

The True Witness.

CATHOLIC CHRONICLE.

PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY BY THE EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR, GEORGE E. CLERK, At No. 223, Notre Dame Street.

TERMS:

To all country subscribers, or subscribers receiving their papers through the post, or calling for them at the office, if paid in advance, Two Dollars; if not so paid, then Two Dollars and a-half.

To all subscribers whose papers are delivered by carriers, Two Dollars and a-half, if paid in advance, but if not paid in advance, then Three Dollars. Single copies, price 30c, can be had at this Office; Pickups News Depot, St. Francis Xavier Street; a T. Riddell's, (late from Mr. E. Pickups), No. 221 Great St. James Street, opposite Messrs. Dawson & Son; and at W. Dulton's, corner of St. Lawrence and Craig Sts.

Also at Mr. Alexander's Bookstore, opposite the Post-Office, Quebec.

MONTREAL, FRIDAY, NOV. 15, 1861.

TO OUR READERS.

Mr. Gillies, of the TRUE WITNESS office, is about to start on a collecting and canvassing tour through Canada West. He has full authority to receive all monies due to this office, to give receipts, and to make such arrangements as he shall deem most convenient. We would respectfully bespeak for him a good reception from our numerous, alas too numerous, delinquent subscribers.

It is painful and humiliating to be obliged so often, and so ineffectually, to appeal to these latter, and to remind them of their duties, and of our necessities. We would not entertain the suspicion that our subscribers, who call themselves Catholics, are radically dishonest, and constitutionally averse to the payment of their debts; we will therefore, assume as the only other hypothesis that presents itself, that it is through forgetfulness that our subscribers are so remiss; and that they need only to be reminded of their indebtedness, to be persuaded to act the part of honest and conscientious men.

The position of the independent Catholic journalist in this country, and addressing an English speaking public, is peculiar. He has, if honest, independent, and unconnected with party, nothing to depend upon except the punctuality of his subscribers. To him all the ordinary sources of emolument, which so greatly help to support his secular and partizan contemporaries, are hermetically sealed. The greater part of the commercial business in this country, which is not in the hands of the French Canadians, is monopolized by Protestants; consequently the Catholic editor has but little to expect from commercial or business advertisements. If truly independent of party, he cannot, of course, either expect, or even accept, any Ministerial patronage, in the shape of government advertisements; and thus, if his subscribers are unpunctual or dishonest, the faithful and independent Catholic editor incurs the penalty of pecuniary ruin. This is the reason why so many journals, professedly established as Catholic organs, rapidly subside into party hacks; and, subsidized either by the "Ins" or by the "Outs," betray the interests which they were established avowedly to promote, and bring discredit and ridicule upon Catholic journalism. If a Catholic public desires to have an independent press—that is to say, a press whose conductors seem to wear any man's livery, to play the part of Jack Scyphand, or to deck themselves with any party badge, with any emblem save that of the Cross—then must that public make up its mind to pay a fair price for a fair and honest day's work. If by refusing to meet its engagements towards its press, the Catholic public acts dishonestly and unjustly, it has no right to expect to be honorably and faithfully served by those whom it cheats out of their legitimate dues, and sole means of support.

As we force ourselves upon no one, so we have the right to demand, that from those who take our paper, we receive in return, and punctually, the stipulated price. We have not the vanity to suppose that we are of any very paramount importance, nor do we value our humble services at any very high rate; and yet we feel that it is very mean on the part of those who are indebted to us—and their name is Legion—to withhold from us that which which we may claim to have fairly earned. We will not boast of ourselves; but we may at least claim credit for integrity of purpose, for consistency, and faithful adherence, in good repute, and in evil repute, to every promise or pledge of our original Prospectus. We may, and very likely, have offended some by our independent course; but we defy any one to point out a single instance in which we have deviated one hair's breadth, either to the right or to the left, of the path which we originally traced out, and pledged ourselves to follow. What we are to-day, that we were years ago; independent of all parties, calling no man master, caring not a straw for personal interests of any description, and owing no allegiance, except to our Holy Mother the Church. She speaks to us through her Pastors, who represent her to us. Their voice is to us law; their friends are our friends, their enemies are our enemies; and all who, upon any pretext whatsoever, set themselves in opposition to their views, may be sure to find in the TRUE

