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CATHOLIC CHRONICLE.

VOL. IV.

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NO. 41.

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY OF THE IRISH RACE.

TO THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER.

For six months, my dear Meagher, I have meditated addressing you in a public letter. I have meditated saying plainly what it has become imperative on some of your old associates to say—and perhaps on none more than me, who have maintained an unbroken friendship with you for so many years. O! saying plainly and peremptorily, that you are wrecking in the most palpable shallows and quicksands, a life meant to be a credit to your country; and flinging down in the dust the cause for which you risked so much. It is not a welcome task; but it would ill become us, who resisted O'Connell when he endangered the Irish cause, to be punctilious with one another.

You are, perhaps, dreaming at this hour of a universal people, who would hail your return with triumph—who believe in motives above suspicion, and fidelity tried even to the scaffold—and who long for your coming as that of a Deliverer.

Let me awaken you, my friend. Your relation to Ireland has fatally altered. There are multitudes of Irish Catholics to whom your name has become odious—there are many Priests who would head their people to resist you as an enemy, if to-morrow you were landing on our shores; there are not a few of those who shared our councils and hopes in '48, who have abandoned both, on the specific ground that you have compromised them with the Church, and joined the cause which united us. The men most aggrieved were slowest to complain; but the perverse me of your speeches by the Government press left them in the end no choice. For six months scarcely a week has passed in which some friend has not remonstrated: on his own behalf, or on behalf of the cause.

I can well believe you have been scandalously misrepresented—it is the way with these Swiss of the Castle. I am confident your heart or purpose has not materially altered since I saw you last; and that both are still intrinsically right. But, after this admission, enough remains to convince me you have embraced opinions which cannot be justified, and permitted them to be habitually exaggerated and misunderstood, to an extent incredible in one who has been among the spokesmen of a party. It seems to me one of the plainest duties of a public man to take care his associates shall not be compromised—a plain and higher duty is to take that precaution for his cause. Thomas Meagher, private gentleman, may submit, from pride, or *insouciance*, to any imputation he thinks fit—no one is concerned but himself. But Thomas Meagher, public man, long placed in the front rank of an organisation, habitually speaking on behalf others, bound to the past and future by ties which he can never wholly break—how can he permit himself to forget that many men share the responsibility of his acts and opinions? Fancy (and it is no suppositious case) young priests, our friends from '46 to '48, called on to answer for your present theories as the fundamental principles of their party—principles to which (it is said) others may have proved traitors but you are still loyal. Can anything be more cruel or embarrassing? They must renounce their dearest convictions or renounce you.

It is to recal you, my dear Meagher, to this duty—which you would be the last man to deny—that I address you at present. Your opinions are fatally misunderstood, or you have lost the ancient landmarks of the Irish cause; and they are no longer those which we held in common. The first alternative I believe to be substantially the true one. I believe you are made answerable for designs the farthest from your heart. The Thomas Meagher who was my friend and ally would have shared the plots of a detective, as soon as some of the unholy schemes with which your name is associated. But your language has given rise to suspicions which daily grow stronger and more general; and it is my firm conviction that if you do not take prompt measures to remove them, they will settle down into a rooted aversion more formidable to your hopes than the steel and fire of England.

At this distance of time and place, I am not in a position to sift your actual opinions from the mass of contradictory imputations levelled at you. That is your task. I can only report the charges which pass from mouth to mouth, and which have thinned your friends and quadrupled your enemies.

I. You are said to preach the exclusion of Priests from Irish politics.

II. You are said to embrace the opinions and cultivate the sympathies of Mazzini and his associates.

If either of these charges be true, you are on a path which will lead to disappointment and discomfiture; you are on a path which cannot, and ought not, to end in the deliverance of Ireland.

Exclude Priests from Irish politics! To what end

have you read our history? It is not enough to say that wanting Priests, it would want all you are proudest to recal in it; it is not enough to say that, in that epic resistance to foreign dominion which alone saves it from contempt, cassocks still throng the front rank of combatants, or martyrs; it is barely enough to say that since the extirpation of the hereditary chiefs, the Church has furnished an inexhaustible succession of new leaders spread as widely and trusted as fondly as the first—who have inspired every battle fought for the Celtic race, without or within the lines of the English Constitution. And at this day, if Priests were excluded, you and I might consider our life's task over—a *Te Deum* might be sung in Westminster Abbey—for all substantial or formidable resistance would be at an end.

Exclude Priests from Irish politics! Why, for what object has English intrigue labored for the last half century? Read Castlereagh's private correspondence with the Catholic bishops in '98 and '99; read the Quarranotti controversy in 1814; read the Repeal debates in '45; read Clarendon's letter to the Archbishop of Corfu in '48. What brought Minto to Rome? What brought Bulwer? What is Petre doing there at this hour? Whispering, lying, intriguing with sleepless activity for one end—to exclude Irish Priests from Irish politics! If this be your desire, you will have for allies and sympathisers every statesman in Downing street, every "Shave-beggar" in Dublin Castle, every exterminating landlord, every Whig slunkie in the island.

In practicability and public beneficence the scheme seems to me on a par with an insurrection against the Solar System. It is about as likely to succeed, and would be about as useful if it had succeeded. The peril to clerical influence need give no one uneasiness; but the fatal waste of your own life in barren and impracticable adventures, the misdirection given to the ideas of our young men, and the prejudices arrayed against the cause with which your name is associated—these are not considerations which I can disregard.

But you will tell me you meant something far short of "exclusion." Be it so; but what? Where, short of it, can you draw a straight and intelligible line?

The exact sentiment quoted from your speeches is this: that the minister of religion, while he is guaranteed all the rights of a citizen, must not be permitted to exercise in secular affairs the influence his office confers. What does this mean? How is it to be applied in the transaction of public business?—I search in vain for any positive principle or any practical rule of action in it. Does it mean that he shall be at liberty to vote, but not at liberty, like you and me, to counsel, stimulate, and guide the votes of others? In this sense it is naked despotism. If a Priest must not exercise the influence which his services create, why must he not, as well as the Orator or the Journalist? Is he less likely to make a disinterested use of it? Is he more likely to be swayed by personal ambition or individual interest? Are his ties to the people less close and permanent? Scarcely! I have known a good deal of public men in Ireland for the last dozen years, and I cannot admit that it would be a change for the better to banish the Priest and set up the Demagogue in his vacant place. If one or other must go, for my part I will not hesitate to blacken Messrs. John Reynolds & Co., Messrs. John O'Connell & Co., or Messrs. John Mitchell & Co., rather than the men who have stood between the peasant and his tyrant—who have shared their last crust with the pauper, and brought sunshine to the poor man's hearth, generation after generation. There are partizan Priests, and place-begging Priests, who are not pleasant to remember; but I believe in my soul and conscience partizans and place-beggars are rarer in the ranks of the Priesthood than in any other ranks. Trust me, my friend, your theory has not a grain of common sense, and nothing could be more fatal to its long life than such a want.

It is just as naked of principle as of practical sagacity. Do you call it Republicanism to refuse men their ordinary privileges, because some of them hold opinions hostile to yours? This is not the liberty Jefferson taught, or Washington practised. They built on the sure basis of common right. You will find precedents for it, indeed, in the turbulent and ruthless cabals of the Jacobins, who found some lofty pretence for excluding from power all whom they feared or hated; but in America none. It leads straight to the excesses which were once abominable to you as the deadly cancer of liberty. Say the Priest is excluded for his opinions; you begin with him, by-and-by follows the gentleman; a little later all the "eulotic classes," till at length no one presumes to act in public who is not prepared to echo the rhapsodies of some morose and fanatical dogmatist who calls himself the friend of the people. And so it goes on, till the new tyranny, more odious than the first, is flung down and trampled in the gutter.—

Once, no man detested this organised anarchy more than you. It was individual liberty, and individual security you sought in a Revolution; not the despotism of a demagogue, a cabal, or a class. Recal that sentiment; it is a wise and a generous one. Study the career of the men who founded the only stable Republic in the universe, that one which has opened its arms to you; and you will be ashamed of a shallow unprincipled dogma, which, like Mormon prophecies, rests on the supposed convenience of the hour, and is liable and likely to be contradicted by the next.

Do not misconceive your present attitude. There is nothing noble, my friend, which is not based upon truth, and you are striving for that which is not possible to do, and which would be detestable if it were done. Look the fact in the face; in how many generations will you strip the Priest of his political rights? And when you have altered the fixed habits of a people—when you have abolished that tutelary power which stood him in the stead of a government and constitution, what hold will you have on the sympathy or confidence of the Irish peasant? He will curse your name. What you will have accomplished for him is to strike the light out of his sky, and lay him hopeless and guideless at the feet of his foreign master.

But the Church to-day demands more allegiance, and is less tolerant of neutrality than when you were in Ireland? Yes; undoubtedly. We are at war, my friend, and men must choose their side. For the last three years a vigorous, and preconcerted assault has been made on the Catholicity of this nation. The sectarian passions which we helped to put asleep have been lashed into fury against it. In parliament, the Catholic Bishops, Maynooth College, the Convents have each in turn been assailed with success. A hundred missionaries landed on our shores in one day, to preach a new reformation. English gold has been scattered through the pauper districts to bribe the poor from their faith—and not without a certain success. The migration of the Catholic people has been secretly stimulated; the policy by which Cromwell and William drafted our fighting men into French and Spanish Brigades still survives in the shape of emigration bounties and bonuses; and hideous rejoicings have broken out at public dinners—for example, at entertainments to men whom you would cite as confirmed nationalists, Mr. Butt and Mr. Whiteside—that emigration was rapidly making Ireland a Protestant country.

Do you fancy in face of insults and dangers like these, any Catholic in Ireland, lay or clerical, is in a humor for transcendental discourses on the beauty of brotherly love? We are attacked in our dearest interests attacked day by day, and every day without cessation; "peace is beautiful, but this is war;" and what men demand of you is not a lay sermon on abstract duties, but to know whether you are for us or against us? Consider how an O'Neil or an O'Moore would have rebuked neutrality in his holy war for the right to worship God in peace in his own land, and you will realize how it is regarded to-day. And no Catholic is so eager as generous Protestants to resist this diabolical crusade. In such a moment the Church has a right to look with suspicion on all who see her danger and are indifferent to it. I believe you have not seen it; or only half seen it, living in a distant country, and inhabiting, like a poet, the past and future more than the present. But Young Ireland has long since come of age, and must learn to take a man's part in junctures like the present.

What your actual relations are with Mazzini I do not know. Probably none; or at most that vague sentimental sympathy universal in '48. To me at that time he was but a name, corresponding to Petrarch and Rienzi. I know him better now; and there is not on the face of the earth any man to whom I am less attracted. I think with Sismondi that he and his sect have been the ruin of Italian independence; with Gioberti, that he was a greater enemy to Italy than to Austria; and with Garibaldi, that "he spoils everything he touches." He seems to me essentially double-dealing and untrustworthy in public transactions. I noted of late, as a pregnant illustration of character, his angry denial in the *Times* that he encouraged the dagger among his followers, having at the moment under my eye, his "Advice to the Party of Progress," published in the *English Republic* a month or two before, in which that weapon of assassins is expressly and enthusiastically commended to them:—

"War to the knife," he says, "where there are no other weapons. The rhetoricians of our colleges who teach children to admire the dagger of Harmodius or Brutus, and who borrow the name of moralists to condemn the daggers of the Lombards, are hypocrites for the sake of pensions or royal favors. The dagger is the people's bayonet when all other weapons are taken away. The assassin's dagger, called a sword, is in

• Jules de Breval's "Mazzini Judged."

the hands of the tyrant who kills, without danger and for his own personal profit, the patriot reclamer of those goods which God has given us—liberty of thought of speech, and of action."

What a ghastly light this *éloge* casts back on the murdered body of Rossi. I can comprehend a fanatic defending the dagger; Marat would have done so once; perhaps Blanqui would do so still—but what shall we say of him who defends it to his followers, and denies it before a foreign people?

But I push aside these reflections. Think as you please of Mr. Mazzini; impressions of character are quickly got and slowly lost. What I propose to demonstrate is, that if he were a model of patriotism and personal worth, no Christian, and above all no Catholic, can join hands with him. That a league with Calvi, in the sixteenth century, would not have bespoken a more rooted hostility to the faith in which we were born; or a league with Voltaire, in the eighteenth, to the creed of Christendom. And I will not judge him on mere hearsay evidence; he shall speak for himself.

It is barely three years since he published an edition of his political writings, with an elaborate preface, containing a defence and exposition of his opinions; framed for the meridian of England. What is the fundamental basis of the Mazzini school? Let him tell you himself—

"Young Italy rejected, at once and equally, materialism and superstition. It declared that, in order to acquire the strength necessary to become a nation, Italy must emancipate herself at the same time from the old Catholic belief, and from the materialism of the eighteenth century."

"Italy must emancipate herself from the old Catholic belief." Perhaps you will fancy this is some figure of speech, without practical import. The implacable anarchist denies you this illusion:—

"The Papacy," he says elsewhere, "is a corpse. But I do not quarrel only with the Papacy as a temporal power. We have higher, holier aims. We say the Pope is no Pope at all. We aim at the destruction, at the abolition of the Papacy, both as a spiritual power and a temporal power."

And where does Mr. Mazzini seek his allies in this work? From the No-Popery faction of England, who late Ireland as Cromwell and Carhampton hated her.

"There exists (he says) great agitation at the present moment in Protestant England on account of the attempted encroachments of Catholicism. Think you that these attempts would have taken place if the people's banner were still floating at Rome? Think you that the Pope would have sent his Catholic hierarchy from Gaeta?"

"Papacy excluded from Rome is, it is well known. Papacy excluded from Italy. Papacy excluded from Europe. Place the Pope at Lyons or Seville—he will no longer be Pope; he will only be a dethroned king."

This is the programme of Mr. Mazzini—to abolish, not the sovereignty of the Prince of Rome, but the authority of the Vicar of Christ. The exact bargain is proposed in terms: help us to pull down the Pope, and we will pull down his religion, and meshap set up yours in its place:—

"We have sometimes been asked if, when once emancipated, we should proclaim ourselves Protestants? It is not for individuals to reply. The country, free to interrogate itself, will follow the inspirations that God will send it. . . . But this, with my hand upon my heart, I can answer to them—

"Catholicism is dead. Religion is eternal. It will be the soul; the thought of the new world. . . .

But, in order that the death of Catholicism may be revealed to men, the air must circulate freely and reach, in order to destroy, the corpse which stands as yet erect. In order that man may invoke with purity, enthusiasm, and love, the truth of God, he must be emancipated from a state which teaches him immorality, egotism, hatred, and mistrust; and, in order that the truth may triumph over error, it must be free to proclaim itself in the full light of day. This consummation we can offer in exchange for the support which we demand."

"JOSEPH MAZZINI."

Of this new creed two preachers have appeared in England and America—Mazzini's personal friends and political disciples: To name them supersedes all description—Achilli and Gavazzi; the libidinous priest, and the renegade whose last footsteps on the soil of America were splashed in Irish blood.

