## The Catholic Record

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## THE DAIL EIREANN

in Dublin just now. The tone of the despatches make almost visible the shrug of the shoulders of those who control the sources of information; but it is rather an elaborate Anglo-Saxon imitation of a perfectly natural Latin gesture. The Sinn Fein Parliament is too absurd, too grotesque don't you know; it couldn't happen anywhere but in Ireland. This labored shrug intended to show "amused tolerance" of these funny Irish is really a bit amusing in itself; and when it is reinforced by dark threats of bloodshed and stern repression one begins to suspect that the "comedy" is not furnishing undiluted amusement to a superior order of beings.

Still the press despatches are producing the desired effect on this side of the ocean. This is how they have impressed The Globe:

THE NEW IRISH FIASCO "

"The Irish situation retains its element of paradox through all its phases. Rebels meet in through the forbearance of Ireland. They call themselves a Parliament, and claim the right to for the whole country. They fly a non-British flag, renounce of the English tongue, declare Ireland to be an independent Republic, and deny the jurisdiction the Imperial Parliament. They appoint delegates who will appeal for admission to the Congress Paris, or for a hearing as the representatives of a sovereign State. The finishing touch of irony would be the selection for this mission of men who played Germany's game by participating in the Sinn Fein rebellion of 1916."

It may be paradoxical and ironical, set up a Provisional Government and forcing respect for the law in Ulster. with gun-running and pro-German-Ulster of which they were a minority. These rebels against the King, the Parliament and the people did not declaration: seem at all funny to those who have recently developed so keen a sense of humor. They represented the mighty force of consistency and fidelity to convictions, traditions and ideals.

John Richard Green, Protestant Professor in the English University of Oxford, in his "History of the English People," gives this noble Ulster sentiment its historic setting :

"The history of Ireland, from its conquest by William the Third up to this time [the Union], is one which no Englishman can recall without Limerick every Catholic Irishman, and there were five Catholics to every Protestant, had been treated as a stranger and a foreigner in his own country. The House of Lords, the Commons, the right of voting for representatives in Parliament, the magistracy, all corporate offices in towns, all ranks in army, the bench, the bar, the whole administration of government or justice, were closed against Cath Few Catholic landowners had been left by the sweeping confiscations which had followed the frequent revolts of the island, and oppressive laws forced even these few, with scant exceptions, to profess Protestantism. . . . The administration and justice of the country were thus kept rigidly in the hand of members of the Established Church, a body which comprised about a eifth of the population of the

with pensions, preferments and bribes in hard cash in return for services; they were advisers of every lord lieutenant, and advisers of every lord lieutenant, and the practical governors of the coun-try. The result was what might have been expected. Ireland was the worst governed country in Europe. . . . England did her best to annihilate Irish commerce and to ruin Irish agriculture. and to ruin Irish agriculture. Statutes passed by the jealousy of English landowners forbade the export of Irish cattle or sheep to English ports. The export of wool was forbidden lest it might interfere with the profits of English wool-growers. Poverty was thus added to the curse of misgovernment, and poverty deepened with the rapid growth of the native population, till amine turned the country into a hell.

At last the smouldering discontent and disaffection burst into a flame. Ireland was in fact driven into rebellion by the lawless cruelty of the Orange yeomanry and the English troops. In 1796 and 1797 soldiers and yeomanry marched over the country torturing and scourging the 'croppies' as the Irish insurgents were called in derision of their short LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1919 hair, robbing, ravishing and murder-Their outrages were sanctioned by a Bill of Indemnity passed by the Irish Parliament, and protected for According to the press agencies a the future by an Insurrection Act, and a suspension of the Habeas Corpus.

Goaded into rebellion the excuse was provided and the way paved for the Union of the two Kingdoms, eightteen years after the British Parliament passed the Renunciation Act which solemnly enacted:

"That the right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound by the laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom is hereby declared to be established and ascertained forever and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable.

So the whole modern phase of the Irish question started from the "scrapof paper" code of international ethics.