WITNESS a constant and relentless opponent. We may be permitted to say more than this; and after a careful review of our past career, we feel that we have the right to boast, that we have wronged no man, that we have accused no man falsely; that we have judged no man unjustly. We feel that, as to the matter, or substance, we are not called upon to retract one word that we have ever uttered; and though as to form or manner, we may have often expressed ourselves too bluntly, too harshly, and have allowed our indignation at the sight of falsehood, duplicity, and mercenary treachery, to master our discretion; yet we can, with a safe conscience, assert that no one has ever found the TRUE WITNESS opposed to him, who was not, either the avowed enemy of the Church and the ally of her enemies, or the disguised traitor, conspiring against her peace, and trafficking with her foes. Upon this point we challenge contradiction.

But enough of this topic—for we feel persuaded that, though many may accuse us, and perhaps with truth and reason on their side, of errors of judgment, of unsound views on political questions, and of too great warmth of expression—no one can tax us with inconsistency, with having violated our pledges, with having sacrificed truth to popularity, or with bartering that independence of all secular influences—which, next to absolute submission to his ecclesiastical superiors should be the most precious jewel of the Catholic journalist—for party, personal, or any human considerations.

We conclude, therefore, by calling upon our indebted subscribers to settle the accounts which our Mr. Gillies is about to lay before them. Whether they will continue to support the TRUE WITNESS is a matter which we leave entirely to them, and they will, of course, do in this matter as they please; but the discharge of the arrears due, we insist upon, not as a favor, but as a right which we are determined to enforce by every means the law of the land provides. To those—and they are many—who have punctually discharged their pecuniary obligations, and have so often cheered us by kind words of approbation and encouragement, we would return our best thanks; assuring them that, if the publication of the TRUE WITNESS be continued, we will adhere to the policy, which, without a shadow of turning, the TRUE WITNESS has since its inception closely pursued; that, as we retract nothing that we have said in the past, so in the future we do not design to change, or even modify in the slightest, our course; and that, whilst the TRUE WITNESS exists at all, it will pursue the same objects as those which it has hitherto pursued, and animated by the same spirit as that by which it has always hitherto been actuated. Our object—and we say it once for all, and to obviate all possibility of misconception—is not to advocate the claims of this man or that man to a Government situation; not to make the profession of Catholicity a cloak for the peace-beggar, and needy political adventurer; but to refute the libels and mendacious calumnies of the Protestant press; to urge the claims of the Catholic minority of Upper Canada to perfect "Freedom of Education;" to oppose "Protestant Ascendancy;" to cement union betwixt Catholics of all origins; to expose the sordid artifices of those who, for their own dirty ends, are ever striving to set French Canadian Papist against Irish Papist, and the Irish Papist against his French Canadian brother; and in our humble sphere, and according to the best of our abilities, to impress upon our readers the duty of loving obedience to the Church and her Pastors, in the religious order—and in the civil order, the duty of cheerful unwavering allegiance to the Queen, and all in authority under her. Yes! it is our ambition to convince even our separated brethren, that the Papist's loyalty to his Church is not only not incompatible with loyalty to his sovereign; but that the most sincere and faithful Catholic will always be the most orderly, obedient, and loyal subject.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

The suppression of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul by Louis Napoleon is a startling fact, which must convince us of the total overthrow of all civil and religious liberties in France, and furnishes us with abundant materials for gratitude in that we are British subjects. Louis Napoleon has, we think, in this instance overreached himself. The Society which he has suppressed is well known to, and beloved by, the people of France. It is known never to have directly or indirectly interfered in any political matters; and it is beloved for the effectual assistance to the poor which its simple but admirable organisation enabled it to afford. The hungry artisans, and the shivering orphans will soon begin to complain of the loss of their kind protectors, and will miss the familiar faces of those who, day by day, were wont to visit them in their afflictions. They will remember too, how, and by whom their friends were suppressed; and remembering this, their attachment to Louis Napoleon, and the dynasty which he foolishly believes he has founded, will not be greatly increased. Let us wait patiently, and we shall see some rather interesting complications springing out of this high handed stroke of despotism. We thought Louis Napoleon a crafty and prudent politician, though a very dishonest man; recent events suggest the idea that he is going mad.

