excellent, and wherever the Holy Father presents himself he is received with marks of profound respect and affection by the people.—Bankruptcy, we are happy to say, appears to be impending over the Piedmontese Government.—A report is current that the latter, dreading the advanced Liberal or Revolutionary party, meditates a coup d'état against them, and under French protection. It is stated also in the European journals, that a plot to kidnap and carry off the King of Naples from Rome had been hatched by the Piedmontese authorities, and frustrated only by the vigilance of the French General. The idea is said to have been to force the King of Naples, whilst a prisoner, into a formal renunciation of his rights. The Danish question is for the time settled, and the fate of Poland is summed up in the words "order reigns at Warsaw."

After about a fortnight's civil war in the streets of Belfast, order has also been restored by a large military force in the capital of Protestant Ulster. The papers are full of the harrowing accounts of these dreadful riots, caused, as all admit, by the wanton aggression of the Belfast Orangemen upon their Catholic fellow-citizens, and fostered by the criminal apathy, not to say connivance, of the Orange magistracy.—As our readers will remember, these riots had their origin in the indignities and outrages offered by the Orangemen on the 8th ult., when, with every insult to Catholics that the latter could imagine, the effigy of O'Connell was paraded about the streets, and finally burned.—Presuming from the success of their first attempt that they might insult and bully the Catholic minority with impunity, the Orangemen proceeded to further indignities. On the following night, Tuesday, 9th ult., the rabble again collected, and with blasphemous mockery of the most sacred rites, went through the form of burying the ashes of the effigy which they had burned on Monday. They paraded through the town with these ashes in a coffin, and in the words of the *Times* correspondent, "the hallowed precincts of an ancient cemetery were desecrated by the attempted intrusion of the brutal mob" of Orangemen. Up to this time the Catholics had remained perfectly passive, nor is it even pretended that they had in any manner attempted to retaliate upon the "brutal Orange mob" which for two days had been heaping insults and indignities upon them. But patience has its limits. "The attempted intrusion" on, and "desecration of the hallowed precincts of an ancient cemetery," provoked the Catholics of Belfast to measures of self-defence. They resisted the "attempted intrusion," they essayed to ward off the threatened "desecration" of their

own cemetery; and in a word, the fight which the Orangemen, trusting in their superior numbers, their organisation, and the favor of the civic authorities, had long provoked, unfortunately commenced. For nearly two weeks the battle raged, with occasional intermissions—battles such as has not been seen in the streets of a European city since the great uprising of the Socialists in Paris in 1848. The Orangemen, besides the advantage of numbers, were well supplied with fire-arms and powder, in both of which the Catholic party were very deficient, and consequently the former had an immense advantage over their opponents. It would be impossible to convey an idea of the excesses of which the Orangemen were guilty—the magistracy the while looking on with arms folded, and making not an effort to protect the Catholics from murder, or Catholic churches and convents from destruction. Nor were Catholics the only victims. Moderate Protestants, who would not join the Orangemen were in many instances brutally ill-treated.—Thus we read in the *Northern Whig*, a Protestant paper, that the Orange mob beat an unfortunate man and his wife, both Protestants, almost to death, because the latter would not say at their bidding, "To hell with O'Connell." As another instance of the fiendish spirit by which these Orangemen were actuated, we take the following from the *London Times*, a journal certainly not over partial to Irish Papists:—

"A collision took place between the Orange mob of ship carpenters and the navvies of the Roman Catholic party. The navvies were forced into the mud banks in the harbour, and were there fired upon from the banks of the river by the Orange party.—Nine or ten navvies have received gun shot wounds. One is reported dead. The navvies were up to their necks in the mud when fired upon by the Orangemen, and it was painful to see the wretched men struggling for their lives, not knowing but that in a few moments they would sink deeper into the mud."—*Times*, 19th ult.

These things occurred, not in Revolutionary France of the "Reign of Terror," but in Ireland; not in Catholic La Vendée, but in Protestant Ulster in 1864! As we read of them, are we not carried back in imagination to the *royades* and the *fusillades* of the former epoch? can we hesitate to recognise in the modern Ulster Orangeman, the worthy brother of the Carriers, of the Le Bons, and the other sanguinary monsters of Jacobinism whose names have been handed down to an eternity of infamy.

The Catholic Coadjutor, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Dorrian, published in these trying circumstances a Pastoral, in which he exhorted his flock to bear patiently the outrages of their enemies, and to abstain from violence. The Catholic population sent a deputation to Dublin to represent their condition to the authorities there, and to complain of the criminal countenance given by the local magistracy to the Orangemen; and the Irish Government, at last fairly roused, sent a large force, infantry, cavalry and artillery, to the distracted city, by which at length order was restored. By the latest accounts, the riots had ceased.

