

The True Witness.

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MONTREAL, FRIDAY, APRIL 5.

ECCLIASTICAL CALENDAR.

APRIL—1867. Friday, 5—Of the Precious Blood. Saturday, 6—St. Vincent Ferrer, O. Sunday, 6—Passion Sunday. Monday, 8—Of the Feria. Tuesday, 9—Of the Feria. Wednesday, 10—Of the Feria. Thursday, 11—St. Leo, P. D.

APRIL DIVIDEND OF THE ROMAN LOAN.

Office of the Roman Loan, at the Banking House of Duncan, Sherman & Co., 11 Nassau street, corner of Pine, N.Y. March 19, 1867. The coupon of interest of this loan due on the 1st of April, 1867, will be paid as follows:— New York, at the banking house of Duncan, Sherman & Co. Philadelphia, at the banking house of Drexel & Co. Baltimore, at the banking house of L. J. Torrey & Co. New Orleans, at the Southern Bank. St. Louis, at the banking house of Tesson, Son & Co. Louisville, at the banking house of Tucker & Co. Cincinnati, at the banking house of Gilmore, Dunlap & Co. and Hemann Garaghty & Co. Boston, by Patrick Donohoe. Providence, R. I., by George A. Leate, Esq. MONTREAL, Canada, Bank of Montreal. QUEBEC, Canada, Branch of the Bank of Montreal. Havana, Cuba, J. C. Burnham & Co. Lima, Peru, Alsop & Co. ROBERT MURPHY, Agent.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

It would appear that the Fenian disturbances have been effectually repressed for the moment, but he would be a bold man who should venture to assert that there will be no repetition of them. The Government, which no doubt is in full possession of information, continues its precautions: and it is a sign of reviving confidence, that many of the Irish landlords, with their families, are returning to their estates.— The second reading of the Ministerial Reform Bill is fixed for the 5th inst.; it will probably be opposed vigorously by Mr. Gladstone and his friends, in which case it is doubtful whether the Ministry will be able to command a majority.— The Bill for the Union of the B. N. A. Provinces has received the Royal Assent. The coming Paris Exhibition forms the chief topic of Continental news, and for the moment the long looked for Revolution at Rome is postponed. The Eastern Question is, however, as menacing as ever, and a general armistice is going on amongst all the great European Powers. In anticipation of war, Russia has ceded to the U. States all its possessions in North America, comprising a delectable country inhabited by a few Esquimaux, and a larger number of other fur-bearing animals, and rich in snow, ice, and other valuable products of the Arctic regions.— The Senate hesitates to accept. "When rogues fall out," the proverb tells us what will happen: and so we entertain some very pleasant hopes from a quarrel, or "falling out" betwixt Butler, generally and appropriately spoken of as "the beast" or "Beast Butler," and a Yankee Representative of the name of Bingham. The former now openly accuses his opponent of having murdered the unfortunate Mrs. Surratt, who, as all the world now knows, had nothing to do with the brutal assassination of President Lincoln, and whose innocence must have been well known to those who were guilty of the still more brutal and cowardly crime of ordering the woman to be hanged. The charge of murder was urged against Bingham, by "Beast Butler" in the following terms:—"The only victim (sic) of that gentleman's prowess, said he 'was an innocent woman hanged upon the gallows. His only victim in the war was Mrs. Surratt. I can sustain the memory of Fort Fisher, if he and his associates can sustain him in the blood of a woman tried by a military commission and condemned without sufficient evidence in my judgment.' The gist of the accusation preferred by Butler against Bingham is this: That he was privy, if not a party to the deliberate suppression of a diary found on the body of Booth, and which contained full particulars of the plot, and the designs of the conspirators, against Lincoln.— From this diary eighteen pages were cut out: and though, with a ridiculous pretence of fair play, the tobacco pipe, and other trifling articles

found in Booth's pockets, were laid before the Military Commission that murdered Mrs. Surratt, no allusion was made by the prosecutors, to the existence and discovery of the very important diary. Why it was suppressed on the trial? why it was mutilated? and why Mrs. Surratt was got rid of by hanging? are questions which any person of ordinary intelligence can easily solve.

