

The True Witness.

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MONTREAL, FRIDAY, JUNE 24, 1859.

another glorious victory for French arms, and the over-throw, for the present at least, of Austrian authority in Italy—these are the tidings brought to us by the last European steamers. The battle of Magenta, in which about 80,000 Austrian troops were thoroughly defeated by a smaller body of French and Sardinians, will henceforward rank with Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and other victories of the First Empire; and though its results may not be so disastrous to Austria as the first two, or as was the latter to the Prussian Monarchy, it would seem to have settled the question of Austrian occupation of Northern Italy.

Full details of this great and important conflict we have not as yet received, but the losses in men and officers appear to have been heavy on both sides. No less than 20,000 of the Austrians are said to have been killed, wounded, and made prisoners; whilst the French acknowledge a loss of 5,000 men, though in all probability this statement is under the mark. Few standards, and only three guns were captured, which would seem to indicate that the Austrians were allowed to make an unopposed retreat, and therefore that the victors had themselves suffered severely; but the fact that the former have abandoned Milan, which was occupied by the French on the 8th inst. is decisive as to the immense political results of the great battle of Magenta.

Louis Napoleon has also acquired additional reputation from the events of this short but brilliant campaign. He has shown himself to be a skilful captain and a brave soldier. The Austrians were not only thrashed by the French soldiers, but their commanders were out-manoeuvred by the French Emperor. He, it is said, directed the movements of the troops which led to the victory; and has thus evinced his capacity for war, as well as his fitness to rule a nation in time of peace.

Though beaten on all points however, it does not seem as if the Austrians were disheartened. They are falling back on their resources, and will most probably maintain the contest with the proverbial tenacity of the Teutonic race. Fresh overtures for an accommodation were hinted at; but it is more than doubtful whether, even if the ostensible leaders were inclined to hearken favorably to those overtures, the people of Italy, whose revolutionary passions have now been aroused, and stimulated by the late victory, will consent to abandon the wild dreams of democracy in which they have long indulged. The King of Sardinia might thankfully conclude a treaty securing to him a large increase of territory and revenue; but what would Garibaldi, what would the cut-throats and revolutionists of Italy say to such a peace, after such a war, and after such hopes as have been held out to them? We look, in short, on the actual campaign as only the first act in the great melodrama of the Italian Revolution.

From Great Britain we learn that Lord Derby's Ministry had been defeated in the House of Commons by a majority of 13, and that their resignation was daily expected. The *Persia* further informs us that the Austrians were in full retreat across the Adha, after having been driven out of Marignan with a loss of 1,200 prisoners. In the commercial world *Breadstuffs* were reported as "slightly lower," and *Provisions* as "dull."

ANGLICANS AND SEPARATE SCHOOLS.—Our Anglican friends seem at last to be decided in favor of "Freedom of Education," as opposed to State-Schoolism. At their Synod at Toronto, opened on the 7th inst., the question of education was mooted, and the right of Anglicans to separate schools, was strongly asserted. It is intended, we believe, to test that right under the actual law; and in case of an adverse decision, to have recourse to political agitation, in order to obtain such an amendment of the School Law, as shall enable members of the Anglican denomination to educate their own children as they please.

In this movement, in this agitation, our Anglican friends deserve, and we hope may receive, the sympathies and active co-operation of Catholics. Their cause is our cause; and amongst

them should we look for our natural political allies; holding as they do, so many principles in common with Catholics upon the main political-religious question of the day.

The question of "Freedom of Education" is not a mere denominational, or as the *Globe* would style it, a "sectarian" question. Every parent, whether Catholic or Protestant, is interested in asserting his right, as against the State, to educate his own children as he pleases; and the School Question properly considered, is truly and essentially a "parent's question."