But Mazzini wants the common virtue of fidelity to his allies. More recently, to gain the Continental Deists, he has thrown Exeter Hall overboard, and proposed to substitute for the Catholic Church, not English Protestantism, but a hideous *salmagundi* of "notions" collected by the agency of universal suffrage! Let us not speak of the profanity of this shallow coxcomb laying his hand on the Holy of Holies; but consider the scope of his capacity, who thinks that our perverse human nature, which falls into continual insubordination, and neglect of laws delivered by the voice of God, on Sinai, or on Calvary, will bow down before the fortuitous progeny of the ballot-box. Here are his words:—

"The Pope being gone, it would become the necessity for us, and for the whole of Italy to do what I shall call—feel the pulse of humanity as to our religious question. As we should do in political, so should we do in religious matters—ascertain the general opinion by a general assembly. We should summon as far as the resolution goes, the clergy; not only the clergy but all others laymen who have studied the religious question; and we should know from them the state of feeling and opinion as to religiosity. We should have the actual transformations effected in the Catholic belief by time. We should have a council by the side of the Constitutional Assembly. We should have universal suffrage, and we should know, not what is the individual religious belief, but what is the collective belief of the majority."

This is Mazzini, painted by his own hand; painted as I fancy you have never seen him before—the sworn enemy of the Church of God. I make no appeal to you on this evidence; it is far beyond the province of rhetoric. If you do not feel, like an instinct, that this is a man to be renounced as you would renounce Satan, the father of lies, if he set up his standard in proper person, there is no more to be said. "Italy must emancipate herself from the old Catholic belief!" Is there any Protestant living who, if we presumed to invite his help in Ireland with the aim of abolishing his religion, would not answer with a curse or a blow? And we, who have only one grand element in the history of our race, its loyalty to that "old Catholic" belief—who have only one consolation in the poverty of our country, that she has preserved a moral purity which no wise statesman would barter for the wealth of Carthage—we, who have been bred at the feet of Catholic mothers, and from boyhood upwards have watched, with flushed brows, the eternal conspiracy to root the creed of Patrick out of this island—what shall be our answer? I will not insult you, Thomas Meagher, by misdoubting yours.

But do you wonder, my friend, at the suspicion and wrath of Irish Catholics, when your name is coupled with this man's? Do you wonder that both should be immoderate in your case? The wrath is the reaction of a love given you in no sparing measure; the suspicion is the shadow of past errors. When I saw you last, you uttered a saying which has since become memorable among wise men for its truth; and among some of your present associates is a by-word of scorn. You said, "if Ireland is to have a new birth, she must next time be baptised in the Old Holy Well." You meant, not alone that in a country where native traditions reign supremely at every hearth, our cause must be no mimicry of foreign principles, but based securely on national and religious sympathies; you meant that we must shun the chief error of '48—the fatal error of alienating the Priests of the people, for whose help every English Government was outbidding the last. For that error I accept my full share of responsibility; though one line quoted against you was not written or spoken by me. You, too, have your share: and hence the facility with which present suspicions take root. It is no surprise to me now, how utterly we were sometimes misunderstood; we, who blinded ourselves looking intently at the goal, and overlooked the present hour. That sentiment of yours, so often flung in our path—"if the altar stand in the way of liberty, let it fall," did not outrage your friends, precisely because they knew you would go to the block for any dogma of the Church; but conceive its impression on a Priest to whom you were unknown—who found it embedded in the ferocious libels of the *Pilot* or the *Post*. And so, you have uttered from American platforms sentiments which your associates may excuse—which those who remember your last preparation for the field will be slow to interpret as an indifference to religion—but which furnish formidable and fatal weapons to your enemies. Can you realize to yourself the possibility of a genuine Christian Priest contemplating the designs of Mazzini, and pardoning an alliance with him? The thing is simply and radically impossible. He would feel a cause in which that man was concerned accursed; and that his allies labored in vain, the hand of God being against them.

Make haste, my dear old associate, to separate from the contagion of these suspicions. Set yourself right with those who mistrust or misconceive you. The cause of Ireland must be won in Ireland. All external success is contemptible if you lose ground here. You waste your life, and all our lives, if you maintain an interminable war with the most potent, permanent, and indestructible element of power in our race. I have no doubt you have been pursued with unjust suspicions and exaggerated fears; but they are the penalty of past mistakes. Accept them frankly. If you have something to forgive, have you not also something to atone for?—and something to reciprocate with those who sheltered the fugitive, and sympathized with the prisoner and the exile? Here, or nowhere, you must look for success. Our nation has lived through twenty generations of bondage, and preserved its earliest characteristics uncorrupted, because it has been true to its hereditary convictions. It is a marvel to see a people who has suffered so much still raise its head. But the condition of existence to a nation is, that it believes something in common. What fragment of Ireland holds the doctrine of the *solidarite* of nations? What fragment believes in the gang of continental Deists, who recruit their ranks from Exeter Hall, and fear to breathe the name or the wrongs of Ireland? I have no sympathy with the despots of Europe. God forbid! I detest them as much as when we sat at the same council board. But Ireland has something else to do than fight the bye-battles of the universe; and the most fatal and disorganizing demon that could take possession of her, is that shallow meddling dogmatism which wastes itself upon what does not concern it; and loses its vigor at home in cabals, to back up slavery in one hemisphere, or Deism in another. The Irish of Ireland rejoice to watch an Irish

power growing up in the great Republic, so homogeneous and so sensitive to its origin. They are proud that England should see the race she exiled springing up anew in an attitude of power and authority; and they tremble for every risk of division in its ranks. When you landed in the United States, I reminded you that, more than any man, you possessed the means of maintaining it in harmony, because you had escaped the imputation of faction at home; and I named the two men of our associates who would be your surest allies in such a task—Dillon and McGee. Would to Heaven, my friend, you were in counsel with them now! I cannot believe for a moment that the penetrating intellect of John Dillon is blind to the perils of your position—with McGee, I see, with deepest concern, that you are at open and angry war. What feud in our history is more disastrous? To forty political prisoners in Newgate, when the world seemed shut out from me for ever, I estimated Thomas Darcy McGee as I do to-day. I said, if we were about to begin our work anew, I would rather have his help than any man's of all our confederates; I said that he could do more things like a master than the best amongst us since Thomas Davis; that for two or three years I had seen him daily, and found his mind still swarming with new thoughts on the one eternal theme (like a lover's or a devotee's); that he had been sent at the last hour, on a perilous mission, and performed it, not only with unflinching courage, but with a success which had no parallel in that era; and, above all, that he has been systematically slandered by the Jacobins to an extent that would have blackened a Saint of God. Since he has been in America I have watched his career; and one thing it has never wanted, a fixed devotion to Irish interests. Who has served them with such fascinating genius? His poetry and his essays touch me like the breath of spring, and revive the buoyancy and chivalry of youth. I plunge into them like a refreshing stream "of Irish undefiled." What other man has the subtle charm to revoke our past history, and makes it live before us? If he has not loved and served his mistress, Ireland, with the fidelity of a true knight I cannot name any man who has. Ah, my dear Meagher, there are few sacrifices I would not make to see him and you side by side again. Till you are side by side, that new Irish nation will not be wholly at one, or a terror to its enemies. Your unity is an indispensable preliminary. "If the trumpet gives forth an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for battle?"

There is little more to be said. I have purposely kept out of account the complications of your difficulties by Mr. Mitchel and the *Citizen*. As far as it concerns you personally I shall continue to do so; as for the cause, you can estimate how far it is advanced by a weekly howl against all the agencies of civilization, and against every man who lifts his hand in the service of Ireland, unless it grasps the password and the pistol of a Ribbon Lodge. A nation, my friend, lives not epochs, but every day, and must at times have other nourishment for its spirit than vitriol and blood. It is a false and barren idea, that revolution is promoted by turbulence, or by narrow and angry restrictions of public action. The Chartists tried these, and ended in discomfiture and contempt. Bold and daring minds are enlisted by large schemes of adventure, in which there is place for many activities; generous and speculative ones by great projects of national advancement; but the military passion, of which these are the elements, is less opposed to Quakerism than to anarchy.

I meant to speak of our position and prospects at this hour, but the subject can wait. First, are we agreed in fundamental principles? if not, opportunities come in vain. In '82, England could not guard us from the French; in '46, she could not guard us from the Famine; in '55, we may be thrown again on our own resources. But among the resources of Ireland never will be reckoned the accomplices of Mazzini or the mimics of Marat. The latter you were never; nor, I trust in Heaven, the former.—But no tongue can answer for this but your own.

Believe me, my dear Meagher,
Your faithful friend,
C. GAVAN DUFFY.

April 25, 1854.

P.S.—I have just received the fourteenth number of the *Citizen* which follows out its only mission, with undeniable industry, by a new attack upon me. Because I declined, in the first number of the revived *Nation*, to advise an immediate reliance upon arms, I am—what you may read in the *Citizen*. Mr. Mitchel's libels are supremely indifferent to me just now; but as the same number contains a letter from you to Mr. Haughton, which, by its appearance there, in some slight degree identifies you with the paper, I have concluded to notice it.

My task has not been to roar anathemas across the Atlantic, but to deal with the friends and enemies, the opportunities and necessities of the country at arm's length. In reviving the *Nation* as soon as I crossed the threshold of Newgate, I had hope in Ireland when she had no hope in herself. In the sweltering workhouse, in the poisonous emigrant ship, in the cellars and garrets of our great cities, in dykes and ditches, the people were dying out twenty thousand a week. They could not wait for that great deliverance which the bray from a New York platform is, it seems, to afford them by-and-bye. Dead men do not make revolutions; that they might remain a people they wanted present help. Ireland had neither a force in the field, nor on the platform, nor in the Senate; and act after act came from the foreign parliament, pointed like arrows at her vitals.—If a popular organization sprung up again to beard her enemies; if at length Ireland had a party in the British Parliament, to claim and enforce her rights, the revived *Nation* is supposed to have had some influence upon these results. That this was the true

national policy, at that hour not only my own conscience, but my closest confederates of '48, assured me. You, my friend, in your first public letter from Van Diemen's Land, as if you already first saw the malignity and duplicity with which I would have to contend, employed these remarkable words; which I leave Mr. Mitchel to digest:—

"You have opened with the declaration that the independence of Ireland cannot be achieved by a sudden blow, but must be worked out in detail. Adhere to that. Submit to the most odious and irritating suspicions; submit to be called a coward and a renegade; submit to everything that is most galling to an upright, generous mind, rather than swerve one inch from the path to which that declaration leads you.

"This is my advice, since it is my deep belief that for many a long day to come, you cannot cope with England in the field. To this conclusion I have come from a patient, slow consideration of the materials with which you have to work, and the difficulties that confront you."

IRISH INTELLIGENCE.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.—A rescript has been received from Rome by the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, directing the Archbishops and bishops of Ireland to assemble in Dublin within three months of the date of the rescript, to open and inaugurate the University of Ireland. The 18th of May is fixed for the purpose.—*Limerick Reporter*.

The Redeemptorist Fathers from Limerick have opened a mission at the Cathedral, Cork.

THE CATHOLIC DECLARATION.—The committee have received communications giving them authority to add the honored names of the Most Rev. Dr. Cantwell, Lord Bishop of Meath, and the Lord Bishop of Kilkenny, to the Catholic Declaration. Twenty-seven Irish prelates have now affixed their names, as have three colonial Bishops who are at present in Ireland, so that this great national document is now graced with thirty episcopal signatures. The Bishop of Ross is in Rome, but it is expected that his lordship's signature will be, according to custom, sent forward by the Rev. Administrator. The Earl of Kenmare, Lord Castle-rosse, and the Hon. William Browne, have also directed their names to be affixed to the declaration. The committee continue to receive each day a very large addition of signatures to the declaration. Many of the leading Catholics of Dublin have already called at the committee rooms to have their names affixed, and numerous communications have arrived from various parts of the country.—*Nation*.

THE WORKING OF THE POOR LAW.—At a meeting of the Waterford Board of Guardians last week, Mr. Hamilton, Poor Law Inspector, is reported by the *News* to have said that milk was the only animal food the paupers received. They merely got food enough to keep body and soul together. The paupers must be treated like human beings. If the guardians went into the house and saw the children at supper he was sure they would be even anxious to give them more than they have at present."

We have great satisfaction in making the announcement of Mr. Dargan's determination to enter upon his contract immediately, for the Limerick and Foynes Railway, and his foreman will be here next week to commence active operations upon the line.—*Limerick Chronicle*.

IRISH ENTERPRISE.—Whilst it has been so much the habit to decry Irish enterprise, and to regard Irishmen as almost incapable of industrial exertion, it is gratifying to observe such rapid progress in a branch of industry only recently introduced into this country, as appears in the following statement which we copy from the *Southern Reporter*:—Within the past few years owing to the enterprise of the Cork Steamship Company, this port has obtained a place, of not inferior merit either, among the iron steamship depots of the kingdom. Perseveringly and quietly has this branch of ship-building developed itself on the banks of our river; and it now affords continuous and remunerative employment to no less than 300 artisans.—The expedition with which this company turns out 'screw' after 'screw,' finished in all departments in the most elegant and substantial manner, is truly astonishing, and reflects creditably on the superintendents as well as on the men employed under them.—Within a very limited period there have been launched from the building yard of the Company the Gannet, the Pelican, the Cormorant, all first class vessels—and yesterday we had the pleasure of viewing another, the Falcon, which will be launched, we understand, either this evening or to-morrow. The Falcon, like the other vessels lately built by the Cork Steamship Company, is an iron screw steamer, constructed especially for goods traffic on the Lisbon station. The tonnage has not been ascertained, but some idea of the size of the Falcon may be formed from the following measurements:—Keel, 195 feet in length; beam, 24 feet; breadth, on deck, 28 feet; and depth moulded, 17 feet. The engines which is intended to place in the vessel will be about 150 horse power. It is very gratifying to be able to state that the construction of this fine vessel, with the exception of some heavier portions of the machinery, which was imported in a rough state, will be completed in the yard of the company. It has not often been our lot to view a nobler-looking craft, and the experienced eye cannot fail to admire the extreme beauty of her lines, combining, as they do, great stability, and undoubted speed, her splendid run aft, and beautiful her entrance. We are happy to understand that immediately on the Falcon leaving her stocks, it is intended by the company to lay down another vessel, which will be of larger proportions than the Falcon. Such enterprise as this speaks for itself, and requires no comment.

SCARCITY OF WORKMEN.—Mr. Dargan has advertised for 250 men for the works at the Kilkenny side of the river. As yet he has not been able to procure anything like the requisite number.—*Waterford News*.

EMIGRATION.—The cry is still they come. On Thursday morning a large number of emigrants from different parts of the country took their departure by the Midland Great Western Railway for America. They were accompanied to the Eyre square terminus by a great concourse of friends and neighbors who gave vent to the wildest outbursts of grief on bidding them farewell. It is a matter of surprise how the population of a country that has been so thinned by famine, and already so reduced by emigration, can still send forth such numbers to swell the exodus of the Irish race, which still continues from every corner of the land. It is clear that they set more value on the free institutions of America, than they do upon the

mythical constitution of England under whose protection so many of their kindred found famine graves in the land made fruitful by their toil.—*Galway Packet*.

CORK.—Within the past ten days, upwards of 800 persons left the quays of Cork, by the Cork Steamship Company's vessels, Nimrod and Minerva, for Liverpool, en route to America. On Friday, the St. Laurence cleared out from Queenstown with 113 passengers for Quebec. On the 23rd April, the Tollenham left with 130 passengers for the same place.—The *Blanche*, at present lying in Queenstown, will clear out on Thursday with her full complement of passengers, 185 in number, for Quebec. The emigrants on board the latter vessel are pauper females, who have been sent to Quebec at the expense of the different unions to which they are chargeable.—*Cork Constitution*.