The total number of killed and wounded is not yet fully ascertained. The General Hospital was filled with the latter, and numbers had been attended to in their own houses. Amongst the dangerously wounded is Mr. Sullivan, editor of the *Ulster Observer*, "who was dreadfully beaten while engaged in his professional duties at a fire which occurred near the Catholic Penitentiary. He lies in a very precarious state."—*London Times*.

The *Times* comments most severely on the conduct of the Orange Magistracy during the disgraceful proceedings. "One is most struck," it says, "with the supineness and inefficiency of the local authorities." They had to keep the peace—of regular troops about 3,000, and of an armed Police force about 900 men, under their orders, and yet they made no effort to stop the riots, or to curb the fury of the Orangemen.—They looked on and encouraged the "*Scarlet Brethren*" to proceed in their good work. Nay! for fear that the armed Police force should actively interfere, the Magistrates gave orders that the mob was not to be fired upon; and two Policemen were put under arrest for disobedience of this order. This is not a calumny of the Catholic press, but the deliberate assertion of a Protestant writer, the correspondent of the *London Times*:—

"One is most forcibly struck with the supineness and inefficiency of the local authorities. It is now more than a week since these disturbances commenced. They originated in a vicious frolic—a contemptible display of party spirit and personal animosity to a great public character. It passed off, however, without any evil consequences, and had the magistracy taken effective measures to prevent the repetition of similar insulting display, they, in all probability, would not have to deplore the lamentable catastrophe which has since occurred. But the mock auto-da-fé of Monday was allowed to be succeeded by the mimic funeral of Tuesday, when even the hallowed precincts of an ancient cemetery were desecrated by the attempted intrusion of the brutal mob. At last, after life has been sacrificed, and when the hospitals are filled with the maimed and wounded victims of mob brutality, the police are permitted to fire, but with the understanding that they should only use blank cartridge. Some of them, by accident, it is presumed, fired with ball, and two of the rioters are killed. The pouches of the police are immediately examined, and two men, each of whom proves to be minus a bullet, are placed under arrest. The news of this tender regard for their lives quickly circulated among the rioters, whom it emboldened to fresh outrages, and when night closed on the town it was fully expected that a series of encounters more formidable and sanguinary than any that had preceded them would take place before morning. Why did not the

magistrates do what was obviously their duty—read the Riot Act, and disperse the mobs, of whatever faction, by the stern exercise of military force? Why should they have allowed the business of the town to be suspended, the lives of its peaceable inhabitants to be endangered, and their property destroyed or plundered, through a culpable timidity in the use of the means which the Constitution empowers them to employ in such extremities? It is no wonder that they have been called upon to abdicate their functions and deliver the town over to martial law; or that the leading members of the Catholic party have requested Government to depose them, and intrust the care of the town to special commissioners.

We suppose there will be a Government inquiry into, and a "Report" upon, this bloody affair. Sad as it is, however, we believe that it will be productive of good. Amongst Protestants there is already springing up a suspicion that their cause is injured, not served—their religion disgraced, not glorified, by such champions as the Belfast Orangemen, who drive unarmed Catholics into the mud, and then deliberately, and in cold blood, shoot them down like dogs. Orangemen in short will fall into disrepute amongst all loyal and honorable Protestants.

Sherman, it seems, has at last by a series of well conceived and skilfully executed movements, got possession of Atlanta. This is of course a serious blow to the Confederates; and though it cannot be considered decisive of the campaign, it gives to the Federals all the moral effects of a great victory. The army of the Potomac has been rather inactive during the past week, and from Admiral Farragut before Mobile we have received no important tidings, since those of the capture of Fort Morgan.

The Chicago convention, after a series of resolutions strongly condemnatory of the Lincoln policy, have nominated Gen. McClellan as President. This is looked upon as a triumph to the War Democrats, though what the real policy of these gentlemen will be, what their objects, we cannot make out. The Lincolnites, or War party, have an intelligible policy and a set of principles, which, whether we condemn or approve of them, they endeavor to carry out to their logical consequences. So also with the Peace Democrats, for they are simply "States' Rights" men and consistently deny the right of coercion. But the War Democrats are neither one thing nor the other. They cry out for the "Union as it was," and yet profess to condemn the employment of the only means by which union betwixt North and South can be effected. A few months possession of power will expose the absurdity of their position. Either they must make peace with the South, which can only be done by acknowledging its independence; or they must continue the war, and thereby follow out the very Lincoln policy which by their Chicago Resolutions they have condemned.

Our respected contemporary the *Courrier du Canada* will, we trust, take it in good part if we point out to him an error in respect to the TRUE WITNESS wherein, in his issue of the 29th ult., he falls; our contemporary says:—

"The True Witness has almost always declared itself against the project of a Confederation."