REFORM.—It is of but little consequence whether Lord Derby, or Mr. Gladstone, undertake to settle the vexed question of Reform, for neither will give satisfaction; for neither will, nor can, in any manner make the slightest approach towards the solution of the great problem which, under the old name of "Reform," now, for the first time, forces itself upon the attention of England's statesmen. Misled by identity of name, many men of both parties, Conservative and Liberal, seem to imagine that the social agitation of this seventh decade of the nineteenth century, has the same objects, the same tendencies as had the great political agitation of the fourth decade, which gave us our present system of representation in the House of Commons.— This is a singular delusion; for not only have the two movements nothing in common, but in their aspirations they are directly opposed to one another. The new Reform Bill, the working man's Reform Bill, is to undo, not extend or perpetuate, the work of the bourgeois or middle class Reform Bill of '32. Lord Derby, some few of his allies may perhaps see this; but Mr. Gladstone, and the party of political economists whom he represents, have not as yet caught a glimmering of this important truth—as is evident from that gentleman's language at a Banquet lately given to him by the "Society of Political Economy" at Paris. On that occasion, Mr. Gladstone said:—"The mission of our century is to free capital and labor from all subjection. It may be called the century of labor and justice. Prosperity, to energetic labor, and peace to men of good intent.— This is the object at which we aim."—Times Paris Corr.

Yes! But it is not the object at which the "working classes"—(so-called to distinguish them from the capitalist class)—aim. On the contrary, it is that which the "working classes" propose to themselves to overthrow, and destroy; and which, whenever they become the dominant power in the State, they will overthrow and trample underfoot. The Gospel, the truth of the Political Economists, that which gladdens the hearts of the bourgeoisie, is not the Gospel of the "working classes," or proletaires; it is not their glad truth, in the embracing of which lies the salvation of society, and on which depends the happiness of the human race; but it is according to them, a lie, and the doctrine of Satan himself, which must be exploded and cast aside; ere the sun of liberty and fraternity can dawn upon the earth, still enveloped in the fogs and thick darkness of political economy. According to the first, that is to say Mr. Gladstone, and the party which he represents, the great object of the nineteenth century statesman should be to leave trade free and unshackled, and to remove all artificial restrictions upon the relations existing betwixt "capital" and "labor"—in short, to leave every man free, either to get the highest price for his labor, if he be a working man—or the greatest amount of labor for his money, if he be a capitalist. This is the doctrine of the Political Economists; the Gospel of that school of which, in the British Islands, the author of the "Wealth of Nations" and on the Continent, Quesnoy, Mirabeau, (pere), and above all Turgot, were the founders and the prophets. Unlimited competition, in commerce, in the labor-market, always and everywhere, without interference of any kind from the State, without any restrictions upon the individual, whether he bring his capital or his labor to the market, is the last word of this school of Political Economy, which numbers in its ranks all the commercial classes, and that section of British society on which the first Reform Bill conferred almost a monopoly of political power, to wit, the bourgeoisie.

But the views of the commercial classes, of the middle classes, of the bourgeoisie, as they are termed in France, are not only not identical with those of the far more numerous class commonly spoken of as the "working class," or proletaires, but they are directly opposed thereto. According to the latter, this doctrine of "unlimited competition," of free trade, in labor especially, is the most damnable heresy ever vomited forth from hell upon earth. It is according to them, the original sin, the curse of society, the opprobrium of the human race.— It is all very well for the rich, they say, all very well for the capitalist, so they argue, to appeal to the laws of "supply and demand," as the laws by which our wages must be determined.— It is all very well for them to preach to us about freedom; as if we were free, because not subjected to any positive law dictating the terms upon which we shall sell the sweat of our brows to the selfish capitalist. But if we are compelled by hunger to accept the latter's terms—if our empty bellies, our starving wives and children clamoring for bread, oblige us to take the insufficient

pitance offered us for our days' work, where is our freedom? Is it not mockery to tell us that we working-men, are free, so long as "labor" is the slave of "capital"? Is it not a farce to prate to us about the blessings of a liberty, which with us means only liberty to starve? This is the language, daily becoming louder and more menacing, of the working classes; of that section of society now most strenuous in its agitation for Reform. Judge then what a mockery must appear a Reform Bill presented to them by Mr. Gladstone! It is not a political, but a social Reform that they want; and they value political reform, or changes, merely as a means to obtain the latter. They ask for bread, and Political Economy offers them only a stone!