The number of emigrants who sailed from the port of New Ross, in the county of Wexford, up to the 23rd ult, amount to 1,025, nearly all of whom are described as belonging to the better class of farmers. From one small district 56 left, not one of whose ages is said to have exceeded 30 years.

Large remittances have been received during the past month for the purpose of enabling friends to emigrate. The number of emigrants will be considerably augmented, as we learn that several families are making arrangements to sail for America during the ensuing month.—*Carlow Sentinel*.

THE WEATHER.—We have accounts from many of the neighboring counties of a favorable change on Wednesday and Thursday, but we are sorry to say that no such grateful visitation has been received by our parched fields in the county of Kilkenny. The grass lands are suffering severely from the drought, and the growth of the wheat and oats is not a little retarded.—*Kilkenny Moderator*.

GOVERNMENT PATRONAGE.—It is said that the responsible office of Chief Commissioner of Income-tax for Ireland will shortly be left at the disposal of Government by the resignation of Mr. John Robert Godley, who, it is added, has accepted a similar appointment on the other side of the Channel. During the very short period that Mr. Godley discharged the troublesome duties of a commissioner he contrived to conciliate all grades, and to induce the stoutest grumblers to submit with a tolerable good grace to the infliction of an impost the only charm of which, unfortunately, was that of "novelty." It is reported here that Mr. Godley's resignation may lead to some material retrenchments in the working machinery of the Irish income-tax department, but at present nothing definitive has transpired with regard to the curtailments alleged to be in contemplation.

Ireland without an army, is the subject of an article in the *Evening Post* on the state of general tranquillity which has enabled the Government to send troops from this country to the East. Eight or nine thousand men (says that journal) have already gone from Ireland to Turkey; and some thousands more will take their departure as soon as transports arrive for their conveyance. Concurrently with the withdrawal of troops there is also a process of reduction amongst the constabulary, in the abolition of what is termed the extraordinary or supplemental force, which had been placed in various localities on account of disturbances in former years. The gentry and rate-payers, finding that complete tranquillity prevailed, called upon the Government to relieve them from a needless expense for the support of those police, and they have been, in consequence, removed, in some instances.

WAR PANIC—RUN UPON THE BANKS.—The apprehensions felt by country people regarding the danger of their persons from impressment, has now extended to their pockets, for we find that those who have paper money are calling upon the banks and demanding gold in exchange. For the last two or three days the run upon the banks in this town has been very great, one would scarcely have supposed that there was so much money amongst the farming classes. We need hardly say that there is no reasonable grounds for such panic.—*Galway Packet*.

IMPRESSMENT OF SEAMEN.—If the following statement of a correspondent of the *Freeman* be true, it seems that there is, after all, some foundation for the panic which prevails amongst the peasantry, and which helps to hurry them out of the country. The writer, who gives his name, says:—We were not a little surprised this morning to hear from Innishowen that her Majesty's cruiser, which paid yesterday a visit to Innishowen Head to take coast guards for the fleet, pressed twelve men out of six fishing boats which were along the shore. This I believe to be the first instance of force having been had recourse to get men. Though business was almost suspended in the city, it seems it was no holiday with the cruiser. The cruiser did its business in a more practical manner than by keeping holidays, or by parliamentary fasting or humiliation. The same writer gives the following evidence of the retribution which is now reaching those who suffered our people to die from starvation:—The recruiting party for the line was scarcely getting any recruits in Derry. I witnessed this day a knight of the ribbon offering 6s to each five or six men who were about him, but who indignantly refused the Saxon Shilling. The recruiter told them in plain terms they might as well volunteer, as, before a week, a press gang would compel them. No wonder such men as are able to go to America are emigrating. I follow in the wake of those who refused to enlist, and I could distinctly hear them talk of the government who four years ago, did not think it worth their while to send a man-of-war with provisions, when it might have saved thousands who might now be available.—*Galway Packet*.

SACRILEGE AND ROBBERY AT THE LOUGHREA PARISH CHAPEL.—The inhabitants of this town have been thrown into the utmost consternation and alarm in consequence of a most daring robbery, committed on our parish chapel on Thursday night last, or rather on Friday morning, the 28th of April. It appears that access was made over the old rampart-wall, at the rear of the chapel, off the walks, and from thence into the sanctuary. The vile wretches did not stop at the ransacking of the vestments, Benediction cope, &c., and the taking away of a little money—the collections received on a few Sundays at the doors of the chapel, for casual expenses connected with the sacred edifice—but they actually broke open the tabernacle of the beautiful new altar, took away three chalices, and destroyed the ciborium containing the Most Holy Sacrament; some valuable candlesticks were also injured. The police, both horse and foot, were at once despatched in several directions, seeking for information to lead to the detection and conviction of the parties, but as yet no trace of them can be found.

THE CHOLERA—BELFAST.—The number of new cases during the past week, 21. Total number of cases since the first appearance of the disease, 115.—Total number of deaths, 29. Deaths during the present week, 5. The disease is on the decrease.—*Belfast News Letter.*

THE CHOLERA.—The Limerick papers announce the death of the Knight of Glin, John J. Fitzgerald, who expired of the prevailing epidemic, and after a few hours' illness, at Glin Castle, on Tuesday. The deceased was Lieut.-Col. of the county of Limerick Militia, and one of the oldest magistrates of the district.

The old distemper called "murrain," is doing much damage amongst cattle in the county Wexford.

It is stated that the Czar has insurances to the amount of £20,000 on the lives of Irish gentlemen who were indebted to Harman and Co., who banked extremely at Cork, Limerick, Belfast, and Waterford.

GREAT BRITAIN.

On Sunday, the 30th ult., His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster preached the first sermon since his return from Rome, in the Church of Our Lady, St. John's Wood, London. His Eminence took his text from St. John, c. xv., v. 11: "I am the Good Shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep," and dwelt with much eloquence on the unity of the one true Catholic Church, which he ably contrasted with the Church as by law established in this country, one section of which taught that Baptism was a sacrament, and necessary to salvation, whilst another portion of the same Church ridiculed such a belief as folly and superstition. Nor were they more consistent in other material and eventual points. How different was the teaching and the practice, the unity of that one true fold of which Christ Himself was the founder and the head—the one true shepherd. Whose ministers watched with a tender and loving care over those who were committed to their charge, and were ever ready to make every sacrifice for their eternal welfare. What a happy instance we had of love and affection of one of the parties, one of the true shepherds of Christ's flock! He did not hesitate when duty called him, to stem the torrent of democracy which had been let loose upon society, and threatened the subversion of all law and order, to rush into the midst of danger, with the olive-branch of peace and love, and then, while endeavoring to quell the fury of the raging wolves, died a glorious death. In allusion to the Nunneries Bill, His Eminence continued, and we are told that attempts were to be made to snatch from us that which we most cherished. That the wolf of blinded bigotry and unmanly violence had encroached upon us and was about to interfere with that most precious portion of the flock of Christ, those who had given up all, even more than life itself, in return for that life which our Blessed Saviour came upon earth to secure. Was there a Catholic who would not rather go to prison, or to death itself, rather than see their holy members of Christ's Church molested. But a few weeks ago he had knelt at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff, to beg a blessing on resuming his poor labors in this country. He felt that while separated many miles from the superior pastor, he was not from him in unity. His Holiness had not only sent his blessing, but his expression of his love and charity for the members of his flock in these realms. In alluding to his increased responsibilities in resuming his functions here, His Eminence said that he was constrained to raise his voice to teach, instead of meekly bowing his head and believing; and concluded by making a touching appeal to the congregation on behalf of the funds of the Church of Our Lady.—*Catholic Standard.*

LETTER FROM THE BISHOPS OF ENGLAND TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF FREIBURG.

We, the undersigned Bishops of England (in the absence of the Cardinal our Archbishop) to the Archbishop of Freiburg. Salvation in our Lord. May the Father of Mercies and God of all Consolation console you in the midst of all your trials. The ravaging wolves have invaded your fold to carry off and disperse your flock. We have heard that the secular power has arrogated to itself privileges which properly belong to the Pastors of souls, and that it has pushed temerity and the spirit of encroachment to such a point as to dare to nominate Priests to Ecclesiastical benefices, to deprive the Church herself of the government of Episcopal seminaries, to assume the direction of these establishments, and to cast into prison, and condemn to heavy fines the Clergy who obeyed the voice of their Pastor and of their Father. And you, Venerable Brother, who, in accordance with your duty as shepherd of the flock, have opposed these criminal proceedings, you are threatened with exile and imprisonment by the violent men against whom you have to struggle. They oppress you with fines and calumnies: they have even endeavored to deprive you of the office you hold from God and the Apostolic See.

But if, on their part, they have not chosen to make any distinction between things profane and things sacred, between the temporal and the spiritual, you on your part, both by your exhortations and by your example, have always, and on every occasion, rendered to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's. What has happened within these last years proves with what fidelity and perseverance the Archbishop of Freiburg and the Priests of his diocese have defended their Sovereign and the laws of their country against men who wished to change everything.

Yet in condescending with you in your afflictions, most dear Brother, who have to live in times of such difficulty and misfortunes, we congratulate still more the Church of God in having found in you a man who vindicates and protects her rights and her liberty with so much courage and constancy. God has given you a severe struggle to maintain, that you may one day be victorious, and that the enemies of the Church may learn that, notwithstanding all their ingenuity and the strength which they wield, they are but impotent before that wisdom which arms its defenders with meekness, with long suffering, and with patience. It is with these weapons that you have fought courageously. Venerable Brother; it is by them that you have so successfully advanced the cause of God and of His Church. What a subject of consolation, of encouragement, and of joy, do we find in this invincible faith of an intrepid champion, who, for many years, has grown grey in the camp of the Church, and whose good example reminds us of the examples which we have received from St. Anselm and St. Thomas, both of whom by their patience, and the latter by his death, gained a signal triumph over ene-

mies cruelly bent on persecuting the Church with all the means which human power can furnish.

As for you, venerable and well-beloved Brother, you, in your advanced age has not destroyed the courage and ardor of youth—you who, always ready to die for God and for His Church, have not suffered yourself to be terrified by threats and by chains, you have already conquered. May Heaven in its mercy grant that those who have undertaken to dispossess the Church of her rights may in the end see their errors and learn to render to God that which belongs to God!

Your Grace's most humble and most devoted servants and Brothers in Jesus Christ,

- † JOHN, Bishop of Beverly.
- † GEORGE, Bishop of Liverpool.
- † ALEXANDER, Coadjutor Bishop of Liverpool.
- † GEORGE, Bishop of Plymouth.
- † WILLIAM, Bishop of Hexham.
- † THOMAS JOSEPH, Bishop of Newport and Menevia.
- † THOMAS, Bishop of Southwark.
- † WILLIAM, Bishop of Salford.
- † THOMAS, Bishop of Clifton.
- † WILLIAM BERNARD, Bishop of Birmingham.
- † WILLIAM, Bishop of Northampton.
- † JAMES, Bishop of Shrewsbury.
- † RICHARD, Bishop of Nottingham.

York, February 10th, 1854.

THE ADMIRALTY vs. OUR CATHOLIC SAILORS.—The reply of Sir James Graham on Friday last to the question put to the Government by Mr. D. O'Connell, relative to the compulsory attendance of Catholic seamen at Protestant worship, is one calculated to increase, rather than allay the dissatisfaction already felt on this matter by the Catholic subjects of her Majesty throughout these realms. That reply is substantially and almost verbally the same as on the previous occasion, when the attention of the Rt. Hon. Baronet was called to the subject. It consisted of two distinct statements: the one most lucidly declaring the actual state of things on board every ship in Her Majesty's Navy on board of which is a chaplain, the other explaining that it exists by virtue of the constitutional code of this country comprised in the Articles of War; and which, for the mere reason that such is the fact, Sir James Graham lays down that, like the law of the Medes and Persians of old, it "altereth not." The practice, then, as duly carried out in conformity with the Articles of War, is simply this, and is worth relating, if it be only to satisfy the curiosity of inquiring landsmen, how much devotion in the eyes of reformed British statesmen and commanding officers will suffice for a British sailor to send to heaven by, with all his sails set, and before the wind. On Sundays, and no other days, weather permitting, all hands on deck are "piped to church," which church is "rigged" on the quarter-deck for the occasion. All the men a board of her Majesty's men-of-war, are assumed to belong to her Majesty's State Religion, and non-attendance at the parliamentary state prayers (which are read by the chaplain—if there be one on board—if not, by the captain), are corrected with the punishment prescribed by the aforesaid Articles of War for the high crimes of insubordination and breach of discipline, that is to say, with the discipline of the cat.—*Catholic Standard.*

If the Anti-Convent Crusade were not so dangerous as a nuisance, it would decidedly be scouted as a bore. Even to the No-Popery appetite of the House of Commons, the everlasting motions of the Chamberlains and the Whitesides are rapidly becoming intolerable.—Take as a pregnant illustration the fate of Mr. Chambers' motion for the appointment of a select Committee on Conventual Establishments this week. The fact that it was to be brought forward on Tuesday night had been assiduously advertised; and boundless was the anticipation with which Exeter Hall waited the result. Well, after all, the honorable members exhibited such little interest in the business that there were not as many present as would constitute a house, so the question had to be adjourned to next day.—Then, on Wednesday, Mr. Digby Seymour—himself an unswerving Protestant, by the way—moved, as an amendment, that the Habeas Corpus Act might be altered, so as to render the committee unnecessary altogether. "I put it to the honorable members," said Mr. Seymour, "whether that would not be a better course, and more in accordance with the dignity of the House, than to appoint a committee so objectionable to the Roman Catholics of this country."—An exciting debate ensued; and the result was, that Mr. Bigot Newdegate was speaking in favor of the committee when the clock struck six—the hour at which the house habitually adjourns upon Wednesday, and Mr. Chambers' motion accordingly fell to the ground. Of course, the fanatics will not stop here, however; and the friends of Religious Liberty had never more urgent need to be vigilant and active.—*Nation.*

An approach to the conventual system has been introduced to Inverness. Several Franciscan nuns have arrived there, with the purpose of devoting themselves to almsgiving and school tuition.

