

THE TRUE WITNESS

CATHOLIC CHRONICLE,
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY BY J. GILLIES
FOR GEORGE E. CLERK, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,
At the Office, No. 4, Place d'Armes.

TERMS:
Town Subscribers.....\$3 per annum.
Country do.....2 1/2
Payable Half-Yearly in Advance.
Single Copies, 3d.

The True Witness.

MONTREAL, FRIDAY, DEC. 25, 1857.

THE IRISH CATHOLIC VOTERS' GUIDE.
RESOLUTIONS OF THE ST. PATRICK'S SOCIETY.

Passed Unanimously, November 22nd, 1857.
Resolved,—That all secret political societies are dangerous to the state and the well-being of society; and the Montreal St. Patrick's Society, as lovers of civil and religious liberty, enter their protest against and express their abhorrence of, all such secret political societies, no matter what name they may assume.

Resolved,—That as the spread of Orangism in Canada is a fact boasted of publicly by its members, we feel it our bounden duty to make use of all the constitutional means in our power to protect ourselves against its baneful influence. Therefore, we pledge ourselves collectively and individually to withhold our support from any government that will countenance said society; and moreover, at the hustings not to give a vote to any man that will not pledge himself to the same course.

Resolved,—That this Society considers the state of the Catholic minority in Upper Canada to be a most unjust one with regard to state schoolism, and that we refuse our support to any government or to any individual at the hustings that will not procure or pledge themselves to grant the same privileges to the Catholic minority in Upper Canada that are possessed by the Protestant minority in Lower Canada.

Resolved,—That we will use all the constitutional means in our power to induce every lover of civil and religious liberty throughout Canada to unite with us in carrying out the objects of the foregoing resolutions for that purpose a sub-committee of five be now appointed to take the necessary steps to accomplish this end, and report progress at the next regular meeting, and the committee be recommended to put themselves in correspondence with the editors of all such papers as are in a position to give them the necessary assistance and advice.

Resolved,—That at the next regular meeting the Society shall appoint a committee of five, with a chairman, that shall be called the Standing Sub-Committee of the St. Patrick's Society, and shall be a Standing Committee for the remainder of the year the duty of which Committee shall be to act in relation to the proceedings of this meeting.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTES OF UPPER CANADA.

Resolved,—That the Catholic Institute of Toronto PLEDGES ITSELF TO OPPOSE, BY ALL CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS, THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESENT MINISTRY, AND OF ANY OF THEIR SUPPORTERS, IF, at the next session of the Provincial Parliament, full justice is not done to the Catholics of Western Canada with regard to the free working of their separate schools; and that this Institute invokes the sympathy and assistance of their fellow-Catholics in Eastern Canada to promote their object.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

An extraordinary session of the Imperial Parliament was opened on Thursday, the 3rd inst., by the following speech from the Throne:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,
Circumstances have recently arisen, connected with the commercial interests of the country, which have induced me to call Parliament together before the usual time.

"The failure of certain Joint-Stock Banks, and some mercantile firms, produced such an extent of distrust as led me to authorise my Ministers to recommend to the Directors of the Bank of England the adoption of a course of proceeding which appeared necessary for allaying the prevalent alarm. As that course has involved a departure from the existing law, a bill for indemnifying those who advised and those who adopted it will be submitted for your consideration.

"I have observed, with great regret, that the disturbed state of commercial transactions in general has occasioned a diminution of employment in the manufacturing districts, which I fear cannot fail to be attended with much local distress. I trust, however, that this evil may not be of long duration; and the abundant harvest with which it has graciously pleased Divine Providence to bless this land, will, I hope, in some degree mitigate the sufferings which this state of things must unavoidably produce.

"While I deeply deplore the severe suffering to which many of my subjects in India have been exposed, and while I grieve for the extensive bereavements and sorrow which it has caused, I have derived the greatest satisfaction from the distinguished successes which have attended the heroic exertions of the comparatively small forces which have been opposed to greatly superior numbers, without the aid of the powerful reinforcements despatched from this country to their assistance. The arrival of those reinforcements will, I trust, speedily complete the suppression of this widely-spread revolt.

"The gallantry of the troops employed against the mutineers; their courage in action, their endurance under privation, fatigue, and the effects of climate; the high spirit and self-devotion of the officers; the ability, skill, and persevering energy of the commanders, have excited my warmest admiration; and I have observed with equal gratification that many civilians placed in extreme difficulty and danger have displayed the highest qualities, including, in some instances those that would do honour to veteran soldiers.