There is little of importance by the last steamers from Europe. In Italy the state of the contending parties has not materially changed; but from the publication of an edict by the ministers of Piedmontese tyranny, threatening the Clergy with severe penalties, should they persist in their opposition to the despotism and usurpations of Victor Emmanuel, it would seem as if the Church were still very troublesome, and the conquest of Naples as far off as ever.

Austria knows not how to deal with the Hun-

garians. Poland is ready for an outbreak, and Russia is in a state of social and political fermentation. The emancipation of the serfs is evidently destined to lead to most important results; and a revolution is apparently impending in Russia, before which the horrors of that of France will seem but tame and very commonplace transgressions.

From the United States the tidings are highly important. The great naval expedition has been attended with a decided success over the Southerners, who seem to have allowed their enemies to effect their landing without any serious loss. The fleet arrived at Port Royal on the 4th, silenced the fire of the forts, whose guns were badly served, and drove the Southerners from their entrenchments with great loss of men, guns and baggage. The Northerners hold now a strong position in the seceded territory, and can effectually intercept the communications betwixt Charleston and Savannah. Their army is being licked into discipline; and we should not be surprised to see them in a very short time victorious at all points over antagonists, of whose prowess we are inclined to form but a very low opinion, from the easy victory that the Northern expedition has obtained. The losses of the latter are put down at one officer and eight men killed. If this be not a deliberate lie, the resistance offered by the Southerners must have been trifling indeed.

THE CIVIL WAR.—What will be the issue of the great contest now pending amongst our republican neighbors? This is a question one hears hourly, and to which no one can presume to give an answer.

There are however, only two issues really before the people of the Northern States. They may elect, either to save their peculiar Constitution by a sacrifice of the Union; or, the fortune of war favoring them, they may elect to preserve the Union by sacrificing their Constitution. If they prefer territory to their peculiar democratic institutions, they will adopt the latter course; but if they esteem political and personal liberty as of more importance than geographical extent of dominion, they will abandon the Union, allow the Seceding States to go about their own business; and apply themselves to setting their own house in order, and to repairing the damages caused by the storm through which they are even now passing.

The Northerners are the more numerous, have by far the larger navy, the better stuff for making sailors of, and the greater command of funds. The Southerners, as acting on the defensive only, have this advantage, that they can choose when and where to fight; but upon the whole we are inclined to think that the advantages on the side of the Northerners are so many and great, as to ensure to them the victory in the field. Yet that very victory would be fatal to the Constitution; and the success of the Federalists—as by a strange misnomer, the Northerners are styled—would be a death blow to Federation, and a Federal Republic.

The South, when conquered, would of course have to be governed like a conquered country, and by Pro-Consuls appointed from Washington. A large standing army will therefore, in case of the triumph of Northern arms, become a necessary domestic institution; and all history shows that a standing army is incompatible with republican institutions, and an elective executive. Where the hereditary principle is firmly established, a standing army is not so dangerous; but where the head of the State is elective, the head of the army, the successful general, he who can count upon the allegiance of the pretorian cohorts, will invariably be raised to supreme power by the votes of the soldiery whom he commands. A heavy debt will also have been incurred; and all experience shows that the democratic institutions of the Northern States are incompatible with faith with the public creditor. If the sponge has not yet been applied to the National Debt of Great Britain, it is not because, as a whole, the people of that country are more honest than others; but solely because even in the popular branch of the Legislature there is a strong admixture of the aristocratic element. Given universal suffrage in Great Britain, repudiation would follow in six months; and so when a large National Debt shall have been contracted by the United States, they will either have to break faith with their creditors, or to modify extensively their existing political institutions. Victory over the South will in short place the North in the position of the man who won the elephant in the raffle; whilst the condition of the South will be as that of every other conquered country, chafing under a foreign yoke, and thirsting for revenge—as that of Ireland after the Treaty of Limerick, as that of Poland under the rule of Russia.