IMPORTANT NOTICES.—Lord John Russell has announced the intention of the Ministry to amend the Militia Acts. Sir James Graham has given notice of a bill for the better encouragement of her sailors, and more effectual manning of the navy in time of war. It does not follow from either of these propositions that they will be submitted to Parliament without delay, that any actual increase is about to be asked for to the numbers of men in the regular forces by sea and land, beyond the additions that have been already voted during the last and the present session of Parliament. It is obvious, however, that both the intended movements are dictated by the responsibilities of actual war. The propositions of Sir James Graham will resolve themselves into the best mode of securing and of fairly rewarding the services of all sailors who are or shall be required for the purposes of war. We need not dread of 'actual invasion,' or of 'imminent danger thereof,' still less of any apprehension of rebellion. But we are in a state of war, and it will be manifestly desirable of her Majesty to be empowered to embody the militia or any part thereof should it become necessary to do so, even though the technical requirements of invasion or rebellion, did not justify us in so doing. The war has already drained us of a considerable, and a most efficient body of the regular army, and more may be required to be in readiness for foreign service. In such case it would be obviously desirable to have the power of calling out and embodying for home service the regular mili-

tia, which has already received, and is even now in progress of repeating, the preliminary training necessary to make them useful auxiliaries or substitutes in home service for our regular army, drained for foreign service abroad.—*Observer.*

The Committee on the subject of emigrant ships have made their first report, comprising the evidence of several witnesses. One of them, Mr. D. Finch, gives an account of which the following is a summary:

I went from Liverpool to Quebec last autumn, in the Fingal, of the Blackball line: she was lost coming back. We had 200 passengers out to America and 1,100 tons of railroad iron; the ship was only 990 tons register. Most of the passengers were shipped on board that vessel, in consequence of the Joss. flows, in which they had been going out, having to put back. The Fingal was a good ship. She was visited by the emigration agent before she left Liverpool, and regularly cleared by him. Ten days after we left, the cholera broke out, and we had thirty-seven deaths from it—I rather think forty-one. There was no medical man on board. The captain attended to the sick as well as he could, upon the whole, but he did not consider himself bound to look after the health of the passengers, and he refused, to my knowledge, to attend to passengers when they were in bad health. The medicines given in cholera cases were Epsom salts and castor oil, and 35 drops of laudanum, and the face was rubbed with vinegar. I represented to the captain that these were very improper medicines for cholera; he told me to hold my tongue. These medicines were administered by the mate, the captain and the steward, but they were afraid of the disease, and did not think it was a duty they were bound to perform, and they left it to any persons of feeling to do what they thought proper. I heard the sailors refuse to throw some of the bodies overboard; they were afraid of touching them, and I consider they objected because they were not paid. In one case the body was not sewn up in canvas before it was thrown overboard; the captain said "we are not bound to do it; it is only according to courtesy." Throughout the voyage the passengers—men, women, and children, the sick and the healthy—were all indiscriminately mixed together. I saw two or three in the same berth, and there were seven who had no berth. There was no separation of the sexes, nothing to prevent their being together night or day. There were sixty or eighty young women on board. There was no stewardess. The boards of the berths were not sufficiently fixed, and after we had been about ten days at sea they were all broken down by the working of the vessel, owing to the cargo shifting; they were not put up again. A great many lay, or had their beds on the floor. There were two temporary waterclosets, but they were soon down. First, the doors were knocked away, and there were no means of concealing the person then. They were for men and women, indiscriminately; there were no other waterclosets. After they were destroyed there was a very bad smell below; indeed, you could not stand below owing to want of cleanliness. I came back in an American ship which had permanent waterclosets. Some of the provisions in the Fingal were not good, and we had not the proper quantity; sugar was served out in more cases than one, with only eight ounces to the pound. In the last week of the voyage the allowance of water was only two quarts a day for three persons, though we made the voyage in three weeks less than the period the act requires a ship to be provided for. The bread was deficient in quantity. We got no meat unless we paid for it.—Our galley was swept away, and for several days we had to get our provisions cooked in the open air, shipping seas at the same time. The galley was not large enough. There was an unfortunate case of stabbing on board, through a dispute about the cooking. The passengers had to get their provisions cooked as they could; there was a cook to keep a fire but not to cook for them. There was a great deal of struggling and some could not get into the galley. One person was three days without eating a bit (of cooked food, we presume,) from not being able to get to the cooking place. At Quebec, a gentleman came on board, and it was understood that he was the emigration agent, but he did not muster the passengers, or ask if there were any complaints. It is not so easy to get redress there as here; an emigrant is in a more helpless position.

DAWING OF AN ENGLISH STEAMER.—Two Prussian men-of-war arrived off Portsmouth on Thursday morning. They are the Gefion, a frigate of 48 guns, and the Merkur, 6 guns, from Constantinople, bound for Dantzic. The officers of the Gefion relate an interesting rencontre they had off the Lizard with an English war-steamer some six days since. The latter was a three-masted paddle-wheel vessel, mounting 6 guns, and appears to have taken the Prussian colors for those of Russia; the similarity of the eagles in the national colors of Prussia and Russia, together with the light wind that prevailed at the time, causing the Gefion's to hang so loosely as to be somewhat indistinct at a distance, probably originating the error.—Whatever was the cause the English steamer opened her ports, and took other measures for action, bearing down on the Gefion in threatening style. Commodore Schroeder regarded her approach as one of a hostile character, and prepared for action himself, by opening his ports, &c., although he felt surprised that a vessel of 6 guns should dare to attack one of 48. As the steamer approached nearer she discovered her error, and then made off. The officers of the Gefion speak with candid admiration of the courage and pluck displayed by the 6 gun steamer in presuming to bear down to make an attack on a 48 gun frigate. She is believed to have been the Centaur, Captain Thomas Harvey.

DR. CUMMING ON THE RUSSIAN AGGRESSION.—In a sermon delivered on the "day of humiliation" in London, Dr. Cumming of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, viewed the subject of the present war in the light of prophecy. "He believed that the war on which this country had been entered was a justifiable war. It was a war for the preservation of great rights and great interests—a way in fact, to keep off the invader; and as it was a just or a right war, we might pray to God not to destroy Russia, but to bring her to a sense of the errors of her ways in the sight of nations. At the same time looking to prophecy, he could not conceal his belief that Russia would not be finally driven back, but that she was yet destined to triumph over Europe, and to be an instrument in the hands of God to exhaust Mahomedanism and to fulfil prophecy.

THE PRESTON STRIKE.—The strike at Preston, and generally in the North, seems nearly at an end. Latterly it has been complicated by a strike at Stockport, a lessened demand for manufactures, mills beginning

to work short time, and a reduction of wages. Increasing demands were made on the workmen's funds, and the supply diminished. A well-meant but unsuccessful attempt, by the suffering shopkeepers and others, to mediate, was turned aside by the Masters' Association sternly declaring that the rate of wages cannot be settled by mediation, but must be left to the free operation of supply and demand. The workmen are said to have sacrificed, in the shape of wages, upwards of £150,000.

THE CORRUPTION COMMITTEE.—The select committee appointed to inquire into the allegations made in the *Times* newspaper upon the subject of Irish members, held a private meeting on Monday.

OMINOUS.—Nelson's flag-ship, the victory, sunk suddenly at her moorings at Portsmouth a few days ago. A number of men were in her at the time, but, being all upon deck, they were every one saved.

EMIGRATION FROM LIVERPOOL.—From the Government emigration returns we learn that 31,500 emigrants left Liverpool during the month of April; for Canada, Australia, and the United States; being the greatest number ever known to have left the shores of the Mersey, in one month; and the present month bids fair to exceed in numbers that of the past one.

About one thousand persons are killed annually in the mines of England.

The newest version of the Premier's title is *Goberdeen*, which in Turkish means good for nothing.

UNITED STATES.

DIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS.—The *Southern Journal* continues to give glowing accounts of the Missions in the English language given by the Redemptorist Fathers. Speaking of a Mission in the Fourth District of New Orleans where there was but a small congregation of Catholics speaking English, a correspondent says there were Two Thousand Communicants at the Church in one week:—"Two thousand Catholics in this district humbly submitting themselves to the influence of the God, and partaking of the Sacraments Church, in a community where, four years ago, two hundred mustered together was a thing almost unknown! Verily, here is the hand of the Most High."

The great object of the "Liberal" party, as they call themselves is to assimilate our institutions to those of the neighboring Republic. What Catholics would gain by the change may be gathered from the following which we copy from the *Boston Pilot*. A correspondent writes:—

"Sometime in November last, the superintending school committee of Ellsworth, (Moses R. Paine, John D. Richard and Seth Tisdale, Esqs.,) gave orders to the school teachers to turn out of the schools every Catholic child who refused to read the Protestant version of the bible. We, (the Catholics), then petitioned that committee to permit our children to read our own version (the Catholic) and if the committee objected to that, to excuse them from reading any version of the bible, and not compel our children to read the Protestant version against the dictates of our conscience; that we did not want to interfere with the Protestant children in the reading of any version parents deemed proper. This petition was signed by upwards of one hundred Catholics, and was duly presented to the committee by the Priest, Rev. John Bapsi, and your correspondent. We had not the least anticipation that our reasonable request would not be complied with, but to our utter astonishment, our petition was refused and that with insults and abuse, particularly from Tisdale, chief spokesman, from whom we patiently listened to a long filthy tirade of foul misrepresentation and calumny on Catholics, and their religion and he concluded by saying, "we are determined to Protestantise the Catholic children—they shall read the Protestant bible or be dismissed from the schools, and should we find them loafing around the wharves, we will clap them into jail." This is the answer we received to our petition. On the next day after presenting the petition, two of the committee, Tisdale and Richards, proceeded to the school where the most part of the Catholic children attended and called all the Catholic children out who refused to read the Protestant version, and told them to take their books and clear out of the school; fifteen or more were thus forced to leave that school and for no other reason but solely for refusing to read the Protestant bible."

Well—Thank God, we are not Yankees yet. Our school system has its faults, and our Catholic brethren have ample cause for complaint; but thank God, they are not, and—until Protestant democracy be triumphant—never will be subject to such indignities. Think well on it Catholics, ere you give your votes to men who would, if they could, compel your children to join in their heretical worship, or else send them to jail. Remember that these things are done by true "Liberals;" by men of advanced and progressive views.

The anti-liquor law has gone into effect in Cincinnati. As yet, however, there is no diminution of doggerly-signs, or curtailment of police reports.—*Catholic Telegraph.*

SPIRITUALISM.—The Spiritualists have congregated in much force in the city of Washington, for the purpose of improving the theological sentiments of Congressmen. Nightly meetings are held, over which N. P. Tallmadge presides.

A PATRIOTIC PREACHER.—The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in a sermon, delivered a few weeks ago, on matters and things in general, and the Nebraska bill in particular, said, speaking of the ballot box,—"Put it at the gates of perdition, and I would go through legions of imps to deposit my vote in it." This is the same Rev. who made the war speeches for Kansas. He is a spunky fellow. Wonder if he wouldn't go inside the gates of perdition to poll a vote.—*Catholic.*

We learn from American papers that twenty to twenty-five deaths by cholera occurred among some German emigrants, while on their way from New Orleans to St. Louis, on board the steamer *Dresden*, which arrived at St. Louis on Saturday last.

HONOR TO WHOM HONOR, &c.—On Saturday evening, 13th instant, as a young Irishman, named Patrick O'Connor, compositor on the *Pilot*, was returning home from work, he espied a man drop a wallet containing \$150. He immediately picked up the wallet, and presented it to the owner. The lucky man gazed with astonishment at the frank countenance of the honest Hibernian, and forthwith counted the bills. Having ascertained that all was secure, he magnanimously presented the finder with the munificent reward of—a big lobster and fifty cents.—*Boston Pilot.*

REMITTANCES TO ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND.
 SHORT SIGHT BILLS from One Pound upwards, negotiable in any part of the United Kingdom, are drawn on the—
 Union Bank of London, London.
 Bank of Ireland, Dublin.
 National Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh.
 By HENRY CHAPMAN & Co.,
 St. Sacrament Street,
 Montreal, February 9, 1854.

THE TRUE WITNESS AND CATHOLIC CHRONICLE,
 PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY AFTERNOON,
 At the Office, No. 4, Place d'Armes.
 TERMS:
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 To Country do. . . . \$2½ do.
 Payable Half-Yearly in Advance.

THE TRUE WITNESS
 AND
 CATHOLIC CHRONICLE.
 MONTREAL, FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1854.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

The *America* has arrived, but brings no important news from the seat of war. Having thrown a few shot into Odessa, the Allied Fleet has relapsed into its former inactivity; from the Danube we have no reliable information; and all that we know positively of Sir C. Napier, is, that his fleet is much undermanned, and that, in the opinion of some of the first naval and military authorities, if he attempt an attack upon Cronstadt, he will, in all probability, catch a Tartar. Some 15,000 British troops had arrived at Constantinople by the end of April. The adhesion of Austria to the policy of the Western Powers may now be looked upon as almost certain. It is said that Sweden, Spain, Portugal, and Piedmont are prepared to join the Coalition.

The proceedings in Parliament have been uninteresting. Another weary debate on Mr. Chambers' motion against Conventual institutions, was followed by another adjournment to the 18th inst. All parties seem to be sick of Mr. Chambers, and his low-minded associates; and would gladly, if they could, pitch him, them, and their motions, to the hottest place, on record. Sir James Graham has signified the intention of Government not to accede to the request that Catholic sailors, serving on board Her Majesty's ships, might be excused from compulsory attendance on Protestant worship, according to Act of Parliament.

Lord Elgin arrived from Europe last week, and was received at New York with every demonstration of respect. His Excellency is at present on a visit to Washington with the view, it is hinted, of expediting the settlement of the "fishery question," and the commercial relations betwixt Canada and the United States.

There is a report, hitherto unconfirmed, that the long missing steamer *City of Glasgow* has been spoken with at sea.

It is strange that the *Minerve*, *Canadien*, *Kingston Herald*, and other of our cotemporaries, who, whilst professing sympathy with Catholic interests, condemn the course pursued by the TRUE WITNESS on the "Reserves" question, cannot, or will not, understand that the policy which we advocate is dictated solely by the probable effects of "secularization" upon Catholic interests: utterly irrespective of its possible results upon the fortunes, either of the present ministry, or of existing political combinations. Such paltry considerations are far beneath our notice. To us, it is a matter of perfect indifference whether the present ministry retain office during the life time of the present generation, or be kicked out to-morrow; what becomes of the political combinations now existing—except in so far as the interests of the Catholic Church are therein concerned—is also a matter in which we take no interest.

We have no wish to embark on the shallow muddy sea of Canadian secular politics—we have no fondness for stirring up the nasty seculent matter which lies at the bottom. We can imagine, indeed, nothing more dreary, or more uninviting than the aspect which its shores present; and, save when the interests of Catholicity demand it, it is our pleasure, as it is our interest, to keep aloof. To meddle with the paltry squabbles, and trivial disgusting personalities, which make up the sum total of Canadian politics, supplying the place, if they cannot atone for the want, of high and honorable principles, is, as contrary to our tastes, as it would be unbecoming in a professedly religious journal. But, as a Catholic journal, the TRUE WITNESS cannot altogether keep silent, when measures, seriously affecting the nearest and dearest interests of Catholics, are at stake;—when, in fact, they are called upon by the secular press, to prefer the interests of the ministry to those of their Church, and to sacrifice a principle for the sake of a party.

The *Herald* too, and other Ministerial organs, speak as if Catholics were bound to support the present ministry, and to make its policy their's; as if they were under some strong obligations to oppose its opponents, and to resist the formation of hostile political combinations. Whence this notion proceeds it is hard to say; to us it seems a most monstrous and impertinent assumption. To use all parties, and all men, but to be made use of by none; to drive, but never to allow themselves to be driven, or dragged, in triumph through the mire, behind the chariot of any ministry; of any party, is true sound Catholic policy; a policy which is warmly advocated by the wisest statesmen, and best Catholics, of Ireland at the present day, under the name of "Independent Opposition"—opposition to every ministry which will not

grant the just demands of the Church; and support to any government—no matter by what party watchword designated—that accepts, as a part of its ministerial programme "Justice to Catholics." This also is the true policy for Catholics in Canada.