"It is satisfactory to know that the general mass of the people of India have taken no part in the rebellion, while the most considerable of the native Princes have acted in the most friendly manner, and have rendered important services.

"I have given directions that papers relating to these matters shall be laid before you.
"The affairs of my East Indian dominions will require your serious consideration, and I recommend them to your earnest attention.

"The nations of Europe are in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, which nothing seems likely to disturb.

"The stipulations of the Treaty which I concluded with the Shah of Persia have been faithfully carried into execution; and the Persian forces have evacuated the territory of Herat.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,
"I have given directions that the Estimates for the next year shall be prepared for the purpose of being laid before you. They will be framed with a careful regard to the exigencies of the public service.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,
"Your attention will be called to the laws which regulate the representation of the people in Parliament, with a view to consider what amendments may be safely and beneficially made therein.

"Measures will be submitted for your consideration for simplifying and amending the laws relating to real property, and also for consolidating and amending several important branches of the criminal law.
"I confidently commit to your wisdom the great interests of my empire; and I fervently pray that the blessing of Almighty God may attend your counsels, and may guide your deliberations to those ends which are dearest to my heart—the happiness and prosperity of my loyal and faithful people."

From India we have accounts satisfactory upon the whole, but it does not appear that the defenders of Lucknow can as yet be considered out of danger. Doubts were entertained as to the sufficiency of their supply of provisions; and though the force under General Outram, consisting of about 2,300 men, is strong enough to set at defiance the hordes of mutineers by whom it is still harassed, it is to be feared that if it cannot obtain provisions, it will be obliged to fight its way to Cawnpore. The total number of slain and wounded during the siege of Delhi is now published, and is stated at 4,000 men and 220 officers. The original force consisted only of about 3,000 men and 160 officers. Gen. Wilson has been compelled by ill health to resign his command. The news from the Continent of Europe is devoid of interest. The favorable result of the late parliamentary elections in Piedmont is fully confirmed; and, even from Protestant accounts, it appears certain that the number of Catholic members returned is at least double that of those who sat in the late parliament. This happy reaction against Liberalism and democratic despotism is attributed, and is no doubt in a great measure owing, to the exertions and salutary influence of the Catholic clergy.

Our Canadian elections still form the all-engrossing topic of the day. In several other places besides Montreal has the Orange Ministry met with a serious discomfiture. Mr. Cayley has—it is rumored—been defeated at Huron. Mr. Spence, another enemy of "Freedom of Education," has been rejected by the electors of North Wentworth; and though unfortunately M. Cartier, the patron of Orangism, and the supporter of Mr. Drummond's anti-Catholic Incorporation's Bill, has managed to secure a seat for Vercheres, we are well consoled by the reflection that he was indignantly rejected by the honest Irish Catholics of Montreal; who are too proud of their Church, too attached to their religion, to submit to the degradation of being represented—or rather misrepresented—by the mercenary gang of jobbers and corruptionists that impudently arrogate to themselves the title of "friends of order" and supporters of "good principles." If anything could make a Catholic gentleman and man of honor, ashamed of his faith, or cause him to blush for his Church, it would be to think that the stability of that faith, and the interests of that Church, were in any way, however remotely, connected, with the maintenance in office of a set of men who, as politicians, have during a long course of years shewn themselves to be utterly destitute of all honor and all principle; and, who have done more towards preparing the way for the overthrow of all our social and religious institutions in the Lower Province, than have the most violent amongst our avowed enemies.

Yes, a gentleman might well be ashamed to avow himself a member of a church, which acknowledged such men as Cartier, Drummond, or any of the venal tribe who voted against Mr. Felton's amendment, as her champions. Thank God however, the Catholic Church needs no such helpers, no such defenders. Her help is in the name of the Lord; and not on the mercenary votes of servile politicians, and needy "place-beggars," but upon the goodness of her cause, and the promises of the Most High, does she rely for support against the malice of her adversaries. This is our answer to *La Patrie* which in its issue of the 24th inst, holds up M. Cartier as a "defender of our Catholic institutions." God defend us say we from all such defenders!

THE CITY ELECTION.—The polling commenced on Monday morning, and was kept up with spirit until 5 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon. Great anxiety as to the result was manifested; and though until the actual state of the poll be officially declared, which will not be before Monday next, it is impossible to give the exact numbers, the fact is undoubted that a great, if not a complete, victory over the Orange Ministry has been obtained, and that the members for Montreal are DORION, M'GEE and ROSE.

