

The True Witness.

CATHOLIC CHRONICLE,
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MONTREAL, FRIDAY, MAY 29, 1868.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Our latest European dates are per Asia to the 16th instant, but they contain nothing of any interest. A great battle betwixt the Russians and the insurgent Poles is reported, in which the victory was claimed by the former, but we have no details. The news of the loss of the *Anglo-Saxon* had created a great sensation in England—and Mr. Dawson had given notice in the House of Commons that he would ask for particulars of the disgraceful affair. It is now perfectly clear that the vessel was lost by the gross neglect of the commonest precautions, and the incompetency of the captain. The case of the *Peterhoff* still formed the subject of lively and angry discussion, and the members of the leading mercantile interests were about to petition the Imperial Government to take immediate and active measures to put a stop to the aggressions of Yankee cruisers upon British merchant ships. The Continental news, with the exception of that from Poland, is very tame, the only exciting topic is the approaching election in France.

The army of the Potomac has accomplished nothing worth recording since our last. The Yankee papers however, claim a victory for General Grant over the Confederates on the 16th instant; and it seems only too probable that the latter are sore pressed by the enemy before Vicksburg. The spirit of the gallant Southerners is by no means daunted however, and their resolve to maintain their liberties and to throw off the hated Yankee yoke is strong as ever. There are good reasons also to hope that in the Western and Northwestern States the people will shortly rise in arms against the infamous tyranny of the Yankee Jacobin party. The arrest of Vallandigham has opened the eyes of thousands, and convinced them of the necessity of asserting, ere it be too late, their constitutional rights, now trampled under foot by the meanest and most detestable tyrants that ever played their fantastic tricks before high heaven. The *Crisis* a journal published in Ohio thus describe the state of public feeling:—

The eastern papers come loaded with denunciations of the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. Our friends east must not suppose that because very little is said in Ohio, that there is no feeling on the subject. The feeling is far beyond the audible expression of the people. Under no circumstances did we ever witness the same state of public mind. It pervades every part and portion of the State. Scarcely a word passes between the Democrats and Republicans—they pass no total strangers.

And again:—
So intense is the feeling in the State that few feel like saying anything on the subject. There is a death-like feeling in every heart, which is smothered under the mere inquiry of "What has been done with Mr. Vallandigham?" and such like inquiries. Would to God that the authorities were fully sensible of the great blunders they have made; of the slumbering volcano underneath. Who counsels—who advises them? Surely not the men of sense—of patriotism, nor lovers of order and of safety. We pray for peace, for law, and for order, but we fear that our prayers are but mockeries. If trouble comes, let it rest on the shoulders of those who would have it so.

From Mexico we have tidings of a misfortune to French arms before Puebla, which if confirmed will create a profound sensation in France, and greatly affect the policy of the Empire. These reports however must be received with great caution.

By the latest reports, Vicksburg was not taken. The enemy had made two or three assaults, but had been gallantly repulsed by the Confederates.

THE ELECTIONS.—Our readers will do us the justice of admitting that, to the best of our humble abilities, we have always protested against the modern Liberal or revolutionary doctrines, that religion has nothing to do with politics, and that it is desirable to sever all connection betwixt Church and State. Religion has, or should have, a good deal to do with politics; and the Catholic elector who, in the exercise of those privileges which the law awards him, should act as if he were not responsible to God for the manner in which he casts his vote, would approve himself either strangely ignorant, or culpably regardless of the teachings of his Church.

Catholics, we insist, *qua* Catholics, have particular interests to defend, and have therefore particular duties to perform. They are bound, first and above all things, to seek the greater honor and glory of God in all their acts, whether public or private. They are not merely citizens, but they are Christians; and it is therefore their duty to

promote, as far as lies in their power, Christian legislation, and to oppose the political atheism which at the present day passes current amongst the unreflecting for genuine liberality, of which it is but a miserable counterfeit.

What then are these particular duties which Catholics have to perform in the selection of their representatives in the Provincial Parliament? It is their duty, we say it fearlessly, to assert the great but alas! too generally ignored principle—that this is God's world, not the devil's world; that God is the moral ruler of the universe, and that the politician as well as the priest is bound to yield allegiance to His revealed laws. The electors are bound therefore to weigh rigidly and conscientiously the claims of the several candidates who may present themselves before them; and to vote only for those who, after such scrutiny, shall appear to possess the requisite qualifications, material, intellectual, and moral.