The *Kingston Herald* reiterates the charge of Toryism brought against the TRUE WITNESS by the *Minerve* and the *Canadien*. Of this we complain not. It is a common artifice with the worst disputant, to substitute invective for good argument, and in default of reasons, to seek to crush his adversary with hard names. We treat the accusation of Toryism with indifference, relying upon the good sense of our readers, who will, we trust, form their opinions of the TRUE WITNESS, from something more substantial than the frothy declamations of its opponents. In its evil sense—we deny the justice of applying the term Tory, to the TRUE WITNESS. If by the appellation is meant one who would seek to establish, or perpetuate, a system of class-legislation, and the domination of one section of the community over another, nothing can be more unmerited than such a reproach; nor can those who delight to cast it in our teeth, instance, from the writings of the TRUE WITNESS, one passage, which, by the most malignant ingenuity can be tortured into affording a pretext for the charge. But, if by Toryism be meant, respect for authority, and the rights of property—the constant assertion of the obligations of the one, and the sanctity of the other—if by Tory be meant one who prefers truth to popularity, and who scorns to sacrifice principle, for the sake of applause, or from fear of censure—then, indeed, we willingly accept the title as the highest compliment that could be paid us. In this latter sense, all true Catholics are Tories, or Conservatives, for the Catholic Church is eminently Conservative; and it is in her communion only that we can learn how to reconcile the liberty of the individual, with the requirements of authority—and how to comport ourselves as loyal and dutiful subjects, without prejudice to our rights as citizens.

Finally, we presume not to thrust our opinions upon others, as the dogmas of infallibility. Err, we may—nay, must,—if in "raught we deviate from the teachings of the Catholic Church: and to her correction we are ever amenable. But in those matters upon which, as belonging to the domain of opinion and not of faith, she allows full scope for discussion, we claim the right of respectfully, but firmly, offering our opinion. Not as arrogantly assuming to be the organ or mouth-piece of our Irish Catholic fellow-citizens: but as one who would submit to them his views upon a question in the settlement of which, both as Irishmen and Catholics, they are deeply interested; and which it behoves them therefore to examine closely, coolly and dispassionately, and with the aid of those lights which the Church—and the Catholic Church only—can bring to bear upon it.—In so doing, we were well aware that we must expect to encounter opposition, to have our arguments misstated, and our motives misrepresented; such must ever be the lot of those who refuse to swim with the stream, and we are neither surprised, nor hurt that it has been our's; we may regret indeed, for the moment, having to differ with men for whom we have the highest respect; but far more lasting, far more poignant, would have been our regrets, had we, from fear of giving offence, belied our convictions, or refrained from giving expression to our sincere, even if erroneous, opinion—that the "Secularisation" of the "Reserves" is unjust, inexpedient, anti-Catholic in principle, and in its results fraught with danger to the best interests of the Church.

The *Christian Guardian* in its issue of the 10th—asserts "that neither the *Christian Guardian*, nor the *Wesleyan Conference*—neither the Chief Superintendent of Education, nor any other minister of the Wesleyan body, or member of the church—is committed to the sentiments contained in those letters"—from which we laid a few extracts before our readers, in the TRUE WITNESS of the 5th inst. This repudiation of the severity, and brutality of the writer signing himself "Protestant" in the *Christian Guardian*, though so far acceptable, as it shows that our Methodist friends are ashamed of their advocate, comes too late; for we have it in the words of the *Christian Guardian* himself, that he is responsible, and that his colleagues of the *Wesleyan Conference*—under whose "Direction" the *Christian Guardian* is "Published"—are responsible, for the sentiments contained in the letters which appeared in the *Christian Guardian* over the signature "Protestant." When remonstrated with by *Clericus* for inserting such vile trash in a professedly religious journal, the Rev. Editors of the *Christian Guardian* replied by the assurance that they were quite prepared to take the entire share of responsibility that belonged to them; and, therefore, as Editors of that paper, as the persons under whose "Direction" it is "Published," the members of the Wesleyan Conference are, collectively and individually, morally responsible for every line, for every word, that appears in the journal "Published under their Direction," and sanctioned by their authority. The editor or director of a paper is morally responsible for all that appears therein, unless he expressly disclaims it; but having, in fact, admitted that responsibility, it is too late to attempt to shuffle it off now.

The *Christian Guardian* further suggests that, if offended with the letters of a "Protestant" our proper work would be to deal with the statements they contain. We do so, by qualifying those statements as "lies;" and their writer as either a gross ignoramus, or a deliberate liar; this is the only way that such statements deserve to be dealt with. Surely the *Christian Guardian* would not expect a gentleman to condescend to notice seriously the malign

nant falsehoods of the "Protestant" correspondent. Titus Oates was whipt at the cart's tail—Maria Monk, rotted away in a New York jail—but no one thinks seriously of refuting Titus Oates, or Maria Monk—who, to do them justice however, were fully as respectable, well-informed, and truth loving, as the majority of Protestant controversialists, to whom "Protestant" is indebted for his wondrous stock of information concerning Popery. It is for the *Christian Guardian* to prove, and not for us to disprove, those statements; and till proved—proved too by something better than the testimony of Protestant historians—we have the right to treat them as contemptible falsehoods, which dirty knaves circulate, and silly fools believe.

As a proof of the unblushing mendacity of this "Protestant," we appeal to a letter which appeared in a late issue of the *Christian Guardian*. Therein the writer states plainly that, last summer, Protestants were murdered by Catholics during the Gavazzi riots. Now, we need not go beyond this. If the *Christian Guardian*, if the "Protestant," can mention the name of one Protestant, murdered by Catholics, either at Quebec or Montreal, during the said riots, we will acknowledge ourselves in error, and admit the credibility of "Protestant." We know of Catholics murdered in cold blood by Protestants; but we defy the *Christian Guardian* to name one single Protestant who came by his death from a Catholic's hands. The list of the slain at that sad period are published: and if "Protestant" be not what we assert him to be—a liar and slanderer—he will have no difficulty in stating which of the Protestants who lost their lives on that melancholy occasion were killed by Catholics—acting under the instructions of the Church, and the Bishops of Canada; for this is what the mean fellow insinuates. We call upon him then for proof of his assertions, or else to submit to put up with the lie that we have given him.

Does the *Christian Guardian* require additional proof of the mendacity or ignorance of his correspondent? Here it is. "Protestant" says:—

"Cardinal Bellarmine in the 4th book de Pontiff Changes, says—'If the Pope should err in commanding vice, and forbidding virtue, the Church were bound to believe that vice be good and virtue bad, unless she would sin against her own conscience; and again, in Chap 31 he says—'Christ has given to St. Peter (and consequently to the Pope) the power of making that to be sin which is no sin, and that which is no sin to be sin.'"

The *Christian Guardian* will see that the point at issue betwixt us is very simple. Did Cardinal Bellarmine, in any of his works, publish such sentiments—or sentiments in any way analogous to them? If he did not, then is "Protestant," who says that he did, a liar and slanderer; and the men who through their columns circulate his slanders are not much better: unless indeed their ignorance of the writings of the great Cardinal whom they seek to traduce may be pleaded as an excuse for their calumnies. If he did, if in any of Cardinal Bellarmine's works, such sentiments can be found, we will acknowledge ourselves in error, and renounce the religion which Cardinal Bellarmine professed.

We trust that the *Christian Guardian* will not shrink from the challenge we throw out to him; and that he will admit that "we have dealt with the statements" in "Protestant's" letter. It is for him to make good his statements against Cardinal Bellarmine; and this he can do by giving the words of the Cardinal, together with references to the place in his voluminous works, where they may be found. If he has any friends at Montreal to whom he would like to refer the question, we will undertake to produce any of Cardinal Bellarmine's works that may be required for the sake of verification. If the *Christian Guardian* declines this simple test, this speedy and satisfactory method of bringing the question of "Protestant's" voracity and credibility to a trial, he cannot complain that we "deal with his statements" as lies and slanders.—We pause for a reply.

Our cotemporary, the *Canadien*, of Quebec, says—that, in the writings of his anonymous correspondent, who of late has been pretending to enlighten his fellow-countrymen and coreligionists, on the nature and obligations of the marriage tie—he is at a loss to see "anything of a nature to draw down upon him the anathemas of the Church." We will endeavour to enlighten him.

In the articles contributed by the correspondent of the *Canadien*—and for which, if they contain any propositions repugnant to faith or morals, the Editor is morally responsible, since he is not compelled to insert such communications, and is indeed bound to reject them, if offensive to religion and decency—doubts, and more than doubts, were expressed as to the "indissolubility" of marriage, and the "immorality" of divorce; whilst the Editor of the *Journal de Quebec* was referred to the *Repertoire de Jurisprudence* in order to correct or modify his "too exclusive ideas" upon these points. From this, if there be meaning in words, we deduce the following conclusions:—

1. That, according to the writer in the *Canadien*—who, to make matters worse, presents himself to the public in the disguise of a Catholic—the "indissolubility" of marriage, and the "immorality" of divorce, are matters upon which it is permitted to doubt.

2. That an appeal to another tribunal, than that of the Church, viz.—the *Repertoire de Jurisprudence*—is permissible to Catholics.

3. That the ideas of the *Journal de Quebec*, that marriage between baptized persons is always and everywhere "indissoluble," and that divorce is always, and under all circumstances, "immoral," are too "exclusive," and should be modified.

The TRUE WITNESS thereupon asserts that, in permitting his journal to be made the medium for giving publicity to these irreligious, immoral, and anti-Catholic sentiments, the editor of the *Canadien* has rendered himself obnoxious to the anathemas contained in the following Canons of the 24th Session of the Council of Trent:—

CANON VII.—"If any one saith, that the Church has erred, in that she hath taught, and doth teach, in accordance with the evangelical and apostolical doctrine, that the bond of matrimony cannot be dissolved on account of the adultery of one of the married parties; and that both, or even the innocent one who gave not occasion to the adultery, cannot contract another marriage, during the life-time of the other; and, that he is guilty of adultery, who, having put away the adulteress, shall take another wife, as also she, who, having put away the adulterer, shall take another husband; let him be anathema."

CANON XII.—"If any one saith that matrimonial causes do not belong to the ecclesiastical judges—let him be anathema."

By the seventh Canon, the "indissolubility of marriage" is explicitly asserted, and, implicitly, the "immorality" of divorce; even adultery cannot afford a plea for the one or diminish the guilt of the other, which is as the guilt of adultery. It is not permitted, therefore, to any Catholic to doubt, or to insinuate the possibility of a doubt, as to the "indissolubility" of marriage, and the "immorality" of divorce; he who does so, is unworthy of the name of Catholic, and deservedly "draws down upon himself the anathemas of the Church," as pronounced by the Council of Trent.

By the twelfth Canon, the right of the ecclesiastical judges to decide upon all matrimonial causes, *quoad vinculum* at least, is also clearly asserted; and he who pretends that the *Repertoire de Jurisprudence* can throw any new light upon the subject, or that any civil tribunal, or any earthly potentate whatever, has any co-ordinate jurisdiction therein, sets this Canon at defiance, and thereby does again "draw down upon himself the anathemas of the Church."

Thus the immorality of divorce is as certain as is the immorality of polygamy, or of concubinage, or fornication; and he justly deserves to be branded as the enemy of society, and a corrupter of morals, who presumes to insinuate even, that, under any circumstances, either polygamy or concubinage, divorce or fornication, are permissible to the baptised Christian; or that the essential, and inherent turpitude of any of these acts can be diminished by the decrees of any earthly tribunal whatsoever. But this is what the writer in the *Canadien* has done; whilst its editor is equally culpable, for allowing his columns to be made the medium for propagating the pernicious, immoral and eminently anti-Catholic doctrines of his anonymous correspondent. If, in condemning these doctrines, the language of the TRUE WITNESS has been strong, we feel no regrets, and have no apology to offer.

The question as raised between the *Journal de Quebec* and the *Canadien*, was not whether Catholic legislators should impose their views upon the Protestants of Upper Canada; but whether the former should aid and abet the latter, in setting at defiance the laws of God, and trampling upon the obligations of morality; whether they should, in fact, legalize adultery. The "immorality" of divorce being a matter of fact, and not of opinion upon which it is permitted to differ—divorce being positively "immoral," a public scandal, and the immediate occasion of adultery—no honest conscientious Catholic legislator can, under any circumstances, assent thereto, or give any encouragement to its promoters. He may perhaps refrain from giving any opinion at all thereupon, if not applied to; but when called upon to pronounce judgment, when compelled to register his vote, he has no option left him; he must say—marriage is always "indissoluble," and divorce always, and under all circumstances, "immoral."—Thus only can he avoid participation in the sin of others; thus only can he escape the anathemas of the Church, pronounced by the Council of Trent.

Does the *Canadien* object to our doctrine? How, then, would he act, if called upon to sanction by his vote, polygamy, the practice of a large Protestant community, and of whose "immorality," as of that of divorce, there can be no doubt? Would the editor of the *Canadien*, if a member of Congress, give his legislative sanction to the practice of polygamy? Yet polygamy is as much a Protestant institution, as is divorce.

"If the editor of the *True Witness* will point out wherein the *Freeman* condemned his erroneous judgment, because of his Catholicity, we shall be prepared at once to admit the force of his reasoning, and also its consequences."—*Freeman*, May 20th.

"He, the editor of the *True Witness*, does not deny that the Legislature may lawfully deal with the question, but argues, as he says, 'from a Catholic point of view.' This, you will perceive, is shirking the merits of the question."—*Freeman*, May 6th.

In justice to our cotemporary, we should however add, that the moment he looks at the question ("Clergy Reserves") with his Catholic eyes, he sees it in the same light as does the TRUE WITNESS:—

"It is true that, as Catholics, we may not exactly like such action"—(secularisation)—"and ought not perhaps to encourage it."—*Id.*

Well then—"Don't encourage it," or encourage others to "encourage it."

The *Montreal Freeman* expresses surprise at our allusions to the *Ottawa Tribune*, the paper about to be started in Bytown by Mr. Burke; a gentleman, universally, and deservedly respected by his fellow-countrymen on the Ottawa, but of whom the *Freeman* thinks fit to speak in the most ungenerous and insulting terms. Mr. Burke is no doubt able to answer for himself, and needs not our assistance; we

shall therefore refrain from saying anything upon this part of the subject.

As to the connection of the TRUE WITNESS with the *Ottawa Tribune*, the explanation is easy, and will, we trust, mitigate the surprise of our Montreal cotemporary, even if, in other respects, it should not prove satisfactory. Of Mr. Burke's career we know nothing; we have formed our opinion of the merits of the journal he intends to publish, solely from the prospectus in which he has announced to the world the principles on which it will be conducted. Relying on the good faith of the writer, we have congratulated the Irish upon the prospect of having, at last, an independent press; one honest secular journal, able to represent their wants, and fearless to advocate their interests. We did the same when the *Montreal Freeman* appeared; and if, like the *Freeman*, the *Ottawa Tribune* should belie the expectations which his prospectus holds out—if, like our Montreal cotemporary, he should barter away his independence for ministerial pap, subsiding into a quiet docile tool of the Government—we shall, in his case, as we do now in that of the *Freeman*, candidly confess our error, and acknowledge ourselves to have been egregiously mistaken. In our frankness, in thus confessing the mistake we committed in wishing "more power" to the *Freeman*, our cotemporary has a pledge that we shall be equally frank with the *Ottawa Tribune*, if the conduct of the latter should, at any time, deserve it. Lest we should be misunderstood, we beg leave to add, that we do not endorse Mr. Burke's political views, in all their details; we strongly doubt, for instance, the propriety of an elective "Executive."