Though the excitement was great, and the election keenly contested, we are happy to have it in our power to state, that with a few trifling exceptions, everything passed off quietly; and in a manner which reflects great credit upon those charged with the maintenance of the public peace. Towards the close, there were at one or two points, occasional efforts to obtain possession of the polls, and, in consequence, a few blows were exchanged amongst the adherents of the rival candidates; but upon the whole we fully agree with the *Montreal Herald*, that the citizens of

Montreal have good right to congratulate themselves "at the generally peaceful and orderly manner in which this great electoral contest has been decided."

The result of the election having been made known from the windows of the Committee room of the Independent candidates, loud shouts proclaimed the satisfaction of the dense crowd which for upwards of an hour had been anxiously awaiting the report. Mr. McGee was accompanied home by a large body of his fellow-citizens; who, after three hearty cheers for the Independent members, quietly dispersed, and in a few minutes all was tranquil in our streets.

Thus have the Irish Catholics of Montreal proved to the world that they are not the docile ministerial hacks which their enemies delighted to represent them. In vain were ministerial threats held out that, if the Irish voted against the Ministerial candidates, the paltry annual grant, which in common with Protestant charitable institutions, the St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum of this city receives from Government, should be withdrawn—in vain were all the blandishments of Government hirelings—in vain the indignant remonstrances of "Jack-in-Office," to whom the defection of the Irish Catholic vote seemed to indicate the speedy approach of that great and terrible day of doom of which the prophets spake. Faithfully did the Irish Catholic voters of Montreal do their duty, and honorably have they redeemed the pledges given in their name by the Catholic Institutes of Upper Canada. Would the Catholic electors throughout Canada but follow their example, the "School Question" would be speedily settled, and hereafter, no Ministry, no party, would dare to insult them, or refuse to listen to their demands for justice. We have the power in our hands to enforce compliance with all our requests; and if those requests have been hitherto treated with contempt; it is solely because we have not the courage and honesty to make a right use of the power which the constitution under which we live, places in our hands.

And now one word to the successful candidates whom by our votes we have raised to the honorably conspicuous, but highly responsible position of representatives of the chief city in British North America. "Gentlemen"—would we say to them—"we have trusted you, and in proof of our confidence, have elevated you to your present enviable position. Our main object in selecting you as our representatives is this—that you exert yourselves strenuously and unceasingly to procure justice for our brethren in Upper Canada; that from your seats in Parliament you insist, in season and out of season—no matter what the consequences to any Ministry or to any party—that the same measure of justice which in this section of the Province has been cheerfully and ungrudgingly dealt out to the Protestant minority, be in like manner accorded to the Catholic minority of the Upper Province. Do this—and heart and soul we will support you. Fail in this, falter for one moment in your allegiance to the great and holy cause which we have chosen you to advocate, and you will find us as prompt to pull you down, as we have been to raise you up. Remember—that your every word, your every action, your every vote upon matters connected with the 'School Question,' and the general interests of the Church, will be closely watched, keenly scrutinised, and impartially weighed; that as we have been ready to place a generous reliance in your promises, so will we be rigid, and inexorable in exacting their fulfillment, even to the uttermost farthing; that no excuses will be accepted, and no pardon or indulgence extended, for the slightest deviation from the paths of rectitude; and that it depends entirely upon your conduct in Parliament whether we shall be your warmest friends, or your bitterest and irreconcilable foes."

The above sentences comprise the entire policy of the TRUE WITNESS—that policy of "Independent Opposition," which from the first day of its existence, it has advocated, and which it will advocate to the last. We repeat them now, not because we have the slightest reason to doubt the good faith, and honorable intentions of our "Independent" representatives; not because we think that they require to be reminded of their duty—but in justice to ourselves; and to those principles which we have always avowed. With us men are nothing. Personally, the candidates at an election are to us no more than X, Y, or Z; more algebraic signs, important only in so far as they are the exponents, or representatives, of principles. To the latter we must remain ever constant; the former we are prepared to exchange at a moment's notice for any other letters of the alphabet which shall more fully and faithfully express our meaning; or more effectually aid us in solving those politico-religious problems in which all Catholics are interested, and with which alone the Editor of the TRUE WITNESS deems it his province to interfere.

The *Vindicator* of Quebec assures the Protestant press of that city, that—"On the questions of Separate Schools and Secret Societies, the Irish Catholics of this city are, to a man, with Mr. McGee as to principle, although they

may differ with him as to the policy of the moment."