That God may speed our Anglican parents then, in their efforts to throw off the degrading and corrupting yoke of State-Schoolism—is our sincere prayer. That they may be warmly seconded in their noble labors by the Catholic body, is our earnest wish; nor can we bring ourselves to believe that men who have asserted the great principles of our Faith, when they see a portion of their Protestant fellow-citizens engaged in the same glorious struggle for their inalienable rights as parents, against the brute despotism of the State. Earnestly therefore would we exhort our Catholic readers to co-operate with their Anglican neighbors in the combat now pending; earnestly would we exhort them to remember that truth is of no party, and is to be respected from whatever quarter it may proceed. We claim no special rights for ourselves; we ask no privileges, no favors, as Catholics; but as parents, alone responsible for the education of our children, and responsible to God alone, we demand as a right that, without let or hindrance from the State, we be left free to educate our children as we please. This right which we assert for ourselves, we recognise as inherent in all our fellow-citizens, without distinction of creed or of national origin. It is this right, this natural, this heaven-derived right, that we plead against the encroachments of a tyrant State;—and asserting this right for ourselves, and pleading it in our own behalf, we are bound in honor, and by self-interest, to assert, and plead it, for, and in behalf of, all who like ourselves are galled by, and desire to throw off, the odious yoke of State-Schoolism.

Herein too may we find the means of forming political alliances both profitable and honorable; because contracted with men who, on the vital questions of the day, hold opinions in common with ourselves. We cannot without immediate dishonor, and ultimate loss, we cannot as Catholics, ally ourselves with the followers of George Brown, or with any party in the State that is not publicly pledged to adopt "Freedom of Education" as a plank of its political platform; we cannot without dereliction of principle, without the foulest treason to our religion, give our support to any man, or set of men, who has not, or who have not, given us convincing proof of his or their determination, both to give the School Question of Upper Canada precedence over all secular questions, and so to settle that question as to give full satisfaction to the demands put forward by the Catholic body. Now the "Liberals," as they are called, the friends of George Brown and his political allies, are pledged to the maintenance of a "common" school system; they are too deeply committed on this question to retract now; they could not, even if they would; and in justice to their consistency, we will add that they would not, even if they could. They may perhaps try and amuse us by holding out vain hopes; by telling us of great and good things to come from Committees of Enquiry, and well-salaried Commissioners; but we are not, we trust, such fools as to be duped by such shallow artifices as these. We want no Committees of Enquiry; for on the School Question there is nothing new to be said. We need no roving Commissioners for Ireland, Prussia, or Belgium; for in none of these countries is there anything that could be profitably imported into Canada. The School Question, in short, lies in a nut-shell, it is so simple; and all our claims may be expressed at full length in the following short sentence. We demand:—

"That no one be taxed, directly or indirectly, for the support either of a church or of a school, to which he is conscientiously opposed."

This is all that the friends of "Freedom of Education" demand; a demand so reasonable, so self-evidently just, that their opponents dare not contest it; and we heartily welcome our separated brethren of the Anglican denomination, as our allies, and comrades in the approaching contest. We have reason, we have justice on our side, even if numbers be still against us; but in the end, truth and justice must triumph over brute force, if we be but true to ourselves, and our sacred cause—a cause in whose success every Christian, every parent, is vitally interested.

For the School Question is essentially a parent's question; for to the parent alone it belongs of right to control the education of the child, and to determine, "*how, by whom,*" and "*with whom*" his child shall be educated. This is our thesis. "Education is the legitimate function of the Family, not of the State—of the Father, not of the Civil Magistrate;" and strong in this truth, which no one dare impugn, we may defy the malice of George Brown, the ravings of the *Globe*, and the brute violence of Upper Canadian demagogues. Of one thing only are we afraid—the treachery of pretended friends; against one thing only should we be on our guard—the liberal professions of "Clear-Grit" office-hunters, seeking to avail themselves of the "Catholic vote."

THE "GLOBE" AND THE "MONTREAL WITNESS."—Our opposition to Mr. McGe's advocacy of the justice of "Representation by Population" as applied to Canada, has brought out in his support, and in support of the principles which he advocates, the two great champions of Protestantism in Upper and Lower Canada, respectively; we mean the *Globe* and the *Montreal Witness*. We congratulate Mr. McGe as a Catholic, upon his new found friends; and point to their advocacy of "Representation by Population" as a conclusive proof that it is essentially an anti-Catholic measure; aimed against our Catholic institutions, as much as against the nationality of our French Canadian fellow-citizens; and that in the estimation of our enemies, it is the one thing needful to establish and perpetuate Protestant Ascendancy; and in the words of our *Montreal* evangelist, "Canada shake in their shoes." Thus, some two or three weeks ago spake the No-Popery organ of Lower Canada; and in a similar style does the saintly editor of the *Globe* assail the *True Witness* for its "*ultramontanism*," and opposition to "Representation by Population," even when that measure is advocated by Mr. G. Brown's new found friend Mr. McGe:—