TORONTO CATHOLIC INSTITUTE.

The "Resolution" of the Catholic Institute of Toronto, in which that Society pledged itself to oppose, with all its influence, the re-election of the supporters of the present Ministry, if—"at the next Session of the Imperial Parliament, full justice be not done to the Catholics of Western Canada, with regard to the free working of their separate schools"—has gone the rounds, and provoked the comments, of the Protestant press of Upper Canada. By the *British Canadian*, and others, a false interpretation has been placed upon it; as if the Catholic Institute had thereby proclaimed its readiness to purchase the support of the Ministry on the school question, by the abandonment of Catholic principles on other important questions, which will soon be submitted to popular consideration. We do not think that the *British Canadian* understands the purport of the "Resolution"; which certainly does pledge its promoters to oppose the Ministry, if it does not grant Catholic demands for free separate schools; but which does not pledge them to support the Ministry on the "Clergy Reserves" question, even if the school question be satisfactorily adjusted. The Catholics of Toronto are, we well know, incapable of being consulting parties to a bargain, such as that hinted at by the *British Canadian*. They will act, as they always have acted, upon principle; and if hitherto they have not made any public declaration of their intentions with respect to the "Reserves," they have, no doubt, good and weighty reasons for their reticence. We certainly agree with the opinion expressed in the following article from the *Hamilton Spectator*—that the "School Question"—in so far as the interests of Catholic Separate Schools are concerned—and the "Clergy Reserves" question, are so closely connected, that the success of the first depends upon the "non-secularisation" of the Reserves. To imagine that the Catholics of Upper Canada would be able to make good their right to separate schools, against a triumphant democratic majority, flushed with victory over the Reserves, and whose avowed object is to assimilate our School system to that of the neighboring Republic, where not a vestige of "Freedom of Education" for Catholics remains—is absurd. But, on the other hand, if that party be defeated on the "Reserves" question, the settlement of the School question, on a satisfactory basis, will become of certain and easy attainment. By no other policy is it even practicable.—This is clearly seen by the *Conservative Protestant* press, as indeed it must be evident to every person possessed of the smallest modicum of political penetration. Thus, the *Hamilton Spectator* says:—

"We cannot see why the members of the Catholic Institute of Toronto should confine themselves solely to the subject of separate schools, so closely is it identified with the vexed question of the Reserves. It is true they would gain more from the former; yet why separate two questions bearing so closely upon each other? If the one fails, so must the other; and we are surprised to find that the Institute has not come out boldly, and declared, itself opposed to the secularisation of the Reserves.

The Catholic Institute knows what it is about, and is the best judge when, and how, to declare itself. When it does, we have no doubt, that the surmises and insinuations of the *British Canadian* will be found utterly destitute of foundation. The Institute has not sold, nor is it prepared to sell itself, to any Government, or to any party; and from the character of its President, we may be sure that all its decisions will bear the impress of the highest honor, and the highest wisdom. Seeking Catholic ends by Catholic means, the Toronto Institute may rely upon the sympathy and co-operation of their Lower Canadian brethren.

On Sunday last, the Bishop of Montreal, with his Coadjutor, the Bishops of Toronto, Bytown, and the Administrator of Kingston, assisted at the celebration of Vespers at St. Patrick's Church. An appropriate discourse was delivered by Bishop Phelan.—He reminded his people how often, and how long, he had labored amongst them, seeking to promote their spiritual and temporal welfare. As their pastor in

former years, he had ever exhorted them to union; union amongst themselves, and with their Catholic brethren of all origins. To-day he stood amongst them again, and gave them still the same fatherly advice. His Lordship alluded to the St. Patrick's Hospital, and to the solemn ceremony about to take place; he pointed out the advantages which that Institution held out to the sick and needy Irish immigrant; nor to him alone, but to every man—no matter of what country, or of what creed—whose sufferings demanded relief. In the poor, the Church knew only the suffering members of Jesus Christ; and in ministering to them, she knew that she was ministering to Him. Who for our sakes became poor, and abject amongst the children of men.

The preacher then explained the intention of the Church in her ceremonies, and in her benedictions; wherewith all creatures were sanctified. The benediction about to be pronounced upon the St. Patrick's Hospital was for all who in any way were connected therewith. For the Priest who visited, for the Nuns who tended, and especially for the sick, who so greatly stood in need of the spiritual consolations which the Church alone knows how to dispense to her children, in health, in sickness, and at the last dread moment when the soul is about to appear in the presence of its Judge. Finally, His Lordship concluded his forcible address by calling upon his hearers—as many of them as conveniently could—to accompany him, and the other Prelates, to the St. Patrick's Hospital, and to assist at the religious ceremonies.

After Vespers, the Bishops proceeded to the Hospital, where the Bishop of Toronto delivered, in French, a short, but touching address. "Happy Montreal!"—said his Lordship—"happy Catholics of Montreal, who can reckon up in your midst so many excellent charitable, educational, and religious institutions; in which the wants of the body are provided for, and the higher wants of the immortal soul are carefully watched over. Happy people of Montreal! how many thanks do you not owe to your venerable Bishop, to whom, and to whose untiring zeal, you are indebted, under God, for all these noble specimens of Catholic charity."

After this discourse, the ceremony of Benediction, according to the ritual, was proceeded with, and a collection for the poor was taken up. We are happy to learn that great additional accommodation for the sick has been provided; that new wards have been opened up, and that the Nuns are making great exertions to meet the demands which, in a short time, will be made upon them.

On Monday evening, at 5 p.m., the pealing of the bells from the Churches announced that the above-mentioned Prelates, to whose number we must add the Bishop of St. Hyacinthe, were about to embark for Quebec. Their Lordships visited first our Lady's Chapel of Bonsecour; whence, having offered up their prayers, and craved the protection of her whom the Church delights to call upon as "*Auxilium Christianorum*," and having assisted at the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, they proceeded to the wharf, which was crowded by numbers of our citizens, anxious to see, and receive the parting blessing of their venerated Pastors. At 6 p.m., they started for Quebec in the *John Munn*.

On our first page we publish Mr. Duffy's admirable, and truly eloquent letter to Mr. Meagher; we are not without hopes that such an appeal, coming from such a man, the ancient ally, the bosom friend with whom he was wont to take counsel, may yet have its effects upon the talented, but misguided young man to whom it is addressed. It will be a pleasant sight to see Meagher once more enrolled amongst the Catholic patriots of Ireland. What has he to do with the foul demagogues who bring disgrace upon their country, and do foul wrong to her holy cause?

With one voice, the friends of Ireland, her true patriots, denounce democracy, and proclaim the Church as the sole hope for Ireland's restoration. It is as Catholics, and not as Irishmen, that they have been persecuted; it is their faith, not their nationality, which draws down upon them, to-day as in the days of Elizabeth and Cromwell, the unquenchable hatred of the Protestant; and therefore is it that only by their constant adherence to their faith—which is the great national idea of Ireland—can Irishmen hope, either at home or abroad, to promote that cause whose interests they profess to have at heart. Without her Church, without her faith, Ireland—Protestantised Ireland—would be but a geographical expression; so many acres of arable land, mountain and bog.

This is the burden of Duffy's lament over the defection of the ardent, talented, but sadly misguided Meagher. The Catholic Church is the only truly national institution which yet remains to Ireland; supplying the want of Ireland's ancient Courts of Parliament. The Bishops of the Church are Ireland's true senators; her Priests, Ireland's legislators, statesmen, and chieftains; and to them is it given to be the regenerators of their country. And thus we see, that conscious of the secret of Ireland's strength, and of her apparently indestructible vitality, the first effort of Protestantism is always and everywhere directed against the influence of the Catholic Priest over the politics of his people. It would leave us our religion for Sundays, and Festivals of Obligation; but it would prohibit its influence over our daily lives and actions. It is the same here in Canada. "Be Catholics if you will," is the insidious cry of Protestantism, "but let not yourselves be Priest-ridden. They may baptise you, and administer to you the rites of your religion; but they must not guide you, nor direct you as citizens." By the voice of Meagher, it bids us "exclude the Priest from politics"—knowing well that the Catholic who boasts that he allows not his religion to control his politics, will very soon allow his politics to control his religion, and will finish by having no religion at all, either to control, or be con-

trolled. The tactics of Protestant democracy are the same all over the world.

As then, Irishmen have the same foes to combat here, as in their native land; as here they are exposed to the same hostile influences as at home, so also by the same weapons with which, in Ireland, the cause of Ireland must be fought, must victory be won here. He indeed must be wilfully blind who cannot see that, in Canada, the religious element enters largely into all the political questions of the day; and that, amongst our opponents, all political combinations are formed on an anti-Catholic basis. Hostility to Popery is the sole bond of union amongst them; and to gratify that hostility, there is no sacrifice—we do not say of principle, but—of old political hatreds, that they are not prepared to make. We can only hope to oppose them successfully, by rallying round the Church, and by unanimously consenting to waive all minor differences. "The old party watch words of—'Reformer'—'Liberal'—are obsolete, mere unmeaning cries, wherewith our adversaries would seek to distract our counsels, and to sow division in our ranks. Let us not heed them, nor be made the dupes of such shallow artifices. We are numerous, and, if united, powerful to repel all attacks that may be directed against us; but above all powerful, nay, irresistible, if, turning a deaf ear alike to the clamors of factious demagoguism on the one hand, and to the blandishments of office-holders, and office-seekers, on the other, we take the Church for our guide in politics; and, in all our actions, and in the exercise of all our civic rights, with singleness of heart, make her interests our object, directing all our energies to one end—the good of the Church, and "*Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*." So mote it be.

Hitherto the war has been popular in England.—John Bull has seen only one side of the medal, but he is now called upon to look on the reverse; its appearance is not so pleasant, for the tax-gatherer is the prominent device thereon. We have had too, very pleasant accounts of the sailing of fleets, of naval reviews in the presence of Majesty, with kissing of hands, salvos of artillery, three cheers, red coats, flying colors, and brass bands discoursing most eloquent music; now we are called upon to listen to the voice of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, enumerating, one by one, the cost of the different items. We copy from the *London Times* of the 5th inst.; it will be seen that war is a very expensive amusement:—

"The present war is a people's war, and the people will not object to pay for it. Pay for it, however, undoubtedly they will, and that very heavily indeed. Soldiers and sailors on all sides are warning us not to risk our wooden walls against stone fortifications. There is danger in shallow waters, and wear and tear in stormy seas. So we are advised to do the work with a strong but quiet and patient hand,—to blockade and starve out the foe, and produce all the effects of war by a mere exhibition of power, but with hardly striking a blow. All this will be expensive, and is very expensive already. The estimates are now before the House, and will astonish our readers, unless they have taken the pains to follow up every paragraph of "Preparation for War" with some little calculation of their own. We say the Estimates, but we should rather say the Supplementary Estimates; for an advance of about three millions on the expenditure of the previous year has already been voted. The Supplementary Estimate of the charge of the Army for the year 1854-1855, over and above the augmentation already voted, is £800,000. That for the Navy, including the transport of troops, horses, and ordnance, is no less than £4,553,731. That for Ordnance is £742,132. The total is £5,595,863. This is only an estimate, which in war, and especially in such a war as that we are waging, always falls far short of the actual cost. Including what has been voted, here is not far from ten millions, which the British public are cheerfully putting down as one year's subscription to the great work of international police, to the protection of the weak, and the chastisement of the aggressor."

"When the time for action comes, the Reformers of Upper Canada will be fully prepared to stand firmly by the 'Voluntary principle,' and support no man who will refuse to pledge himself to the secularisation of the Reserves."—*Bathurst Courier*, 19th inst.

Whatever the "Reformers of Upper Canada" may be prepared to do, we trust that Catholics will remember, that they cannot, without setting themselves in opposition to their Church, avow themselves supporters of the "Voluntary principle" *par excellence*; and that by asserting that "principle" in Upper Canada, they assert a "principle" which if true, should be of universal application. That it is only upon this principle—that all State assistance in aid of religion is wrong, and should be discontinued—that the propriety of "secularisation" can be maintained, is what we have often insisted upon; and we are glad to see that all the ablest of the advocates of that measure openly put it forward as the principle of their whole policy in the Reserves question. We would also remind our Catholic readers, that the advocate of Voluntaryism in religion, is, in Upper Canada, invariably the supporter of a compulsory system of education; and that to his confession of Faith—"No Church Endowments"—he subjoins this also—"No Separate Schools for Papists."

The Millerites have fixed the 26th of May, (to-day) for the downfall of Antichrist and the commencement of the Millennium. Wouldn't George Brown and the Angel Gabriel assist with joy at the consummation? The pagan descendants of the pilgrim fathers at Boston are engaged in preparatory movements. They have made an attack on a Catholic Church and demolished the Cross. The convent burners will not be alone in their glory. This the *Globe* calls "liberty of speech." The idea is its own. There is no plagiarism, as there is no known source whence it could be stolen. Its originality is evident.—*Toronto Mirror*.

The Archbishop of New York promises a rejoinder to Mr. Senator Cass' attack upon him in the Senate House. It will be anxiously looked for, as is all that comes from that illustrious Prelate's pen.

Wednesday being the Queen's birthday was observed as a holiday. In the evening, there was a procession of Firemen, with torches and music, followed by a display of fire-works on the island wharf.

We have to thank Mr. McKay for a copy of his carefully prepared, and interesting work, "*The Strangers Guide*." It will be found, a most useful little book for the tourist; containing within a small compass a large amount of historical, and statistical information. We have also a map of Canada, showing the lines of canals, and railroads, and views of the principal cities with their public buildings, in both sections of the Province.

We copy with regret the following announcement of the death of Mr. T. O'Brien, the father of one of the clergymen of our St. Patrick's congregation:—

Died, on the 26th ult., in the 88th year of his age, Mr. Tom O'Brien, of Aughacrag, County Tyrone, father of the Rev. Charles O'Brien, P.P. of Aughacrag, and of the Rev. Michael O'Brien of the Society of St. Sulpice, Montreal, C. E.

The deceased—an enterprising and successful farmer, and cattle merchant—had for nearly seventy years carried on his extensive business, with profit to himself, and to the advantage of his neighborhood. Few men were better known to, or esteemed by, the public; and it is singular that, during the many years of his long and active life, he was never in Court—never took an oath, and never had an enemy. By all who knew him, he was respected in life, and in his death regretted, as one who had always given a bright example, of strong faith, and practical charity. Fortified in his last moments, with the rites and Sacraments of the Church, which he received with fervor, recollection and devotion, whilst his good confessor still pressed the emiclitix to his pallid lips, his spirit passed away without a struggle. Reader, pray for the repose of his soul.—R.F.P.

Acknowledgments in our next.

RAWDON AND ITS VICINITY.

To the Editor of the *True Witness*.

Sir—Permit me, through your valuable journal, to draw a little attention to this part of the country and its resources, so near to the great mart of Canada, and so advantageously situated for settlement by men of small capital, desirous of making a home for themselves and families in the woods of Canada.