During the nineteenth century gradually and grudgingly the grip of Protestant Ascendancy has been relaxed. The Irish people won Catholic Emancipation and the disestablishment of the Irish Church; in our own day victory crowned their magnificent fight against an iniquitous land system; and finally after the greatest struggle in Parliamentary a British military regime, and demand that British troops evacuate limits of Constitutional action they won Home Rule.

bodying the traditions and ideals of would continue to achieve the imthe bad old Protestant Ascendancy flouted the authority of Crown and in the American President's definition Parliament, defied the authorities, in- of the issues of the War. The Irish sulted the electorate not only of Parliament in Dublin needs no fur-Ireland but Great Britain as well, ther justification for its existence brutally claimed and exercised the than is provided in President Wilson's right to thwart the will of the people. clear-cut definition of the principles They openly rebelled. They were for which the civilized world fought aided and abetted by British junker- and won the War. The Irish Parliadom, and their rebellion justified ment sitting in Dublin is a concrete and glorified by the entire Tory party assertion of the principles defined by of Great Britain. Liberty, democracy Mr. Wilson. The Peace Conference but it is not altogether unprecedent. and civil rights must be interpreted is in session; the Irish Parliament ed. Five years ago rebels met in in the light of whose ox was gored. is a direct challenge to its members cracy so soon after the world had Belfast and through the forbearance Over eighty Coercion Acts stain the to accept or reject the fundamental or connivance of the military author- record of British rule in Ireland principles of democracy as applied ill-timed; according to them it mate failure. since the Union; but now in to Ireland. Germany, having openly in the press, righteous indignation the party of both religious and secular, and from law and order, the party of power and platform and pulpit, proclaimed their privilege, proclaims that "Ulster must intention of invoking the promised not be coerced." Army officers openprotection of the Protestant Kaiser, ly mutinied at the suggestion of en-

claimed the right to legislate for all Mr. F. E. Smith (now Sir Frederick Smith) in the British House of Commons in May, 1914, made this solemn

"Whatever the consequences—civil war or any other cataclysm that may dismember the whole Empire-Unionist party will support Ulster, whatever the consequences may be.' Now we submit that nothing the

Sinn Fein Parliament has done, or Parliament by F. E. Smith. Still, sents. men who are so intensely "Unionist" that they would dismember the Since the surrender of Empire in order to keep it lic? united must have a keen sense of humor, and perhaps they see comedy land be suffered to determine the where the dull-witted Irish are blind fortunes of the Irish people over to it. What the Irish did see clearly whom it has no right to rule except was that the Constitutionalism which the right of force? If the Irish desire credited. That is the logic of Sinn where lies the blame? At the door

> world knows that it is nauseating ences back to the Unionist policy of hypocrisy to put the blame on Sinn Carsonism and Ascendancy. It a

> But what right have the Sinn Fein members to meet as a Parliament in cessions. The Sinn Fein Parliament Dublin? What is the use? Their right they derive from the terest of the weakest is as sacred as

people of Ireland. They are the the interest of the strongest"; and Government of the transcendent elected representatives of three that "the right of force" does not importance of conciliating Ireland, or fourths of the Irish people. They override Ireland's right to enter into are not all in Dublin; many of them a free and equal and honorable part-

untried, unconvicted; denied that elementary right which has been guaranteed every Englishman for the last seven hundred years. If the full representation of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people is not Horace Plunkett just before sailing present that again is not the fault of Sinn Fein nor of the Irish people.

But what is the use? Just this : This War was to save democracy and liberty. The bedrock principle of democracy is that governments derive their just rights from the consent of the governed. President Wilson proclaimed this principle, the peoples of the world polls, said : acclaimed it, and hailed the President as the spokesman of true democracy. In his great speech of September 27th last, his greatest pronouncement, with fearless and passionate eloquence and with intense conviction he defined the issues of the War. We quote the great President's own ever memorable declaration :

Those issues are these:

Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule

except the right of force? Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose

Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?

Shall there be a common stand. ard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the suffer without redress? Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it; and they must be settled-by no arrangement compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strong

This is what we mean when we speak of a permanent peace, if we speak sincerely, intelligently, and ith a real knowledge and compre hension of the matter we deal with. In the stress of the struggle.

in the dark days when the Then an arrogant minority emoonly hope was that America possible, British statesmen acquiesced

Irishmen neither at home nor abroad need fear the most searching scrutiny of Ireland's part in the War. When it comes to rebellions we must

contrast with the treatment accorded too fully occupied while in England Ulster under precisely similar circumstances, did not prevent Ireland's invited him and received no reply. magnificent response to the call to Some people were disappointed, arms. The milignant ineptitudes and stupidities, the coarse and brutal finding explanation for the Presmalevolence that turned enthusiastic may do can be more "paradoxical," co operation into embittered and more "amusing," more "ironical or sullen indifference can not be laid Unionist party as voiced in the British of the Irish people whom it represenbly Irish Nationalists" indicate a

But England will never consent to

Shall the military power of Eng-Fein. That is the reason for the of Sinn Fein of course the tolerant We are sorry; but we know and the people follow the train of consequparties of extremists must make conemphasizes the fact that "the infor these men a mere means of public plunder; they were glutted are in English prisons, uncharged,

"A republic can never be established in Ireland through the medium of civil war. On the other hand Ireland cannot be divided without lasting in the control of the control ing injury."

from Liverpool. And Sir Horace has a much clearer title to speak for Ulster and for Ireland than has Sir Edward Carson.