This is, to a certain extent, satisfactory, but upon the whole, it is not very clear or explicit.—With the principle advocated by the Irish Catholics of Montreal, the Irish Catholics of Quebec agree, to a man, but differ only as to the "policy of the moment." What does the *Vindicator* mean by the "policy of the moment?" and if to that policy he objects, what other line of policy, as likely to lead to the attainment of the common object which Quebecers and Montrealers have in view, does he propose to substitute in lieu thereof? This we have surely the right to ask; for though we lay no claims to infallibility, the presumption at least is in favor of the line of policy, that we in Montreal have adopted; until such time at all events as its opponents shall have indicated one better fitted, or more likely, to bring about the speedy triumph of our common principles. If, we say, the *Vindicator* approves of our object, but objects only to our *modus operandi*, he is bound to show that that object can be obtained more surely, and more speedily, by some other mode than that which we have adopted. When his proposition to that effect shall be before us, we will give it our serious and most respectful consideration.

In the mean time, we still hold to the opinion which for years we have expressed in the TRUE WITNESS—that the only effectual means for Catholics to employ, to obtain justice from any political party, is that of bold, independent and uncompromising opposition to every party that, being in office, refuses to us our demands. We hold to this opinion, because, in the first place, it—"Independent Opposition"—is the policy adopted, with the approbation of their natural leaders, by the Catholic party in Ireland; in the second place, because no other policy, with the slightest prospect of success, has as yet been brought forward; and lastly, because it is the policy expressly indicated by their Lordships the Bishops of Upper Canada, and the Catholic Institutes of that section of the Province.

This last consideration has, we must confess, great weight with us, and is one to which no Catholic can refuse to attach much importance.—The line of policy which at the present general election, we in Montreal have adopted as "the policy of the moment," is clearly indicated in those "Resolutions" which, since the commencement of the present electoral contest, we have published, as the "Irish Catholic Voter's Guide;" in order that, if the latter fails in his duty, and proves recreant to his sacred "PLEDGES," the words of those "Resolutions" so solemnly adopted, may rise up in judgment against him, and condemn him.

"WE PLEDGE OURSELVES TO OPPOSE, BY ALL CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS"—says that document, entered into with the knowledge and full consent of the Bishop of Toronto—"THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESENT MINISTRY AND OF ANY OF THEIR SUPPORTERS"—(mark well these words)—"IF AT THE NEXT SESSION OF THE PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT, FULL JUSTICE IS NOT DONE TO THE CATHOLICS OF WESTERN CANADA, WITH REGARD TO THE FREE WORKING OF THEIR SEPARATE SCHOOLS."

We pause here to remark that the "session" alluded to has come and gone; that not the slightest instalment even, of that full measure of justice which is contended for, has been granted; and that, on the contrary, the present Ministry, and their supporters, have positively refused, when asked to do so, to make the slightest alteration in the iniquitous school system of Upper Canada, or to assimilate the condition of the Catholic minority in that section of the Province, to the condition of the Protestant minority in Lower Canada. Therefore, if there be meaning in words, are the Catholics of Upper Canada—all at least who directly or indirectly, openly or tacitly, assented to the "Resolutions" of the Catholic Institutes—bound—if they would not expose themselves to the scorn of the community, as "PLEDGE BREAKERS," as the deliberate violators of the most solemn engagements, and as men utterly destitute of all honorable feeling—to oppose at the present election, by all constitutional means, the re-election of the present Ministry, and of any of their supporters?"

This is the "policy of the moment" of the Irish Catholics of Montreal; and, good or bad, not we, but the Catholic Institutes of Upper Canada, which first propounded it, and invoked our aid to carry it out, are responsible for the consequences.

For, having traced out the line of policy which the Catholics of Upper Canada PLEDGED themselves to adopt, the "Resolutions" of the Catholic Institutes go on to invoke:—

"THE SYMPATHY AND ASSISTANCE OF THEIR FELLOW-CATHOLICS IN EASTERN CANADA TO PROMOTE THEIR OBJECT."

Therefore, if we, who in Lower Canada enjoy to their fullest extent the blessings of religious freedom and religious equality, are not so entirely occupied with ourselves as to be utterly indifferent to the wrongs of our fellow-countrymen and co-religionists in Upper Canada—if we would not wish to proclaim ourselves to the world as thoroughly selfish, and destitute of all sympathy for our oppressed brethren in the faith—are we bound to adopt, and by every consti-

tutional means in our power, to enforce, the policy of uncompromising opposition to the "re-election of the present Ministry, or any of their supporters?"