In the rear of this Township, and that of Wilkenny, lie the Townships of Chertsey, Wexford, Chilton, and Doncaster, much of which are already surveyed into lots, and open for sale; the two former have been very well settled within these three years past, chiefly by the surplus population of the neighboring Townships and Parishes. There are already in the neighborhood, numerous saw and grist mills, to supply the growing wants of the settlement. A splendid little Church has also been erected last year, in the Township of Chertsey, by the indefatigable exertions of the Rev. L. L. Poinningville, P.P. of Rawdon, with its steeple and bells complete. These advantages, added to the liberal grant of one thousand pounds by the Government, to be expended in opening out new roads, will be expended on about 20 miles of road leading in the direction of Chilton and Doncaster, and terminating in a fertile tract of good land.

The colonizing views of the Government have lately been met by the liberality of the Municipal Council of Leinster; in this township the Council has adopted the expenses necessary to be incurred in having roads dammed, and put under Municipal regulations. The roads leading from the village of Rawdon, to meet the Government roads in Chertsey and Wexford, which will be proceeded with this summer, and which will open out a direct communication of 35 miles back from the Rawdon Railroad Depot, branching out in different directions.

These Townships are diversified with beautiful lakes, which abound with red trout of a large size, and watered by the rivers Lac Quaran and North River, and the tributaries of the river L'Assomption; on all of which extensive lumbering operations are going on at present, and through which traverse the Industry Village and Rawdon Railroads which yielded last year a profit entirely unexpected.

The fertility of the soil, the proximity to the best market in Canada, together with the facilities to be derived from the Railroad, leave no doubt of the advantages to be derived by settlers with small means, as well as by men of large capital who might take advantage of the numerous water privileges existing on the different rivers.

It is found by experience that the very low rate at which the Crown Lands have been sold for some time past, has added to the increased demand for the same; thus an unusual quantity of those lands have been disposed of lately to settlers.

The new Representation Act will still further add to the prosperity of this part of the country; as its Townships (with a few of the neighboring Parishes) will form the new County of Montcalm, with St. Patrick of Rawdon for the County town. When that law comes in force, the people will have the right to send to Parliament a representative who will forward their views, and add to the growing prosperity of the country.

A RAWDON MAN.

Rawdon, May 20, 1851.

CHOLERA AT GROSSE ISLE.—The *Primrose* which arrived at Grosse Isle on the 20th instant, had lost, as we learn from the *Quebec Observer*, twenty-five passengers from cholera. No deaths had occurred since the 25th of April; and there are now no symptoms of the disease on board. The passengers have been lauded at the healthy end of the island for the purpose of purification. Some children have also been sent ashore, sick of the measles.—*Montreal Herald*.

Died.

In this city, on the 23rd inst., Mr. John Mahony, aged 52; long a respected resident of this city.—R.F.P.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

It is stated on authority that, before the end of the present year, the French army in Turkey, under Marshal de St. Arnaud, will number at least 150,000 men, and that it is supposed that the English contingent will be increased to 50,000.

An imperial decree calls into active service on land and about 80,000 men from the 140,000 of the class of 1853. It has been stated that the French Eastern contingent will be increased to 100,000 men, and that a camp will be established at Boulogne, with a view to an expedition to the Baltic, if required.

THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH AND THE POOR.—A Paris correspondent says:—"The Emperor is always striving to ameliorate the condition of the lower orders. Hitherto the dead poor have been carted away, without even maimed rites or the bringing home of bell and burial. However, last year, the Emperor caused two chaplains to be attached to each of the three cemeteries, for the express purpose of reciting the prayers of the Church over the bodies of the poor; and instead of having the bodies placed one on the other, his Majesty directed that they should be placed side by side, and separated by earth. In addition to this, the Municipal Council of Paris has just decided that the bodies of persons not claimed by their families, of soldiers of the garrison, and of those taken to the Morgue, which have heretofore only been placed in packing cloth, shall henceforth be put in coffins, and that the chaplains shall be charged once a day to recite prayers over them also, though they are buried in an entirely separate part of the cemeteries."

GERMAN POWERS.

The position of Austria and Prussia seems to be at last tolerably well-defined. By the Vienna protocol of 9th ult. the Four Powers unite in affirming the independence of the Ottoman empire, demanding the evacuation of the Principalities, and protecting the Christian subjects of the Porte; and each Power binds itself not to enter into arrangements with the Czar under any circumstances, without a previous general conference. Independent of this basis, there exists a treaty between England and France of the 10th of April; and between Austria and Prussia of the 20th. The Anglo-French Convention, not only binds the Western Powers to rescue the territory of Abdul-Medjid, but pledges them to "secure Europe against the return of the deplorable complications which have disturbed the general peace." As far as the terms of the Austro-Prussian treaty have been ascertained, they present no condition but what had been already contained in the general note of the 9th. So that while England and France pledge themselves to secure the peace of Europe by guarantees not existing before the war—the German powers may declare themselves satisfied if the Russians re-cross the Pruth. This amiable arrangement, however, is likely to be seriously modified by the chances and necessities of the war; and perhaps Austria will have abandoned her neutrality ere a shot has been fired.—*Nation*.

AUSTRIA.

THE EMPEROR'S MARRIAGE.—On the 23rd ult. the Princess Elizabeth was conducted in state, as the Emperor's affianced bride, from the Theresianum, in the suburb Wieden, to the Imperial Palace in the city.

It is almost unnecessary to say that the bride was everywhere enthusiastically received.

Several recent measures of the government have shown that a more conciliatory internal policy is about to be pursued, and the Emperor has displayed his desire to be on better terms with his Hungarian subjects. When the deputies were presented to the Emperor they found her in the national costume. The Emperor addressed them in Hungarian, with the words "Here you see your Queen, whom I shall soon take to visit her subjects in Hungary." The Hungarians are a most impressive race, and the word "Queen" produced a singular effect upon the whole deputation.

RUSSIA.

The *Journal de St. Petersburg* of the 23rd ult. contains a proclamation from the Emperor to his people, in which he represents the war against England and France as one undertaken in defence of the Orthodox Faith.

England and France, he says, have thrown off the mask and revealed their real object, which is to weaken Russia and to deprive her of her powerful position in Europe.

Russia will fight for the Christian faith, in defence of her co-religionists, oppressed by their merciless enemies.

THE BALTIC FLEET.

The smallpox has made its appearance on board the fleet. The *Chronicle's* correspondent writes, that the ravages of the smallpox appears to be confined to the James Watt, which lost a great many men. Several English ships of war had their crews vaccinated.

Russian fleet reported to have sailed from Helsingford, May 5th, when Admiral Napier signalled the Allied fleets to prepare for sea immediately.

A Berlin despatch, dated Monday, April 24th, states that, according to news from St. Petersburg great preparations were making there for the defence of the capital in case of an attack, which seems much dreaded. The imperial family will retire to Petershof.

THE SEAT OF WAR.

The cruel manner in which the war was carried on in the Dobrudscha is told in a letter in the *German Wochenchrift*, dated April 17:—

"The Russian soldiers gave no quarter; they put to the sword every man they made prisoner at Mat-

sibin and Hirsova, in the entrenchments of Tzernavodo and Karussa. We need not wonder, then, at the Turks, especially the Egyptians, when they fight on to the last, and die sword in hand, though overwhelmed by numbers." The writer then gives further details respecting the dead and wounded lying unburied, but stripped, on the wild plain of the Dobrudscha, where vultures are feasting and pestilence commencing.

The Russians have experienced a considerable check at Chernavoda, and have just evacuated Lesser Wallachia.

"Omar Pasha advanced with 70,000 men towards the Dobrudscha, on the 18th or 19th ult., and a battle took place with the corps of General Luders, between Silistria and Rassoava. During the night Omar Pasha had dispatched a division in the direction of the Black Sea, and when the battle was at its height the next day, this corps attacked the Russians in their rear, causing unexampled confusion and consternation. Gen. Luders retreated towards Tschernavoda, and it is said that the Russians lost many guns, ammunition stores, baggage waggons, and even their military chest.

On the 20th a Turkish flying corps crossed the Danube below Silistria, in order to destroy the Russian strand batteries. They advanced to Kalasch, where there was hard fighting for some hours. The Turks fought like lions, but being terribly overmatched were ultimately forced to retreat.

SEMLIN, APRIL 28.—The Turks advanced into Little Wallachia, and were received with the greatest enthusiasm. The Russians were making tremendous preparations for a regular attack on Silistria.

Letters from Constantinople of the 13th state that Kossuth and Mazzini were expected at Constantinople, and that Reschid Pasha had declared he would not allow them to set foot on Turkish territory.

The English government have sent despatches to Constantinople advising the establishment of a Polish legion in Turkey to operate against the Czar.

The Governor of Gallipoli, a quiet old Turk, is dead, fairly worried to death by the French auxiliaries. The exact and organizing intellect of the Gallic race has already made a revolution in the place. Before the troops had been there three days they had named the streets, numbered the houses, and established a police. The quiet routine of the good Bey's life was broken through; he was incessantly assailed by generals and colonels, and was held responsible for all that was done or left undone within his jurisdiction. He took to his bed, and has not survived to see the changes which threaten his native country.

GREEK INSURRECTION.

Despatches from Vienna state that the insurgents have been defeated in Janina and Preveza, with a loss of 100 killed and 120 prisoners, four guns, and sixty barrels of powder. Grivas has been defeated at Metzova, and has fled to Thessaly with sixteen men.

The circular of Count Nesselrode has produced on the minds of the Greeks the effect that might have been anticipated. The religious fanaticism is roused in all its force, and their dream now is the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire with the aid of that Power to which they are devoted body and soul. Such is the gratitude of the Greeks to the Western Powers, who procured for them their independence, and who wished to make of the petty kingdom of Greece a rampart against the Muscovite power. The governments of England and France will learn when too late how deceived they have been in the Greek character, and how, in forming a Greek kingdom, they were only working for the advantage of Russia, to whom they have given auxiliaries in the realization of her ambitious projects.

AUSTRALIA.

THE GOLD FIELDS.—By the latest advices, it appears that the intelligence from the gold fields is a shade more favorable. The diggers were returning to work after a somewhat prolonged indulgence in the festivities of Christmas; and the quantity of gold brought down by the last escort shows a slight increase.

The *Law Times* warns professional gentlemen not to flock to Australia. The many barristers and attorneys who have recently emigrated have been grievously disappointed; there is little legal business to transact, and great competition for the practice;—numbers of the profession have been obliged to earn a livelihood by turning day laborers or even menial servants.

STRENGTH OF RUSSIA IN THE BALTIC.

The Gulf of Finland, which is the high road to St. Petersburg, is protected, in the first instance, by a group of islands which bear the name of the largest—Aland. This granite Archipelago encloses a perfect labyrinth of straits and bays studded with minor islands, and so fringed with reefs and banks as to make the navigation often impossible—always hazardous. At the very entrance the navigation is difficult, and our fleet shall have to trust for its guidance to the activity of our own surveyors, as it is incredible that the Russian Government will maintain the existing lights and beacons for the use of a hostile fleet. Almost exactly opposite, and only a few hours' steam from the entrance of the Gulf are the fortresses of Sveaborg on the north, and Revel on the south. The entrance to Helsingfors Bay lies between Langern and Vester Svart. It is about 200 yards wide, and a vessel daring enough to attempt the passage is exposed to the fire of two islands, while she will be in danger of being raked by the guns of another island which lies behind them. It is the union of natural and artificial fortifications which has given Sveaborg the name of the Gibraltar of the North; and the navigation is critical and dangerous and the works and batteries—presenting a successive front of a mile in length—are absolutely portentous. Not can Sir Chas. Napier resist the temptation of attacking a fort which contains, at the present moment, eight sail of the line, a frigate, corvette, and three steamers of the Russian

Baltic fleet? The boasted impregnability of Revel may be regarded as a gratuitous assumption, and it remains to be seen whether, if Sveaborg is secured by art and nature, the fleets could not fire their earliest shots in the neighborhood of St. Petersburg itself?—From the two points we have just mentioned the Gulf widens until it is once more contracted to a very narrow channel, at the east end of which are St. Petersburg, and the estuary of the Neva. The boasted fortress of Cronstadt is the bulwark of the modern capital, and the question is how it is to be approached.—Two ways only are open to the adventurous mariner. Either he may round Cronstadt to the north, and steer between the island and the Finnish shores, or he may round it to the south, between the island and the Ingrian shore. The northern channel, however, is impracticable. It is filled with rows of piles, five or six miles in length, which, with blocks of stone and other materials, form a barrier impassable to any but small craft. The southern channel is also sufficiently difficult. Whatever is done must be done in the presence of forts bristling with guns in channels whose width can be measured by a few yards. Still, the Russian faith in the impregnability of Cronstadt is wavering. Already the Emperor has thought it prudent to look to the "street" as well as to the "lock of the street door," and has actually planned a mortar battery for the defence of the palace of Peterhoff, which could only be necessary in case of a successful attack upon Cronstadt. After such a fashion is the Northern Bear shut up in his domains. It is incredible that he will oppose his fleets to certain destruction by facing his enemy in the Baltic; and it remains to be seen either what can be effected by Saxon energy, or how long the Muscovite barbarian will endure the presence of his uninvited guests.

The bombardment of Odessa seems to have been in revenge for the Russian batteries having fired upon a flag of truce. Speaking of this feat of arms the *Dublin Nation* says:—"As for the much-vaunted bombardment of Odessa, its only historical parallel seems to be the achievement of that illustrious French monarch who—

"With twenty thousand men,

Marched up the hill; and then—marched down again." Dundas and Hamelin assailed Odessa on the 22nd of April, according to the despatches. On the 23rd, they suspended hostilities and summoned the city to surrender, threatening to renew the attack next day.—Our latest accounts represent them as sailing away on the 26th, leaving the wealthy burghers of Odessa undisturbed."

The town of Odessa was founded by Catherine II., after she had extended her dominions, in 1792, to the banks of the Dniester, and in sixty years it has become the emporium of the trade of Southern Russia. Its population, exclusive of the garrison, exceeds 70,000, and the total amount of its export and import trade was valued in 1849 at about £4,500,000. The town is built on cliffs, which rise to a considerable height above the sea, and form a sort of amphitheatre round the bay. It is fortified according to the modern principles of defence, and the citadel, on the east side of the town, commands the port. The port itself is formed by two large moles, one of which is regularly defended by a parapet, with embrasures for cannon. The anchorage in the bay is good, and the water so deep that vessels of the first class may lie within reach of the shore.

THE RUSSIAN NAVY.—A writer in *Fraser's Magazine* gives the following as an authentic summary of the effective naval strength of Russia in the Baltic and Black Seas:—

	Baltic.	Black Sea.	Total.
Ships of the Line, ...	20	15	45
Frigates, ...	3	6	9
Brigs, &c., ...	6	6	12
Steamers, ...	8	8	16
General Total,	37	35	72

THE ARMY OF RUSSIA.—The *Constitutional* says: One of the pretensions of Russia is to possess an effective military force of at least 800,000 men, and according to some official returns, would even reach the figure of 1,200,000 men. It can be easily conceived with what idea the Russian government puts into circulation such figures. But if history be considered, it will be at once seen that this force never existed except on paper. At the period when Russia was attacked in her own territory, when her nationality was at stake in 1812, she had scarcely 200,000 men on foot. In 1813 she had great difficulty in sending 150,000 men into Germany; and in 1815 all the Russian troops that had passed the Rhine, concentrated at the Camp of Verms only gave 120,000 men. It is, therefore, only under the force of the gravest circumstances that Russia, for the last half century, succeeded in once getting into the field 200,000 men; and even then, as we have said, it was when she was attacked in the very heart of her territory. In her enterprises abroad, she has never disposed of more than 150,000 men. That is about the number, we believe, of the army charged to act in Turkey, and to meet events on the shores of the Black Sea; and as Russia has to defend herself beyond the Caucasus and on the Baltic at the same time that she is obliged to augment her forces in Poland, we doubt that the army of the Danube cannot easily repair its losses.—Let no one consequently be deceived by the exaggeration of a government which is colossal only in the extent of its territory, and which is on that very account obliged to scatter its forces on various points to resist powers which dispose of the sea.