"What is the charge preferred against Mr. McGe? Simply that in the fulfilment of his duty as a politician, he has affirmed the equity of the Upper Canadian demand for representation according to population—that he has declared that demand to be irresistible—and that he is willing to embody the principle on which it rests in any scheme of constitutional reform that may be proposed. For this, and this alone, the *True Witness* assails Mr. McGe with a string of insinuations, ending with a threat of virtual excommunication as the penalty of his adherence to his present party alliance.—*Globe*, 27th ult.

Not with the design of repelling the attacks made upon us by the *Globe* do we reply to the charges of "*ultramontanism*" &c., &c., urged against us by our Clear Grit cotemporary; for the highest compliment that he can pay to a Catholic journalist is his unqualified censure of the latter's conduct. The Catholic who can win a good word from the *Globe* or the *Witness*, must be a traitor to his religion, and a rank hypocrite; but the honest and sincere Papist will ever be the object of Mr. George Brown's abhorrence; and a friendly notice from the latter, would, therefore, be a certain proof that he had richly earned the scorn and detestation of his coreligionists.—We, therefore, admit the "*ultramontanism*," and plead guilty to the soft impeachment of political hostility to Mr. McGe, and to all other advocates of a measure for subjecting Catholic Lower Canada to the tyranny of Protestant Upper Canada.

But the *Globe* does not tell the whole truth. It is not "for this, and this alone" that we assail Mr. McGe and his Clear Grit friends; but because of their political dishonesty, and utter want of principle and integrity. We will make good our words.

We charge the advocates of "Representation by Population," generally, with political dishonesty, and an utter want of principle and integrity; because they have two sets of weights and measures, one for themselves and one for their neighbors. Their clamour for "Representation by Population" is a proof of this; because when the advantages of "Equality of Representation" for the two sections of the Province, were on the side of Upper Canada; and when the population of Lower Canada was far greater than was that of the Upper Province—whilst the latter sent as many members to Parliament as did the former—not a voice was raised by Upper Canadians against that arrangement as unjust; not a word uttered then by Mr. Geo. Brown's party, in favor of "Representation by Population." Now justice is always justice; and if the principle advocated by Mr. G. Brown be just to-day, it was just at the time of the Union; and would therefore, if the party whom he represents were honest men, and lovers of justice, have been insisted on by them, then. In that they held their peace when "Equality of Representation" was in their favour, and "Representation by Population" would have given a numerical preponderance in the Legislature to Lower Canada, is proof convincing that the advocates of the latter measure to-day, are knaves and hypocrites; keeping one set of weights and measures for themselves, and another set for their neighbors; and intent, not upon justice, but solely upon their own personal advantages.—Were they honest men, they would have insisted upon "Representation by Population" from the time of the Union; and they would see that in granting to Lower Canada at the present day, now that her population is, or is said to be, a trifle less than that of the Upper Province, a number of representatives equal to that of the latter, they were but making a tardy, and very inadequate reparation, to the former, for the gross injustice inflicted upon her by the Union, and for the especial benefit of Upper Canada.

And with regard to Mr. McGe, in particular, we tax him also with want of honesty in his advocacy of "Representation by Population," and on the following grounds:—

It is a fact which we are prepared to prove, if he presumes to deny it, that, previous to the last general election, some eighteen months ago, Mr. McGe did his best to be admitted into the

ranks of the Ministerial party; that with that object in view, he entered into negotiations with the Attorney General for Canada West, whom he has since denounced as an Orangeman; and that day after day, and until his abject overtures to enter political life on the Ministerial interest had been spurned with contumely by those to whom they were addressed, he waited humbly in Ministerial ante-chambers for a reply to his degrading offers. It is not Mr. McGe's fault therefore, if to-day he is not sitting on the Ministerial side of the House; and amongst the most docile and well trained of government supporters.