For this our "policy of the moment," not we, but the Catholic Institutes of Upper Canada are responsible. We have merely responded to their appeal for our "aid and sympathy," and have granted freely, what they have earnestly invoked. If we have erred, it is in supposing that the Catholics of Upper Canada meant what they said; in taking their "Resolutions" as serious; in not treating their "PLEDGES" as mere rigmarole, and empty fustian; and in looking upon the Catholic Institutes of Canada as the faithful exponents of the wishes of honest men. This is an error, if error it be, into which we shall not be likely to fall a second time.

But we may plead, not only the action and exhortations of the Catholic Institutes of Upper Canada in justification of the "policy of the moment" which the Irish Catholics of Montreal have adopted, but the words of Mgr. Charbonnell, the zealous and truly noble Bishop of Toronto. The above cited "Resolutions" were adopted and published with his full knowledge, and approbation; the policy therein laid down, and which we in Montreal have, as faithful Catholics, done our best to carry out, be on more than one occasion openly and publicly proclaimed as his own; and as one which he trusted the Catholics of Canada would every where adopt, and steadfastly pursue. And when applied to by letter, His Lordship hesitated not one moment to express his opinion before the world, that even a "Brown-Dorion Administration" would be less injurious to religion than "the present one." We will cite His Lordship's words, written in reply to the following question put to him by Mr. J. O'Farrell:—

"Would you prefer"—asks Mr. O'Farrell, in a letter dated June 20th, 1856—"would you prefer a Brown-Dorion Administration to the present one?"

His Lordship replied under date of the same day:—
"I do prefer a sincere Protestant to a bad Catholic, and hope that the good sense of the country will always get rid of any Administration injurious to her constitution, her honor, peace and prosperity."

To another question propounded by Mr. O'Farrell to His Lordship in the following words:—

"Would you, had you a seat in the Legislature have voted for Mr. Felton's amendment, with the absolute certainty before you of seeing the present Administration replaced by one based on the avowed principles of Mr. George Brown?"

The Bishop at once replied:—

"Had I a seat in the Legislature, regardless of any human considerations, I would never commit a positive injustice for fear of any consequences, and would never vote against my conscience for party, office, or re-election sake; again, no evil should be done that good may come from it."
"† A. CHARBONNELL,
Bishop of Toronto."

Here then we have again "the policy of the moment" of the Irish Catholics of Montreal clearly traced out. Fearless of "consequences," and regardless of "party, or office," we have opposed the men who, for the sake of retaining office, and their dirty salaries, deliberately and against their conscience, voted down the equitable proposition of Mr. Felton to place the Catholic minority of Upper Canada on the same footing, as respected their schools, as the Protestant minority of the Lower Province; and who in consequence were proceeded against by the severest spiritual censures of the Church—censures which have not, that we know of, been raised, but which certainly render him who is subject to them altogether unworthy of the political support of any sincere Catholic. To criticise therefore, or express disapprobation of "the policy of the moment" of the Irish Catholics of Montreal, is in fact to criticise and condemn the conduct of the Bishop of Toronto, and of the Catholic Institutes of Upper Canada. We have merely done what they themselves pointed out to us as our proper line of conduct, and earnestly implored us to follow. Our fault—if fault we have been guilty of—consists solely in this; that we have been too honest, and too faithful. Too honest as citizens to support a corrupt Ministry; too faithful as children of the Church, to set at naught the injunctions of our spiritual Mother, speaking by the mouth of the Bishop of Toronto.

As to the charge of forming an unnatural alliance, that is easily disposed of. The Irish Catholics of Montreal have formed no alliance which binds them to support any man, or any party; further than he, or it, shows himself, or itself, worthy of their support. We are prepared at a moment's notice to turn upon, and strike down without mercy, those whom to day we have raised up—if to-morrow they prove false to us, or if they do not exert themselves actively and incessantly to promote the objects for which alone we supported them. Our policy—and we trust that it may be more than the "policy of a moment"—is unrelenting opposition to every Ministry, to every party, that withholds from us our rights. We know no ties of party or office; we care not for men, but principles; and regardless of men, scorning all party ties, and turning a deaf ear to the doleful remonstrances of "Jack-in-Office," we are prepared to throw overboard to-morrow, the men with whom we are embarked to day, upon the very first symptoms of hostility