The taking of Cronstadt, if Cronstadt be not impregnable, would inflict a blow on the Russian Empire more terrible than the loss of ten provinces, since it would thereby lose its navy. St. Petersburg would soon find itself besieged at the entrance of the Neva, and bombarded by a flotilla which would be supported by the fleet in the possession of Cronstadt. This danger, is not, perhaps, imaginary. It is for this reason that the Russian Government has collected together round that port the most formidable means of defence. Peter the Great, in founding his capital, also founded Cronstadt, in which his genius must be admired; for it must be seen that without Cronstadt St. Petersburg the Superb with its eight feet of water, would only be a small coasting port, that might be blockaded and bombarded by gunboats.

Oriental coins have lately been found in abundance in Russia and the Scandinavian countries bordering upon the Baltic, thus affording strong evidence of former extensive commerce between Asia and these

northern countries. In Sweden, and more especially in the Island of Gothland, so great was the quantity of these Arabian coins found at different times that upwards of twenty thousand divers pieces of money all of which have been coined in different cities or towns subject to the authority of the Mahometan caliphs. With these coins there have been found numerous rich ornaments, consisting of rings and other silver articles, distinguished by a peculiar oriental workmanship.

PRIVATEERING.—The savage business—the destruction or confiscation of private property in war—has, we trust, received its death-blow. England and France have both decided not to issue letters of marque to Americans; and it is believed that our Government has expressed to those powers its determination not to tolerate the fitting out of privateers within its jurisdiction to operate against the vessels of either of the belligerents. If this determination should be faithfully carried out, it will obviate the greatest danger which exists, of our being ultimately involved in the conflict. A few years ago the United States was at war with Mexico. Our commerce was floating on every sea, and it privateers had been fitted out in England and France, or either of them, with letters of marque from Mexico, the damage done to our commercial interest would have been immense. But during the whole of that war not a single American merchantman was captured on the high seas. This shows that the English and French governments afford no countenance to such acts of robbery—say, that they exerted their influence to prevent them. The United States now has an opportunity to return the compliment. By all means let her do so, not merely because it is a just reciprocity, but because it is right in itself, and its opposite is wrong. A convention between the United States and England and France is probably under negotiation at this moment, which will henceforth prevent privateering, and will also establish, by mutual consent, the principal long contended for by the United States, that neutral ships make free goods, except contraband of war. The admission of this principle on the part of the belligerents will create an immense demand for our vessels during the war, both steamers and sailing vessels. For all freights and passengers, it will give our vessels a decided preference over English, French, Russian and, in fact, over the vessels of any other nation. We hope our people, as well as our government, will have the wisdom to use their privileges without abusing them. We must expect some annoyances here and there, growing out of the war; but if we are patient and forbearing, even under provocations (which we can well afford to be), they will not harm us. As lookers-on, and perhaps ultimately as an umpire between the belligerents, the United States has its proper work to perform, and we trust will not be found wanting.—*New York Journal of Commerce*.

The *Dublin Weekly Telegraph* defines the term "Swaddler," as commonly applied to the ranting hypocrites of the "Priests Protection Society."

The word "Swaddler" is applied in Ireland to the Wesleyan Methodists peculiarly; but it is sometimes extended to the other sects of Protestants, or rather to individuals of other sects, when they publicly give the proof that they are tainted with the evil habits of the Swaddlers—that is, of the followers of John Wesley; thus a clergyman of the Established religion, who renders himself odious by propagating lies and slanders against the Catholics, is called a Swaddling Parson; and we have known of Presbyterians, but not many, being designated Swaddling Presbyterians.

Of all the Protestant sects in Ireland, the most odious to the Catholics are the Methodists; because, from the day they were first founded, they have ever proved themselves to be consistent, at least, to one of the principles laid down by their heresiarch, John Wesley—that is in calumniating and persecuting the Catholics.

Of Wesley, the primo Swaddler, it is sufficient to say this much, to show his inconsistency and his intolerance, that in vol. xxii. of his works, p. 38, he laid down this principle in his tract, "Beauties of Methodism":—

"Religious liberty is a liberty to choose our own religion, to worship God according to our own consciences, according to the best light we have. Every man living, as man, has a right to this, as he is a rational creature."

This was what Wesley maintained for himself and his followers; but this rule he would not permit to be applied to the Catholics. On the contrary, when a remission of the Penal Laws against Catholics occurred in England, in 1778, Wesley took a leading part in stirring up the bigotry and exciting the fanaticism of the ignorant English and misinstructed Scotch—he circulated the most atrocious calumnies against the Catholics—incited the persecutors to associate themselves together in what was called "the Protestant Association," for the purpose of having the Penal Laws renewed; and in one of his publications, a letter, dated "City Road, January 12, 1780," he put forward the following atrocious and abominable sentiments:—

"Suppose every word of Pope Pius's creed to be true—suppose the Council of Trent to have been infallible—yet I insist upon it, that no Government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion."

Again, in the same letter, he says of the Catholics— "They ought not to be tolerated by any Government, Protestant, Mahometan, or Pagan."

The date of John Wesley's letter, it will be perceived, was January 12, 1780. His sentiments were responded to and acted upon in a very few months; for on the 2nd of June, 1780, the "Protestant Association," in whose defence this inconsistent individual had been writing, marched from the well-known Methodist meeting ground at Kennington Common (see *Notes and Queries*, April 22nd, 1854), to commence its work of pillage and incendiarism in London—burning Catholic chapels, robbing the houses of Catholics, and causing no less than thirty-six fires to be blazing at one time—all of Catholic chapels, or houses of Catholics, or the houses of those supposed to be friendly to Catholics—while the misdeeds of Wesleyan thieves and villains of London were imitated in Hull, Bristol, Bath, and other places.

As to the Catholics of Ireland, they have always made a great distinction between the Wesleyan Methodists and other sects of Protestants, and for very plain and obvious reasons. The Catholics, when oppressed by Penal Laws, found on many an occasion

amongst the Established Church Protestants, both clergy and laity, friends and protectors; and in the struggle for Emancipation they found allies, not only amongst Established Church Protestants but also among the Presbyterians. The Catholics have, in fact, met with "liberal Protestants" amongst all sects of Protestants but one—and that sect had John Wesley for its founder. A liberal Methodist is a thing unheard of and unknown. There have been even among the Quakers professing Liberals, however false; but the only hypocrisy of which the Wesleyans cannot be accused, "is pretending to be liberal."

They are regarded by Catholics as a low, canting, mean-spirited combination of vulgar sectarians—as the outcasts in the Protestant camp—as not being of the same race, rank, or education as the Established Church Protestants; and it is even the belief of the Catholics, that there never was yet seen a handsome or a well looking Methodist—an opinion which certainly cannot be entertained either of Irish Established Church Protestants, or of Irish Presbyterians—the former being a fine manly race, and the latter a stalwart, gallant body of men. The Methodists, on the other hand, are regarded as stunted in their growth as they are in intellect, making, one and all, preachers and laymen, a trade of religion—a remark which is deemed to be peculiarly applicable to the preachers, who undertake to teach others when they are themselves without education; and many of them so grossly ignorant that they do not know their own language, and when they give utterance to it, frequently express themselves in vulgarisms, mispronouncing even the most common words.

Now, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the term Swaddler is applied to the members of the Methodist sect, with the distinct purpose of expressing the contempt which the Catholics entertain for them. And with this explanation we come to the origin of the word Swaddler.

In Swaddler derived from the verb "Swaddla," itself a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon word, "Swedan," and which, in its pure signification, means "to swathe, to bind in clothes," as is done with new born infant? or is it derived from the low, indelicate word Swaddle, to beat, to cudgel? and as such is introduced into that poem, *Hudibras*, which was written for the purpose of exposing to contempt low, vulgar fanatics, taking upon themselves the duty of preaching the Gospel. Thus Butler writes—

Great on the bench, great in the saddle,
That could as well bind o'er as swaddle.

Another origin for the word Swaddler, as applied to the Methodist preachers, may be found in the word "swaddle," itself a corruption of the word "wattle," "to prate, to gabble, to chatter," and so used as being descriptive of the discourses of the Methodist preachers to their followers?

Or is Swaddler derived from the word Waddle, as portraying the habits, appearance, and manners of the Methodist preachers, many of whom, by the change of a word, will be found described in the lines of Young—

He draws his words, and waddles in his pace,
Unwashed his hands, and much besmears his face.

To waddle, tracing it up to its German root *wanken*, has more than one signification, which would make it applicable to the Methodists, for it is not merely, like the English, to "waddle in one's gait," but also "to be a turn coat."

Amongst all the derivations for the word Swaddler there is one generally accepted, but which we regard as apocryphal—it is that, amongst the first of the Wesleyans who preached in Ireland, one of them chose the text from St. Luke, ch. ii., v. vii., for his text; and that, boasting of his new sect, and its being then in its infancy, he blasphemously compared it to our Blessed Lord, described in the text as "in swaddling clothes," and that upon this profane use, combined with the vulgar manner of pronouncing the word "swaddling," the name Swaddler was given to the Wesleyans. The story to which we refer rests upon no positive authority—we can trace it to no authentic source; and our reason for treating it as apocryphal, is that we find no allusion made to it by the celebrated Father O'Leary in his works, although in his reply to Wesley, in 1780, we find him use the word Swaddler as a name then applied to the Wesleyan Methodist. The following is the sentence from Father O'Leary's reply to Wesley's inflammatory letter sustaining the Protestant Association—the priest is arguing in favor of peace and toleration, and thus expresses himself, wishing that all memorials of past dissensions should be destroyed:—

"And if, upon mature deliberation, we decree that Mr. Wesley's journal and his apology for the Association's appeal should share the same fate with the old buckrams, we will procure them a gentle fall. After having rocked ourselves in the large and hospitable cradle of the free press—where the peer and the commoner, the priest and the alderman, the friar and Swaddler, can stretch themselves at full length, provided they be not too churlish; let us laugh at those who breed useless quarrels, and set to the world the bright example of toleration and benevolence."

It is not improbable that the term Swaddler, as applied to the Methodist preachers, was suggested by the following description given of a hypocritical fanatic, in "Ward's Cantos," which, it is to be remembered, was written at about the close of the seventeenth or commencement of the eighteenth century—a good many years, certainly, before John Wesley was born:—

Though form of prayer those men have none,
Yet form of visage they put on,
And by the twine of mouth and forehead
Knead up an aspect damn'dly horrid,
And shape their faces to the fashion
Of their degrees of reprobation:
In short a sign of all that's base,
Sinful, and wicked 's in his face;
By the outward mask is guessed
The inward nature of the beast.
On Sundays, when he leaves his home
To go to kirk, a thousand bows
He makes, and cringes in the streets
To every hobby horse he meets,
Twisting with little smirks his face
To show his stock of inward grace,
And be admired and respected,
For saint eternally elected;

* The notion of the Irish Catholics that the Swaddlers are an ill-looking and seemingly mongrel race, as different in appearance from Established Church Protestants, or Presbyterians, as a terrier is from a greyhound or a mastiff—can only be regarded as correct in Ireland. In Wales, for instance, where Methodism and the abominable custom of "swaddling" were alike prevalent, the Methodists—especially the female peasantry—are a very handsome race.

But when he comes in kirk, he goes
As if close swaddl'd in his clothes;
To God he will not bow his knee,
Like an old Agonylicite,
Mounting his desk, a while he sits
In silence, and his eyes he shuts,
Then yawns to such the spirit in
That is to operate within;
Then a deep groan, and out he brays.
Such odd extemporary prayers
As these that are recorded since
In *Presbyterian Eloquence*.

Ending his prayers, his mouth he shuts,
And tunes the organs of his guts,
Throats thus set up, and mouths wide ope,
Rob Wisdom's psalm 'gainst Turk and Pope;
They sing—or some Geneva jig,
Not much unlike the squall of pigs.

We do not conceive that it is necessary to trace the term Swaddler, as applied to Methodists, to the word "swad," for which we find the following explanation in *Bailey*: "A pease-cod shell, or pease-cod with few or small peas in it;" and *Grasse's Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (second edition, 1788), has an explanation which would be by no means inapplicable either to the lanky, empty, and ill-looking disciples of Wesley, who first appeared in Ireland, or to the hundred ill-omened specimens that were let loose upon this country for a short time last year. *Grasse* thus treats the word "swad":—

"Swad silique," "a cod" "a pease-swad;" used metaphorically for one that is slender; "a mere swad," North dialect.

Whatever be the derivation of the name "Swaddler," its application to a particular sect of Protestants in Ireland is universally recognised: by it the followers of Wesley are as well known as the *Gnostics* were in the days of *Sulpicius Severus*; known, too, and detested by, the Catholics, and for the same reason.

PROSPECTUS OF THE OTTAWA TRIBUNE.

The subscriber, in announcing his intention of publishing a weekly journal at Bytown, under the above title, avails himself of the occasion to state the grounds for believing this addition to the Newspaper literature of the day necessary. A mere reference to the desire so openly expressed throughout the Catholic body alone might be alleged as sufficient justification of the belief. This desire springs from the settled conviction, that throughout Western Canada, Catholic interests receive a very inadequate representation in the Fourth Estate, (as the press has been called.)—Lackily, those to whose apathy this evil is owing, have within themselves the remedy.

Advancing with rapidity in the scale of intelligence, wealth, and refinement, their appreciation of the value of the press is daily increasing. Experience teaches them that this mighty engine is indispensable to any body of men identifying their interests with, or believing the public weal dependant on, the success of any set of political measures. Next in importance to a voice in making the laws under which they live, is the public advocacy of their interests—the public vindication of their principles and actions through the press. Deprived of these privileges they become mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to dominant classes. How lightly have Catholics valued these privileges! In the Fourth Estate, as in the Third, they have habitually resigned the guardianship of their rights to men who deem fair promises a fair equivalent for political support,—who, through that support, were enabled to grasp wealth, or public honors, but who, when their ends were accomplished, spurned at those through whose instrumentality they were attained. It is time to change this game. Such neglect of their political interests has encouraged one ministry after another to practice a narrow system of exclusiveness towards Catholics, in the distribution of the patronage of the State—an exclusiveness which, though their apologists may deny or extenuate it, is too glaring to escape the notice of the most careless observer. Much of the influence of a government for good or for evil depends on the matter of appointments to office. An illustrious British statesman has expressed this fact in this form—"The popular election of magistrates and the popular distribution of honors and rewards, is one of the first advantages of a free state." Catholics have been wont to look upon these matters too lightly, and their share of state patronage is accordingly small. To create and foster a new spirit—to collect and combine the elements of political power, which exist in this section of Canada, unused or misapplied, and direct that power towards the attainment of the position to which they are entitled as Canadian citizens, the subscriber believes the proposed journal necessary.

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