By material qualification we mean that the candidate for a seat in the Legislature, and a voice in the governing of the country, should be what in vulgar parlance is termed a "man of substance;" that is to say a man possessed of an independent fortune, sufficient to render him independent of the pecuniary temptations which beset the path of the mere needy intriguer and place-beggar, or fellow who takes to the business of politics, as other men take up the professions of lawyer, or of surgeon, or embark in mercantile pursuits—with the view of promoting their private interests, and of acquiring a position in the world. A poor man may of course be an honest man; but if poor and honest, he will never be a candidate for Parliamentary honors; and it may be laid down as a rule admitting of no conceivable exception, that the man who enters public life, with the idea of "bettering himself," as the saying is, or as a means of improving his fortunes, and making a living, is and must be a rogue, and therefore unworthy of that seat in Parliament to which he aspires. The first practical rule then, which from those considerations we would lay down, is that it would be most imprudent to vote for any man not possessed of such independent fortune, or ostensible and well assured means of livelihood, as shall place him beyond the suspicion even, of being actuated by any pecuniary or personal motives in presenting himself as a candidate.

Our representatives must possess also an intellectual qualification. They should be men of education and refinement; men capable both of discerning what things make for the good of the community, and of clearly and forcibly advocating them. It is to the honor of a constituency that it be not represented by a fool, however wealthy, or by an illiterate, ill-mannered boor.

But above all, would we insist upon the moral qualification, without which the others above enumerated, would be not only worthless, but actively mischievous. What we require above all things from our representatives is, that they be emphatically Christians and gentlemen; men of unimpeachable integrity, of delicate honor, of unblemished character, against whom the voice of scandal has never been raised, whom it would be impossible to suspect even of a dirty action, or dishonorable dereliction of principle. The mere needy place-beggar may of course be expected to sell the interests of his constituents; the intellectually incompetent representative will bring ridicule upon them; but the immoral representative will, without fail inflict upon them, both loss, and disgrace, injury moral and material. What more humiliating or damaging to a Catholic community, can be conceived than to be represented in Parliament by men of doubtful character, of tainted antecedents, of vicious habits, of scandalous lives, and notorious for profligacy, for tergiversation, and absence of fixed principle? No matter how high in station by birth, or the accidents of fortune, such men might be—no matter how brilliant their talents, how serried their logic, or how keen their wit, these qualifications would show but as bright jewels in the swarthy Ethiop's ear—would but bring out into stronger relief, the fact of their personal unworthiness for the post of legislators for a Christian community—and would but serve to blazon abroad the infamy, and moral degradation of the community which could elect such men as their representatives.

Though Catholics ourselves, we would not certainly insist as a condition *sine qua non*, upon being represented only by Catholics.—True! we should much prefer a Catholic representative, if we could command one; but if our choice lay betwixt a lax or indifferent Catholic who habitually disregarded the obligations of his religion, and an upright Protestant, a man of honor, and moral integrity, a gentleman in short in the true sense of the word gentleman—we would without hesitation give our vote for the latter. Neither do we at all insist upon the matter of a candidate's nationality, for this seems to us irrelevant, or in other words as *burlesque*, and indeed as beneath the consideration of a rational being. If we can obtain candidates morally, intellectually, and materially competent to protect our interests—we should no more dream of enquiring into their national origins,

than into the colour of their hair. All that we should exact is this—that they be loyal British subjects.