The first Reform Bill was the victory of commercialism over feudalism, of the middle classes or bourgeoisie, over the landed aristocracy.— The Reform Bill that is to be, that which will alone meet the views of those now clamoring for it—will be the victory of the working classes over the bourgeoisie, and of labor over capital. The object of the men who carried the first was, as Mr. Gladstone said at Paris, "to free capital and labor from all subjection;" the object of those who are now agitating for a second Reform Bill, is to organize labor, and to determine, by positive legislation the future relations betwixt working man and employer, or rather betwixt "Capital" in every form, and "Labor" in every form. This is what "Trades Unions" mean, and this is why in the present political agitation these societies play such a prominent part. They seek for the extension of the suffrage, not as an end, but as a means; and if with some, the more ignorant to wit, the right to vote signifies only an unknown quantity of beer at election times—with the more intellectual and energetic members of Great Britain's working classes, it means that, henceforward, wages, that is to say, the bread, the life, of the working man, shall no longer be left to the ever fluctuating laws of supply and demand; but shall be so determined by positive legislation as to secure, under all circumstances, a sufficiency of food, and all the necessaries of life to the laborer. It means more, for it means what the French Socialists mean by "droit au travail;" that is to say, not merely the right of the working man to take any work he can get, and to make the best terms he can with his employer—but the right of the working man to have remunerative work always found him, no matter whether there be a demand, or no demand, for his particular industry. This is what the working classes mean by Reform; and already in England has sounded the tocsin which proclaims the opening of the terrible, but inevitable contest betwixt "Labor" and "Capital" with which modern society has long been menaced.

How radical, how "thorough," must be that Reform or Social revolution, which—and not free trade, not the "laissez faire" of Political Economists—the working classes of England, and indeed of all Europe, are intent upon, is evident from the incompatibility of the two principles:—that, to wit, which governs the present, and that which it is proposed shall govern the future. The first of these principles, that which underlies the whole modern system of Political Economy, is, as expressed by Adam Smith, "SELFISHNESS." According to this principle, the happiness of the whole of society will be best promoted by leaving every one free to promote his own individual happiness. According to the second principle, that of "FRATERNITY," the good of the individual can be realized only by first seeking the good of Society. These then, "SELFISHNESS" and "FRATERNITY," are the two antagonistic principles whose respective champions are about to be engaged in deadly strife. The Church, that is to say, "Christianity Organized," might indeed, were her voice listened to, mediate betwixt them; but the State can only look idly on whilst the two parties fight it out. It may throw in palliatives, and for a season postpone the death struggle, but to avert it, or to suppress it, is not in its power. What for instance, is the "Land Question" in Ireland but one phase of this deadly antagonism betwixt "Capital" and "Labor"? What is Fenianism in its last analysis, but a protest, deep and bitter, against the axioms, or fundamental principles of "Political Economy"? No matter what legislative palliatives in the shape of "Tenant Right Bills" may be thrown in, so long as these principles are recognised, or the doctrines of "free trade" applied to the relations betwixt tenant and landlord, so long peace is impossible in Ireland. And it is so because we have passed from the era of "Political" to that of "Social" Reform.

THE DEATH PENALTY.—The following paragraph says more as to the real efficacy of the death-penalty as a preventive measure, than would folio volumes of controversy:—"The penal law of Alabama recently enacted, which punishes horse-stealing with death, has driven the thieves from that State."—Montreal Witness.

Quebec papers announce the death, on the night of the 26th, of Col. de Salaberry, D. A. G. M. He had been in ill health for some years. He was 63 years of age.

We copy the following excellent article on Protestant Missions to Catholics, from the Kingston British Whig, of the 23rd ult. The writer though himself a Protestant, tells his coreligionists some important truths, which will very likely raise an outcry against him; but all honest and intelligent men will admit the truth of his facts, and the cogency of his reasonings.

If—he says in substance to his Protestant brethren, if you deny the possibility of salvation to the members of the Roman Catholic Church, or deny that salvation is within her pale, you have only a few illiterate fanatics to countenance you. And if you admit that the R. Catholic, who believes all his Church teaches as dogma, and who keeps all her commandments may be saved, your missions are a humbug; for why try to convert men, who are not in danger of damnation unless they are false to their faith? To this line of argument there is no reply.

(From the British Whig.) THE SABBATISM MISSION.—The News reports at length the proceedings of a late Meeting of the Kingston Auxiliary Branch of the above Missionary Society, a Society that we cannot help considering, not only useless, but injurious to the good understanding which should exist between the English and the French speaking portions of the population of Lower Canada. The purpose of this Society is on the face of it impertinent; it purports to make the French Canadian, all Roman Catholics, Christians, by converting them to the Protestant Faith, whether Church of England, Scotch Presbyterian, Wesleyan Methodist, or Baptist, is not defined. To cease to be Roman Catholic is what appears to be desired. Now, if a Christian Church is to be judged by the morals of its professors, the Roman Catholics of Lower Canada have no reason to be ashamed of their creed; for among the inmates of the Provincial Penitentiary, ceteris paribus, there are fewer Lower Canadian Catholics, in proportion, than of other Creeds. To amend the morals of that people cannot therefore be the object of the large array of respectability paraded in the News. This seems to be admitted by the Rev. Mr. Sullivan, of St. George's Church, Montreal, who said among other things at this meeting 'that the labors of this mission are a waste of effort, that they are not necessary, that it would be better to spend the money in elevating the moral tone among ourselves, for as the Roman Catholics are sincere in their belief, to them their doctrines are the truth; but it is a fallacy to say that because they are sincere they will be saved.' Begging the reverend gentleman's pardon for contradicting him, it is a fallacy to say, that sincere Roman Catholics will not be saved. Such is not the doctrine of the Church of England, nor of any Protestant Church of any standing. A few fanatics alone think otherwise. Let the Ladies and Gentlemen of Kingston and other places in Upper Canada, strive to improve the morals of their own Co-Religionists, and leave the Lower Canadian Roman Catholics to their Pastors.