This is not strictly correct, because, on the contrary, we have always abstained, and explicitly declared our intention to abstain, from all consideration of the abstract question of Confederation—for the excellent reason that no such question is as yet, or for many long years can possibly be, before the country. If the *Courrier du Canada* will honor us with a perusal, he will find us carefully guarding, or at all events endeavoring to guard, ourselves against the suspicion even of pronouncing any opinion upon the merits of Federation or Confederation, by the employment of the following terms:—

"For the present carefully abstaining from hazarding any opinion on the merits or demerits of Federation."—*True Witness*.

Our contemporary has therefore misapprehended, and consequently has unintentionally misrepresented us. He will surely not take it amiss that we point out to him his error—of which ambiguity of language on our part may have been the cause; and that we endeavor to explain to him once for all our actual position.

"Federation" is a league or compact betwixt two or more sovereign and independent States—(sovereign and independent at least as towards one another)—in virtue of which the said sovereign States expressly delegate a limited and clearly defined portion of their several functions to their creature the "Federal" or central government. A Federation in short is simply a political league or partnership for a particular object—that object being mutual protection against foreign aggression; but in which the autonomy or distinctive political existence of each particular State composing it, is carefully preserved. A Legislative Union on the contrary, may exist as in the case of Upper and Lower Canada, without any mutual consent, league, or compact; Legislative Union also implies the fusion or merging of the several nationalities—parties to the Union—into one; and therefore, we hesitate not to avow with M. Rameau, that of the two, we prefer a Federative to a Legislative Union—and if by means of a real Federal Union we could get rid of the incubus of a Legislative Union that now presses on us, we would accept the former gladly.

But we have said that such a Federation is

impossible, indeed inconceivable, under our actual circumstances; for the simple reason that there can be no league or *fœdus* betwixt Upper and Lower Canada, as two sovereign and independent States, until such time as they do stand towards one another in the relative positions of two sovereign and independent States; or in other words, until the existing iniquitous Legislative Union be repealed, and their several Legislatures be restored to Upper and Lower Canada respectively.

In the second place, we have argued that a Federation, so long as Canada remains a British Province, would be at the best useless, expensive, and cumbersome; would in all probability be injurious to the autonomy of Lower Canada; and would certainly operate to her disadvantage when the Imperial connection should have ceased, since she would then find herself bound to Upper Canada by ties which would impede her freedom of action, and prevent her from asserting her State Rights; in the hold and constant assertion of which Rights alone, under a Federal form of Government, can freedom be preserved. The proofs of our propositions are very simple; we have already exposed them to the public, and they are unanswerable.

All the necessary functions of government, local and general, are in the case of every British Colony, performed by two bodies; one the Imperial, the other the Provincial, Government.—Now a Federal Government, implies a third government interpolated betwixt these two; and as every government must have some functions, it follows—unless we create new functions for our new government, as well as a new government to exercise these new functions—that the latter must encroach upon the functions of, either the Imperial, or of the Provincial Government. We have a moral certainty that the former, or Imperial Government will not give up any of its functions, or suffer them to be encroached upon; and with the same certitude we may therefore predicate that the functions of this new hybrid government, interpolated betwixt the Imperial and the Provincial Governments, will encroach upon the legitimate functions of the latter, or Provincial Government.

In short the Imperial Government actually discharges for us all the legitimate functions of a Federal Government. It manages our Foreign Affairs; provides the military and naval armaments requisite for our protection, and the defence of our trade on the high seas; it regulates our intercourse with foreign nations, and by it, our attitude towards all other Powers is determined; it declares war for us, and it makes peace; it concludes Treaties, and in short discharges every conceivable function that, with due regard to its autonomy, or "State-Rights" any member of a Federation would concede to its central or Federal Government.* All British Colonies are already Federated under one head, or central Government, resident at Westminster, even as the head of the late American Federation was resident at Washington; and whilst we remain British Colonies or Provinces, we need no other Federal or Central Government than that which we already possess, and which abundantly discharges for us all the legitimate functions of a Federal Government—to wit, these of an agent entrusted with the management of our common Foreign Affairs.

But this state of things cannot last for ever. The day will come when we shall cease to be British Provinces, and when we shall have to set up in business for ourselves; and for that day we should prepare ourselves, as for an inevitable evil, even as the Clear-Grits and Liberals look forward to it, and seek to precipitate its advent. Now we put it to the *Courrier du Canada*, whether it would not be better for Lower Canada, when that day arrives, to find herself in the attitude of a sovereign and independent State as towards Upper Canada, and therefore free to make her own terms with her neighbor as to the Federation which might then perhaps be advisable—than to find herself already hampered by the terms and conditions of a mongrel Union, mis-called "Federation," and in virtue of which many of those functions which a truly sovereign and independent State would reserve to itself, would already have been made over, irrevocably, to a central government in which her enemies, the enemies of her laws, her language and her religion, would be in an overwhelming majority? Yes, we say; if we look forward to a favorable and real "Federation" to-morrow, and when our connection with our present Federal or Imperial Head shall have ceased, and rendered another Federation possible and desirable, we must naturally be opposed to that mongrel kind of Federation which it is proposed to impose upon us to-day. The pear is not yet ripe.