We have constantly dined into our ears complaints of the dishonesty, the peculations, the roudness and corruption of our legislators and statesmen; but these complaints when coming from the people of Canada, are most ridiculous. It has been said, and by high authority, that a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor a corrupt tree, good fruit, and most directly does this apply to the elective system of Government. The elected are morally as well as legally the representatives of the electors; and as a stream can never rise higher than its source, so it is impossible that the former should be morally superior to the latter. An honest, high-minded, and intelligent constituency will invariably be represented in Parliament by an honest, high-minded and intelligent gentleman; and on the other hand, the corrupt, time-serving, and roudly member of the Legislature is invariably the outward and visible sign, as he is also the choice, of a morally degraded constituency. If the latter in their selection of candidates were actuated only by pure motives, so also would be their representatives in Parliament; and if electors cast their votes improperly, with a view to the advancement of their private interests, with an eye to Government situations, Government contracts, or any personal advantages for themselves or friends, they have no right to expect honest and disinterested votes from those whom they dishonestly elect to the Legislature. If then there be corruption and gross political immorality in high places, it is because there is no purity, no political morality in the lower places beneath—and because the constituencies themselves are rotten, and the electors infected with leprous disease. So long as the latter remain in this state, it is absurd to expect of them that they shall send honest men to Parliament; and if we would work reform in the body politic, if we would eradicate the cancer which is said to menace its life, we must commence our sanitary work, not with the elected, but with the electors, confident that when the latter shall have been restored to health, the cure of the elected will be complete. Of course we do not pass any judgment upon the truth of the accusations brought against the integrity of Canadian publicists; but these, if true, imply that the moral standard which obtains amongst the constituencies of Canada is very low; for what they are, that are their representatives—neither better nor worse.

To descend, however, to particulars we may add that upon or two particular points the duty of the Catholic elector is clear. Whether in Upper or in Lower Canada he is bound to use his vote for the promotion of religious education, and for the maintenance of the Separate School system; he is bound to use his vote so as to exclude from the Legislature those whom he may reasonably suspect of harbouring designs upon the Christian law of marriage, and of entertaining projects for legalising divorce; he should strenuously discourage all secret societies no matter under what name, or with whatsoever purposes formed; and as a means to these desirable ends, essential to Freedom of Education in the West, and Christian morality in both sections of the Province, he should exact from the candidate for whom he votes a distinct, solemn and irrevocable pledge—to support Equality of Representation always as betwixt the two sections of the Province.

It was a saying of the great Nelson that, in case of a signal being misunderstood in action, that Captain could not do wrong who should lay his ship close alongside of that of an enemy. In like manner, and to sum up, we would say, that in the present crisis, and when doubtful how or for whom to vote, the Catholic elector cannot greatly err who goes to the polls against the nominee of Mr. George Brown, and the candidate favored by the Clear-Grit or Protestant Reform party of Upper Canada.

THE GREAT QUESTION.—*L'Ordre* which speaks as one having authority, or as a Ministerial organ, in its issue of Friday last makes the subjoined announcement as to the intentions of the McDonald-Dorion Cabinet on the question of Representation:—

"We are in a position to announce officially, that the McDonald Ministry makes of the Representation by Population question a closed question for the Lower Canadian section of the Ministry, all of whose members are bound to vote against it; and that every Lower Canadian Minister who might desire to vote for Representation by Population is bound to resign before doing so. As to the Upper Canadian section of the Ministry the question will remain open, so as to leave the Prime Minister whose opinions are well known, free to vote with the Lower Canadian section."

"The policy of the Government on the Separate School question continues to be that of the McDonald-Sicotte Ministry."—*L'Ordre*.
As we would not impute deliberate bad faith to our Lower Canadian contemporary, we must conclude from the above that the crowing of the *Globe* over the advent of M. Dorion to power, is premature, and without any foundation in facts. And yet it is strange, passing strange, that the Clear-Grit organ of the Upper Province should be so mistaken as to the real designs and policy of the new Ministry, and should seek to recom-

mend them to the confidence of the Upper Canadian constituencies. We cannot therefore but suspect that, either the *Globe* or *L'Ordre* is the victim of a mystification.

But accepting the statements of the latter as correct, what a strong light do they not throw upon the peculiar relations existing betwixt the two sections of the Province; how forcibly do they not demonstrate the incompatibility of the Legislative Union, with the British type of Constitutional and Responsible Government.