One of the Resolutions passed at this meeting is not founded on fact. That the present crisis in the history of the Papacy, coupled with the marked success of Protestant missionary efforts in Ireland and Italy, should encourage the Canadian Church to the vigorous prosecution of its Mission to the French speaking population of Lower Canada' Leaving Ireland out of the question, because the evidence is so contradictory, it is a fallacy to assert that Protestantism is making or has made any progress whatever in Italy. A great many Italians have ceased to be Roman Catholics, but they have, unhappily for themselves, ceased at the same time to be Christians of any Creed. The passing struggle in Italy is not so much to put down Catholicity, as it is to put down Priestcraft. The secular power of the Pope and his Head Clergy is what is attempted to be suppressed, not the doctrines of the Romish Church. Witness, the King of Italy and his Minister, Baron Ricasoli, both devout Catholics. We lay some stress upon this, because the Rev. Mr. Rogers, in his address, reiterates the idea by saying 'the present crisis in the history of Papacy, coupled with the marked success of Protestant missionary efforts in Ireland and Italy, should, &c. &c.'

One of the speakers (the Rev. Mr. Sullivan) attempted to strengthen his argument by a myth. He said 'when the great Caesar landed on the shores of Britain, he burnt all his ships that there might be no retreat; where the reverend gentleman got his authority, fabulous as the assertion is, we don't know, unless it be from Virgil, and then it was the Great Aeneas, not the Great Cæsar, who did that same thing.

This is not the first time that the British Whig has spoken against the purpose of the Sabrevois Mission looking upon it as wholly unnecessary and mischievous; and we raise our voice against it this time, not under the hope of suppressing it, but to show the Lower Canadian Roman Catholics that one Protestant newspaper in Upper Canada has the hardihood to show the matter up in its true light. It may be alleged, why not allow the Ladies and Gentlemen of Upper Canada, charitably and religiously inclined, to amuse themselves by contributing to what their Clergymen tell them is good. The reply is, they do mischief by their misplaced charity. They sow dissension where good feeling should prevail; they insult those who do not offend them; and because there are a hundred other objects of real usefulness to aid which their charitable donations are greatly needed.

KNOW-NOTHING-ISM.—That which we dreaded, that which we anticipated, that which we predicted would be one of the results of the Fenian agitation in the U. States, is it seems about to be realized. The disturbance in New York on St. Patrick's Day, although the work of only a few rowdies in which the great mass of the Irish processionists had no part, and with which the vast majority have strongly expressed their disgust, is credited to the Irish indiscriminately; and a very bitter feeling seems to be growing up, everywhere in the Northern States, betwixt native citizens, and those of Irish origin. The following from the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser will illustrate our meaning:—"Indications are not wanting to prove that the people of the United States are becoming tired of allowing the Fenians to use our soil as a base of operations against England. That game may be considered as pretty nearly played out. Irishmen will probably have to elect, ere long, to become citizens of the United States in fact as well in name, subject to the laws as with a distinct nationality in that respect as citizens of native birth, or else to be regarded as aliens who are abusing our hospitality;—they cannot much longer be allowed the privileges of American citizenship at the same time that they claim to be citizens of a Republic on the other side of the Atlantic. The truth is, that Fenianism in this country is a pestilent nuisance. Irishmen presume too much upon our good nature, in the first place; upon our supposed want of friendliness to England, in the second place; and, lastly and most, upon their political influence and power in this country. They

are fast becoming so obnoxious to the sound sober sense of the country that it would not be surprising to see a resurrection of the once potent Native American or Know Nothing organizations with a view to putting down the Irish element in the body politic. Their parading of our streets in military array, and as component parts of the army of what they claim to be an independent nation, without as much as saying 'by your leave' to our government, though apparently a very harmless amusement so far as their enemy, England, is concerned, is certainly an impertinence and an imposition so far as their friend, the United States, is concerned. It is a nuisance that must be abated.