Instead therefore of representing the TRUE WITNESS as opposed to Confederation, the *Courrier du Canada* would deal more justly with us were it to say, that the TRUE WITNESS looks upon the Federation of Upper and Lower Canada at the present moment, and under our actual circumstances—i.e., whilst a British Pro-

* With the one exception, that our present Federal Government can impose no taxes on us even for Federal purposes.

vince, and whilst bound together in Legislative Union as one Province—as undesirable, and indeed as morally impossible.

That which the TRUE WITNESS opposes, is the scheme of reform, or "constitutional change," announced by the President of the Council through the columns of the *Globe*, as the scheme to which, under the pseudonyme of Federation, the Ministry have given their assent. To this scheme we have offered, and shall ever offer, our opposition; because it is insulting to Lower Canada, and dangerous to the material interests at least of the Church. In this we trust that our friend—it he will permit us to call him so—the *Courrier du Canada* will see nothing factious, no spirit of party, no ill towards the persons—many of them no doubt most estimable men—of whom the Ministry is composed; and even this opposition to their scheme we will withdraw whenever our contemporary shall have shown us, that there can be a real Federation—i.e., league betwixt two independent States—betwixt Upper and Lower Canada so long as Upper and Lower Canada are not *Two* independent States, and form but a political unit; and that the interests of Lower Canada will be well and safely provided for under that form of Government, or "Federation" which the President of the Council tells us, without contradiction from his colleagues, the Ministry have agreed to impose on us—and under which, according to M. Rameau, our second condition would be worse than our first. Of course the *Courrier du Canada* will understand that we hazard no opinion as to the truth or falsity of Mr. George Brown's assertions as to the assent of the French Canadian-section of the Ministry to the scheme announced in the *Globe* as the Ministerial plan of Federation; whilst, however, those assertions shall have been formally uncontradicted, we must deal with them as if their truth were admitted.

Whilst some of our contemporaries in their desire to depreciate the Federal principle, and to cry up the advantages of consolidation, centralisation, and Legislative Union of all the British North American Provinces—distort facts, and pervert logic in order to lay the blame of the war raging in the States upon the inherent defects of Federation, the correspondent of the *London Times*, with a juster appreciation of the facts, and more delicate regard for truth, attributes the same war to the constant encroachments of the Federal or central Government upon the rights of the Sovereign States; and the efforts of a particular party to maximise instead of to minimise the power and authority of the Central Government. That this is the plain truth any one whose vision is not distorted by prejudice must at a glance perceive; therefore let us take warning in time, and let us be careful how we too in Canada be guilty of the error of "maximising instead of minimising" the power and authority of the Central Government.—Here are the words of the New York correspondent of the *London Times*, July 19th, 1864:—

"As all the difficulty which has ploughed the country into this fearful war rose out of an intermeddling with the rights of the States—and an attempt, unhappily successful, to maximise instead of to minimize the power and authority of the Central Government, the true remedy for the evils which afflict the land and threaten the anarchy which the General Forces would seem to lie in a return to the principles of the Constitution."

If the earthly fabric of God's holy Church be the "domus Dei et porta cœli," the laying the foundation stone of this "gate-way" may indeed claim to be an event of no ordinary importance. They are in sooth—these foundation stones of Churches—the mile stones marking the spread of Christianity—the landmarks of the Catholic Church. The waves of the ocean had prescribed unto them their uttermost limits—thus far shalt thou go, and no further—their boundary lines are marked by the beesting rock or the yielding shingle. But to the waves of Catholicity ever rolling onward with silent perhaps, though certain progress no barrier is too strong—no obstacle insurmountable. The stern rock and the shifting sandbank have alike to yield to their overwhelming force; and as each successive barrier is overcome it becomes meet to lay down a lasting record of that success marking the date thereof by day and hour—that generations yet unborn may note the various epochs of her progress. It was to embed firmly in the preserving earth with all due ceremony one of these lasting landmarks, that the Catholics of Asphodel, Percy and Seymour were congregated in the little village of Hastings in such countless numbers on Tuesday (August 30) last. The first rays of the sun, as they streamed over the dark forest pines of Seymour or battled with the heavy fogs of our giant river bidding them disperse, nor mar the festive scene, revealed a picture of busy life in our little village, that will be long engraved upon the tablets of our memory. The note of preparation had already sounded, and mingled in pleasing harmony with the busy hum of many voices, and the ceaseless murmurings of the river, as maid and matron, youth and aged sire, hastened to the all important spot.

Our good Bishop (His Lordship Dr. Horan) had arrived on the previous day from Kingston.