To conquer the South, to make "order reign in Richmond," is the least difficult part of the problem which the North has undertaken to solve. When the South shall have been conquered, disarmed and brought into subjection, then and then only, will the real difficulty commence. How will the North maintain possession of its conquest? How will it deal with men who are subjects not citizens? We do not

question the power of the North; if that power be put forth, to conquer the South, and even to keep possession of its conquest by means of standing armies, large garrisons, and "a state of siege;" but we do not believe that it is possible to compel men to a voluntary Union with these whom they cordially detest. We have no doubt that the North is strong enough to govern the conquered States even as Cialdini governed Naples; but we cannot conceive even how such a mode of government in the South, is compatible with the democratic institutions of the North.—And yet in no other manner can a conquered community be governed, or held in subjection.

There is nothing new under the sun. What is, has been, and will again be. The struggle now raging has long been foreseen as inevitable by all who judge of the future from the past, and who believe that in the social, as in the physical order, like antecedents have like consequences. With a slightly different nomenclature, the civil war amongst our neighbors is but a repetition of the bloody battles betwixt the Girondists and the Jacobins of the first French revolution. The objects of the contending parties are substantially the very same; and in the respective modes of pursuing those objects, there is no greater difference than there always is betwixt the conduct of Frenchmen and Anglo-Saxons under analogous circumstances. The Southerners are fighting for the Federal principle, as did the Girondists; the Northerners are anti-Federalists, fighting (even if as yet unconsciously) as did the Jacobins, for "a Republic One and Indivisible"—for to this issue their victory must inevitably lead them, though in the heat of passion they as yet see it not. The Southerners, therefore are fighting in the cause of Federalism, of local self-government, and therefore of freedom; the Northerners in the cause of centralisation, which, must, if triumphant, ultimately lead to despotism and Caesarism. The Jacobins, no doubt, saved France by crushing the Girondists; but at the same time they made political liberty in France an impossibility. So, in like manner, the Northerners, or Yankee Jacobins, may maintain the Union, and preserve the territory of the Republic from dismemberment, but it will be at the expense of the Constitution and of freedom. The United States may even emerge from the contest more powerful externally, more formidable to their enemies, than ever; even as France under Napoleon, was more terrible in the eyes of Europe than the France of Louis Quatorze; but their internal liberties, their inner-life, that which has hitherto distinguished them from the old communities of Europe, will have passed away forever.

Or, if not conquered, the Southern States may be destroyed, and lost to the Union as St. Domingo was destroyed and torn from France, by a servile insurrection of the African races. That this may be the consummation is by no means improbable. Hitherto President Lincoln and his advisers—to their credit be it said—have refused to make the war an "Abolition War"—and have nobly discountenanced all attempts that have been made by others to provoke the blacks to take up arms against the whites. But there is a strong and determined band of Abolitionists in the North, who little care about lighting the flames of servile war; and it is very doubtful whether the Executive at Washington will be long able to resist the pressure brought to bear upon it from without, by such a band of reckless, unprincipled fanatics as are the Northern Abolitionists.

We will not reply to the Boston Pilot in the spirit or tone which he, in his issue of the 9th instant, has seen fit to adopt towards the TRUE WITNESS. We may be deficient in historical lore, and in logical acumen; we will at all events endeavor to approve ourselves his superior in courtesy and Christian charity.

On the 25th of last month we ventured to express our surprise at the language of the Pilot, and its threats against this Catholic country, which it menaced with invasion "when our victorious army returns from the war;" and we expressed our opinion that such threats were always indecorous, but doubly indecorous when coming from a Catholic journalist, who should set an example to his Protestant contemporaries, of respect for the rights of others, and for the laws of political as well as of personal morality. If the Church teach truth, then are the laws of morality as binding upon communities as upon persons; and national law, or that law which regulates the intercourse of nations, is as sacred as are those laws which regulate the intercourse of individuals. Now by his threats against Canada, which has furnished no legitimate cause, or even plausible pretext of complaint to the United States, the Boston Pilot evidently ignores this principle; and thereby not only sets a very bad example to his Protestant contemporaries, but justifies the worst acts of Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, and the filibusters of Europe.