ASSASSINATION.—Is this peculiarly, or exclusively an Irish crime, as the maligners of Irishmen, and of the Catholic Church pretend? We do not deny that great crimes have been perpetrated in Ireland by men rendered furious by wrongs, or what they imagined to be wrongs, inflicted upon them by landlords, on whom they oftimes wreaked a bloody and a wicked revenge. Far be it from any Christian to palliate these acts, or under any pretence whatsoever to attempt even an apology for the infamous crime of assassination. But again we ask is this a crime peculiar to the Irish? Have the people of other parts of the British Empire, and of a different creed, the right to taunt their Irish and Catholic fellow-subjects with their predisposition to the crime of murder. Listen to what a Scotch nobleman, Lord Elcho, said on the subject, when addressing a large body of his Protestant brother Scotchmen at a large meeting held the other day at Dalkeith.

The subject was the relations of "Servants and Masters" in Scotland, and the means adopted by the Scotch working classes to compel the employers of labor to submit to their terms.— For this purpose resource was had to Unions and Strikes; but as these, without an organized system of Terrorism have availed but little against capital, the members of these Unions bound themselves by oath to the murder of the "nobs," or masters, who would not submit to their terms. In proof of this Lord Elcho read the oath of their, not Irish and Romanist, but Scotch Protestant Association:—

"I, J. B., do voluntarily swear, in the presence of Almighty God, and before these witnesses, that I will execute with zeal and alacrity, as far as in me lies, every task or injunction which the majority of my brethren shall impose upon me in furtherance of our common welfare, as the chastisement of nobles, assassination of oppressive or tyrannical masters, or the demolition of shops that are deemed incorrigible; and also that I will cheerfully contribute to the support of such of my brethren as shall lose their work in consequence of their exertions against tyranny, or renounce it in resistance to a reduction of wages."—Times.

This oath, as Lord Elcho went on to show from facts, was not allowed to remain a dead letter, but was carried out in practice; until the attention of Parliament being called to the state of Terrorism existing in Scotland, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate the matter, when the above-cited facts were elicited.

This shows that crime is of no particular country; that Scotchmen are quite as prompt as Irishmen to band together to revenge real or imaginary wrongs; and we may then easily conclude that if Scotchmen had as much to complain of as have the Irish—if they were oppressed and insulted by an alien and hated Church Establishment—if the lands of broad Scotland had been forcibly wrested from the hands of the original owners, and confiscated to the profit of landlords alien in blood, language and religion—the crime of secret societies and assassination would have been, to say the least, as rife in Scotland as in Ireland.

We published in our last a telegram, copied from our Montreal Protestant contemporaries, fully exonerating the Irish Catholics of Ottawa from the charge of having carried in their St. Patrick's Day Procession, a flag of some kind—what kind we know not—but against which His Lordship the Bishop of Ottawa was said in the public papers to have remonstrated. The telegram that we copied, vindicated the good name of the Catholics of Ottawa, by stating that they had nothing to do with the obnoxious flag; that it was not theirs: that it was not carried by them; and that it was introduced and displayed by some Yankee "roughs" from Ogdensburg, by whom alone the pastoral admonitions of the Bishop were set at defiance. This was the statement, so creditable to the Irish Catholics of Ottawa, and so gratifying to their Catholic friends everywhere, that we found in the columns of our Protestant contemporaries, and which we copied.

But we have received a letter over the signature John O'Hanly, in which the writer contradicts the truth of the statements made in the telegram; and in which he more than insinuates that the charge urged in the Protestant papers against the Catholic Processionists of Ottawa, of having carried a flag against which their Chief Pastor had remonstrated as unbecoming in a Catholic Procession, is true. If so, we are sincerely sorry for it; but at the same time we entertain too high an opinion of the Catholics of Ottawa, to believe, upon no better authority than that of the writer of the communication to which we refer, of whom we know nothing—and that of the Protestant press, of which we know this, that it is often guilty of making unfounded charges against Irish Catholics—that any large number, or that any respectable members, of the Irish Catholic community of Ottawa could have been guilty of slighting the exhortations and remonstrances of their Bishop. Such conduct so unworthy of Catholics, we could easily believe of the Yankee "roughs" who infest so many of our large cities, and give so much trouble to the Police; and we therefore, as zealous for the good name of our Irish Catholic friends at Ottawa, inserted the telegram which so fully vindicated their good name, believing and still hoping it to be true.