The essence, the condition *sine qua non*, of the British system that has obtained since the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Ministries were for the first time established, is that of a perfect accord on all the great questions of the day, betwixt all the members of the Cabinet; who by the very condition of a "Ministry" are bound to vote as one man upon all those questions. Now beyond all comparison, the Representation question is the most important question with which the statesmen and legislators of Canada are called upon to deal: and if therefore there be any one question upon which perfect unanimity of sentiment, and unity of action are imperatively required from the responsible advisers of the Queen's Representative, it is on this. Such however, is our actual social condition: such the essential ineradicable antagonism betwixt the two sections of the Province, that, upon this vital question it is morally impossible to obtain that unity and harmony which are essential to the working of a Ministry. Disguise it as we will, we have two distinct Executives, and the question presents itself therefore, with ever increasing force—if two Executives, why not two Legislatures?

The programme of the new Ministry as published by the *Globe* differs considerably from that given by *L'Ordre*. Whilst the latter asserts that the Representation by Population question is "closed" in so far as the Lower Canadian section of the Ministry are concerned, and "open" only for the Upper Canadian section—the *Globe* asserts equally positively that the same question is open to the Ministry of both sections. Here are the words of the latter:—

"The great issue of Representation by Population will be an open question. The members of the Government will be free to advocate it and to vote for it as individuals; but the Government as such, will have no common policy upon it."—*Globe*.

The *Clear-Grit* organ does not pretend that the party which it represents are satisfied even with this dereliction of duty on the part of the Lower Canadian Ministry; but they accept it as an instalment, as a pledge of better things to come, and as a condition imposed upon them by the necessity of keeping Messrs. J. A. McDonald and Cartier out of office. Of the advent of these men to power, the *Globe* entertains the most profound horror, as the death-blow to its darling schemes for enslaving Lower Canada, and upsetting the Separate School system, and it speaks of it in the following terms:—

"That would have been the death-knell of reformed representation for years to come."

On the whole therefore the *Globe* is satisfied with the McDonald-Dorion Cabinet, not as the best conceivable, but as one which on the great sectional issue of Representation by Population, is "in advance of any other that could now be found." Our readers must endeavor from these contradictory utterances of *L'Ordre* and the *Globe* to extract the truth for themselves. "*Non nostrum tantus componere lites.*"

In justice to M. Dorion, whose good faith on the Representation Question we may seem to have impugned, we translate from the French paper *L'Ordre*, the paragraphs of his address to the electors of Montreal East, wherein he alludes to the two great questions of the day—that of Representation, and that of Education. M. Dorion says:—

"Upon several questions, of which the most important is that of representation, the experience of late years has demonstrated that it was impossible, because of the different opinions entertained in Upper and Lower Canada, to form a Ministry which should be unanimous; but as to myself, and as to all my colleagues of Lower Canada, we are united to oppose, repousse, every proposition tending to redistribute representation according to population."

"The law passed by a great majority during the last Session on the subject of Separate Schools, and which places the Catholic minority of Upper Canada nearly on the same footing as that of the Protestant minority of Lower Canada as towards their schools, seems to meet with general approbation, and by all who desire to put an end to a dangerous agitation should be considered as having definitively settled one of the most embarrassing questions of the legislation of the country, and I shall oppose all efforts that may be made to repeal that law."

We can not attribute any occult designs to M. Dorion, but we should have been much better pleased had he in his Address declared his intention of maintaining Equality of Representation betwixt the two Provinces. At first sight the pledge to oppose a repartition of representation according to, or in the ratio of, population may indeed appear to amount to the same thing; but if we look more closely into it, we shall find that it is by no means so precise as is the other formula for which we contend. For instance; in consideration of its greater population, a greater number of representatives might be awarded to Upper Canada, without at the same time redistributing the representation in the exact ratio of population throughout the Province; and thus a concession most ruinous to the Lower Province might be made without violation of the

letter of M. Dorion's Address. A pledge to support Equality of Representation would be therefore far more precise, and far more satisfactory to Lower Canada, than a pledge to oppose every proposition tending to redistribute "*repartition*" representation according to population. At the same time we would add that it is by no means established that M. Dorion has the right to speak in the name of all his colleagues upon this vital question; for in the first place, Mr. Holton in his address to the electors of the Centre Ward avoids all allusion to it—and he is one of M. Dorion's Lower Canada colleagues; and in the second place, Mr. G. Brown in an oral address delivered to the electors of Ingersoll on Wednesday, 20th inst., gave a very different account of the existing Ministerial arrangements, and of the policy of the McDonald-Dorion Cabinet on the Representation question. We copy from the *Ingersoll Chronicle* of Friday, 22nd ult.