Now to do the Ministry justice, on the question of "Representation by Population," their policy has always been clearly expressed, as hostile to that measure. It is in the *Minutes*, filed to that measure. It is in the *Minutes*, dated in the Autumn of 1857 in striking his bargain with that Ministry, and thereby obtaining admission into their ranks, he would not in 1858 and 1859 have proclaimed himself, either on the floor of the House, or elsewhere, the advocate of a measure of which his Ministerial patrons were the uncompromising opponents; of a measure, which, if carried, would be the death blow, to the particular interests of Lower Canada, and to French Canadian nationality; and would, by the immense preponderance it would give to Protestantism in the Legislature, be fatal to the civil and religious liberties of the entire Catholic body throughout the Province. This question of "Representation" is, we repeat, to Catholics, the most important of all the politico-religious questions of the day; for it is agitated by Protestants not as an end, but as the means to an end; that end being: the suppression of Popery, and the establishment of Protestant Ascendancy. Given "Representation by Population," and it would be in vain for Catholics to continue the struggle for "Freedom of Education;" vain for them to expect to retain even those slight advantages which, in the form of Separate Schools, they have already wrested from the enemy. The condition of Lower Canada, and of the Catholics of the Province, would be as that of Ireland, and of the Catholics of the British Empire, in the last century; they would be at the mercy of those who, whenever, or wheresoever it has been in their power to persecute Catholics, have shown no mercy; they would be trampled under the hoofs of those who detest the people of Lower Canada as Frenchmen and as Catholics; and who hate all Catholics because of their fidelity to their God.

Humanly speaking, therefore, every thing—our schools, our convents, our religious and charitable institutions, our civil and religious liberties—depends, and depend upon our being able to maintain, so long as the Legislative Union betwixt the two sections of the Province continues, the principle of "Equality of Representation" intact.—Designed originally to assure Protestant and Anglo-Saxon supremacy, and, as the *Witness* tells us, to crush the nationality and the religion of the Lower Province, it has been, by the Providence of Almighty God, converted into an instrument of defence against our enemies, and made a bulwark to our Church. Shall we then be such fools or such knaves, as to cast away this weapon, and to break down this bulwark? and for what? In order to promote the purely selfish objects of one, who at his very first entry into Canadian political life, approved himself by his intrigues, destitute of political integrity, and of all fixed principle; of one who was ready to ally himself with any man, with any party, no matter what their politics, who would but take him by the hand, and advance his interests; of one, in short, who would have been the humble follower of M. Cartier, if the latter would have accepted his proffered homage; and who, because spurned by M. Cartier and his Ministerial colleagues, has since clasped to his bosom Mr. George Brown, the malignant reviler of his race and of his creed! These we assert are facts; which, though they have only come to our knowledge within the last few weeks, we are prepared to establish by proofs irrefragable.

But—argues the *Globe* in behalf of its friend Mr. McGe—did not O'Connell demand "Representation by Population" as an "act of justice to Ireland?"—and has not Mr. McGe, therefore, the right to demand the same measure, as an act of justice to Upper Canada? Yes, indeed; and so also "there is a river in Macedon; and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth, and there is salmons in both." Yet in spite of worthy Fluellen's logic, even George Brown must admit that there is a difference betwixt Monmouth and Macedon, betwixt Alexander and Harry of Monmouth. So also with regard to Canada and Ireland, is there a difference, and an essential difference, which consists in this—That the principle of "Representation by Population" had never been violated in behalf, or for the benefit, of Ireland; and, therefore, the friends of Ireland had, and have the right to assert that principle in behalf of Ireland. But with respect to Upper Canada, that same principle has been violated, and for years set aside, expressly for the sake of giving to the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon population of that section of the Province an un-

due preponderance in the Legislature; neither they therefore, nor their friends, can honestly or consistently assert that principle in their behalf, now that the advantages of "Equal Representation" are no longer on their side. This is a conclusive, an unanswerable rejoinder to all the arguments of the friends of "Representation by Population;" one, therefore, to which they are most careful never to allude even, when advocating that measure.