How, for instance, can the Boston Pilot, as a Catholic journalist, consistently condemn the invasion of the Pontifical States, and the Kingdom of Naples, by the Piedmontese, whilst by implication he approves of a similar invasion of Can-

ada by "our victorious army," with the object of forcibly annexing this Catholic country to the United States? If it be not morally wrong for the people or Government of the latter to impose its detested political and social system upon French Canadian Catholics, then neither is it wrong for Russia to act in a similar spirit towards Poland; nor can Great Britain be accused of wrong-doing in having established Anglo-Saxon rule and "Protestant Ascendancy" over Catholic Ireland. If war, not for protection, not for the vindication of national independence and an outraged flag, is morally lawful on the part of the United States, then must we pronounce absolute over the most atrocious acts of European despots, and recognise the justice of the forcible annexation of the Kingdom of Naples to Sardinia; for certainly the United States have no more legitimate pretext for making an attack upon Canada, than had Victor Emmanuel for the invasion of the territories of Francis II.

The Boston Pilot asks us why, as Catholics, we loathe the prospect of annexation? and why we shudder at the idea of the assimilation of our political and social institutions to those of the United States? Our answer shall be short, and we hope to the point.

We loathe the prospect of annexation to the United States, because, the people of that country, being alien to us in blood, in language, and in religion, such an annexation could only be brought about by force, and maintained by military despotism; because it would therefore inaugurate on this Continent a political order, which has been the bane of Ireland, and of many of the fairest districts of the Western World; and because as men and lovers of liberty, because as Christians and therefore averse to bloodshed, we abhor a policy which would make of Canada a conquered country, and shudder at the thought of the brutal and bloody excesses which it would entail; and because we have before our eyes the sad example of Catholic Ireland, which has been annexed to Protestant England by the very same process as that by which the Boston Pilot proposes to annex Catholic Lower Canada to the Protestant United States.

As Catholics we shudder at the thoughts, even, of any assimilation of our political and social institutions to those of the United States; because such assimilation implies the overthrow of that noble edifice of Freedom of Education which we have with much labor built up in Canada, and the substitution, in lieu thereof, of the tyrannical and demoralising system of State-Schoolism which obtains in the United States, and which the Protestant Reformers of Canada have long labored to impose upon us. Because that assimilation implies the overthrow of our peculiar ecclesiastical system—the repeal, or important modification, of the laws by which our great ecclesiastical Corporations enjoy undisputed title to their several properties—and the abolition of the tithes; which, if not essential to the existence of the Church, are of very great importance, and could not be abolished without serious injury to the cause of religion. Because the assimilation of our social institutions to those of the United States implies the entire alteration of our marriage laws, and the introduction of the filthy and demoralising system of divorce; which strikes at the very roots of the social fabric, by reducing the union of man and woman, raised by Christ to the dignity of a Sacrament, to the level of mere concubinage. It is absurd for the Boston Pilot to prate about the liberty of Catholics in the United States. They are slaves, and the most abject of slaves, so long as they are deprived of "Freedom of Education," or compelled by law to pay for the support of godless schools, which have sent more souls of Irish Catholics to hell, than the swords of Cromwell and his soldiery sent to heaven. We do not reproach the Catholics of the United States with being subject to that odious law; for we know that resistance is in vain, so numerous, so powerful, and so intensely bigoted are their oppressors. But we do protest against their false representations of their actual condition; but we do condemn that servile bugging of their chains to which some of them seem to be addicted; but we do look upon their boasts about the civil and religious liberties of Catholics in the United States, as not a whit more dignified than the fawning of the well-whipt spaniel upon the hand that flogs it. Compared with the State-Schoolism of the United States—the State-Churchism of Ireland appears but a very trifling grievance. The latter has not, to our knowledge, been the cause of a single apostasy; through its instrumentality no souls have been lost to God and to His Church. But what shall we say of the Common Schools of Massachusetts? Are they not boasted of by Protestants for their efficacy in grinding Catholic souls into Protestantism? and is it not a fact that in the second, or at furthest, third generation—the descendants of Catholic parents are, in the great majority of instances, apostates from the faith of their fathers?—thanks to those very Schools towards whose support the Catholic parent is compelled to contribute, and thus to become accessory to