After describing the financial arrangements of the new Ministry, Mr. Brown then proceeded to give a description of the terms upon which the Representation question had been settled. He said:—

"After the satisfactory arrangement of these questions, the great one of Representation by Population came up. I do not desire that you should for a moment suppose that we have got all we claim for Upper Canada on this question, or that we are satisfied with what we have got. Far from it; and I am the last man who would come here and counsel the abandonment of the just claims of Upper Canada. (Applause.) But we did the best we could under the circumstances; and I am determined that you shall thoroughly understand the matter before I leave the platform. In Upper Canada we have sixty-five representatives, while Lower Canada has also sixty-five. In Upper Canada, we have 300,000 more inhabitants than in Lower Canada, and we are justly entitled to twenty or thirty representatives more than we now possess; but through the solid manner in which the Lower Canadian members hang together, the party divisions in Upper Canada, and the betrayal by some members from this section of the trust reposed in them, this justice has hitherto been denied us. When the Administration came to us to demand our support, I asked Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald what he intended to do in this important matter. He said he would do whatever Mr. Dorion thought he could do in Lower Canada. This was very fair; and we turned to Mr. Dorion and inquired what could be done in the matter in Lower Canada? He replied, absolutely nothing; that after the conduct of Sir Edmund Head, and of so many of the Upper Canadian members, in opposing and deriding the measure, no Ministry could go the country in Lower Canada with any hopes of success, if Representation by Population was made a Cabinet measure. All the Cabinet could do was to leave it an open question—each member voting on the measure as he pleased. I asked him if they could not at least admit the principle? He said, 'No; the Government, as a Government must have no policy upon it, if we would succeed in Lower Canada. But you can agitate it as much as you please, bring down petitions, and make motions in favour of it; anything but making it a portion of the Government policy. For then it would be a hopeless task for any member of such a government to seek election in any Lower Canadian constituency at the present time.'"

According to Mr. Brown's version of the story, all that M. Dorion is pledged to, is, not to make Representation by Population a Cabinet question; and whilst every individual member of the Ministry is to be at liberty to vote on the matter as he pleases, M. Dorion—whose only objection to the proposed change is, that its open advocacy would injure his electioneering prospects in Lower Canada—tells Mr. Brown, that he may agitate it as much as he pleases, and do everything except "making it a portion of the Government policy;" for were the Ministry to do so "it would be a hopeless task for any member of such a Government to seek election in any Lower Canadian constituency at the present time." With M. Dorion's explanations on the School Question, we have no fault to find; they are explicit, and satisfactory.

Having thus given the two contradictory statements—that of M. Dorion, and that of Mr. G. Brown—with respect to the policy of the new Ministry, we need only add that we are inclined to accept as true, that made by M. Dorion, in whom even political opponents recognise a gentleman of strict veracity, and unblemished honor.

HOW CATHOLICS ARE TREATED BY THE YANKEES.—A large section of the people of the Northern States have ever been notorious for their No-Popery fanaticism, for their hatred of Catholics, and their brutalities towards Romish priests and religious. The war in which they are now engaged with the Southern States has brought no change in the Yankee breast; and the worst atrocities of the Reformation against the Church, are at this moment perpetrated by the soldiers of the Federal army, with the connivance of their officers, and the approbation of the Yankee Government. And yet there are men calling themselves Irish Catholics, mean enough to fight for such a Government! and there are men who have the impertinence to assume the tone of leaders of the Catholic people of Ireland, who are vile enough to encourage their countrymen to take service under Yankee colors. *Proh Pudor!* These are the men who bring disgrace upon the name of Catholic Ireland, and who, in so far as lies in their power, justify the worst taunts of the Church's worst enemies. Dogs, it is said, will lick the hand that flogs them, provided from time to time it fling them a bone to gnaw; but the Catholic who, after the treatment which his religion has received from the men of the Northern States, should again draw the sword in their defence would be viler than any dog. Here are some particulars