To establish any analogy, however remote, betwixt the policy of the great Irish statesman, and that of Mr. McGe, the *Globe* must show that, at the time of the Union betwixt Ireland and Great Britain, the population of the former was far greater, and its finances far more prosperous, than that, and those of the latter; that nevertheless, Ireland was allowed only the same number of representatives as was accorded to Great Britain, and was moreover, burdened with the debts contracted by, and for the exclusive benefit of, the sister country; that subsequently, the increase of population in the latter had outstripped that of Ireland, and that O'Connell had in consequence demanded "as an act of justice," that in spite of the injustice inflicted upon Ireland by the Union, the number of representatives for Great Britain should be augmented in proportion to its increase of population. Had this, the literal counterpart of what has occurred in Canada, transpired on the other side of the Atlantic, and if O'Connell had acted as we have supposed, and as Mr. McGe is now acting, there would indeed have been a perfect parallelism; but under such circumstances we do not think that posterity would have awarded to O'Connell the reputation either of an able statesman, or indeed of a honest man.

We on the contrary maintain that we are contending for O'Connell's principles, even if our formula, be different. He claimed for his country "Representation by Population" not as an end, but as the means to an end—that end being the autonomy of Ireland, its emancipation from foreign rule, and from Protestant Ascendancy.—So we in like manner contend for "Equality of Representation;" first as a bare act of justice to Lower Canada, seeing that that principle was applied when its population far exceeded that of the Upper Province; and secondly as the means to an end—that end being the autonomy of Lower Canada, its deliverance from foreign rule, and from Protestant Ascendancy with which we are menaced. On us therefore, and not on the shoulders of Mr. McGe or George Brown, has the mantle of Ireland's orator, statesman, and patriot fallen; for though we employ different means, yet the ends we seek are essentially the same.

If we have been prompt and incessant in condemning, and in denouncing as unworthy of Catholic support, a Ministry or party who had approved themselves indifferent, or hostile to the just demands of the Catholic minority of Upper Canada; so, on the other hand, we are always ready to do justice even to our political opponents; and to hail with joy every sign, of contrition on their part for their past conduct, and of a determination to amend their lives. It is therefore a pleasure to us to be able to lay before our readers the following remarks on the School Question, which we extract from the *Minerve* (Ministerial organ) of Saturday last.

Speaking of the action taken on the subject of separate schools by the Anglican Synod, our Ministerial cotemporary says:—

"We have already said, upon the testimony of the Superintendent of Education himself, that it was evident to us, that every concession made to Catholics had been extorted by the courageous perseverance of their Bishop; we cannot then but notice with pleasure the help which our coreligionists are about to receive from an imposing minority asserting claims analogous to theirs.

"The *Leader* himself feels that the common school system, already shaken by the concessions of the Legislature, will scarce be able to resist the shock; the influence which now seems determined against that system, will have great weight with the councillors of the Crown for this section of the Province; we shall owe perhaps to a political necessity, that which should have been granted as an act of justice; but whatever the cause or occasion of the benefit, we shall rejoice to see recognised what to us appears to be the inalienable right of conscience and of faith.

"Let us add that the majority in the Parliament seem to partake of our views. And the Session being prolonged, a proposition, with the object of extending the narrow framework of the Upper Canadian educational system, would have been laid before the Legislature; and we hope that it may be one of the first acts which shall mark the approaching transfer of the Legislature to Quebec."—*Minerve*, 18th inst.

We have no desire, or indeed design, to indulge in angry recriminations over the past; it is not our object to remind our cotemporary that the claims on the School Question which it now recognises as just, and as inalienable rights—"droit imprescriptible"—have always hitherto been opposed and denied to us by the present Ministry; and that it was that refusal of justice which provoked the opposition which they have often received from the *True Witness*. We regret indeed that the *Minerve* and its Ministerial patrons have so long delayed recognising the justice of our claims on the School Question; but "better late than never;" and even now, at the eleventh hour, if they are willing and determined to do their best to bring about an equitable settlement of the School Question, we shall be but too happy to do them justice, and to forget their past.

The task will in all probability be a difficult