Lord Decies, a British Army officer who for the last two or three years been chief censor for Ireland, before sailing from New York after the news of the Sinn Fein victory at the

"Our only hope in Ireland now is our only nope in Ireland now is for all the four political factions to get together, and for the Govern-ment to give us some kind of Home Rule and leave us to work it out to the best advantage. The Sinn Feiners are out for a free republic, which Great Britain will not tolerate for one moment."

And as we write the cable informs us that a new Centre Party supported by Southern Unionists under the presidency of Stephen Gwynne the son of an Ulster clergyman, is forming to work for Home Rule for Ireland on Dominion lines.

Sinn Fein is no longer a theory or a policy whose merits as compared with Constitutional ism are a matter of opinion; it is the deliberate expression of Ireland's will. The foregoing quotations show that it is already producing results.

On the whole we think it is a little prenature for the Globe to be amused or pathetic over "the new decent for an Irishman abroad in a state of alarmed neutrality to blackguard men who have the entire confidence of the Irish at home. The Sinn Fein members of Parliament enjoy that confidence because they are willing to suffer obloquy, imprisonment or death to serve Ireland. In the present state of ill tempered and misinformed feeling towards will embrace nations of divergent Sinn Fein in Canada it may require views on all vital interests, of differsome moral courage to say it aloud, but we believe that self respecting interests and ambitions, all emphareaders of the CATHOLIC RECORD who sized by the impossibility of full love Ireland as the land of their fathers will thank us for saying in the old curse of the confusion of their name to Dail Eireann: More tongues. Language and literature, power to you; and may God have you in His holy keeping while you battle in the way it seems to you indeed inevitable — are the most best in the sacred cause of Irish liberty.

But speaking of farces, fun and flascos we thought that while the air was still thick with the apotheosis of democracy and the execration of autocracy the despatch which informed us that Lord French was the absolute autocrat of all Ireland, that every safeguard of British or demo- And there can be just as little doubt cratic freedom was removed, was a that he regards Ireland as the most little bit on that line.

Apparently there are those who think the derisive laughter occa- settled right if the great mission to sioned by this recrudescence of autobeen made safe for democracy was resolve is not to be doomed to ultishould have been reserved until the accredited representatives of the Irish people dared to meet in the capital of their country and to speak in her name.

THE PRESIDENT'S SILENCE

As everybody knows President The bloody and lawless butcher | Wilson was invited to visit Belfast ies of Bachelor's Walk, in violent and he replied that his time would be to permit his doing so. Dublin also others inordinately pleased; neither ident's silence other than his desire to show that the Irish question was more "amusing," more "fronteal or suffer and the door of the Dail Eireann or Headlines like "President Wilson duplicated in any other part of the ceivably two; almost certainly not similar interpretation.

Now we cannot for a moment bethe establishment of an Irish Republieve that this is even remotely probable. Such discourtesy would be boorish; and the President is a important as it is gratifying; but scholar and a gentleman. If he were not deeply concerned in the settlement of the Irish question he would certainly have sent a courteons reply ran so futile a course was utterly discomplete separation from England declining the invitation. That would commit him to nothing. That he did not do so, we believe, is the most utter rout of the Constitutional party. humorists would answer; but serious hopeful and significant thing that has occurred in this connection.

Assume that he regards Ireland as the most momentous of international sensible compromise be reached both questions, one with which the fate of his cherished project of a League of Nations is intimately bound up. Assume that he had not yet succeeded in convincing the British that a stage had been reached that made any pronouncement by the President inopportune; at the risk of appearing discourteous silence might be his wisest course. In such an hypothesis his silence might be a matter of greater worry to die hard Unionists than to Irish Nationalists.

The suggestion that he may be influenced by considerations of party politics is puerile in itself, and insulting to President Wilson. If he is deeply concerned, as we believe he is, it is because of far weightier considerations.

Read in the foregoing article what he emphatically declares to be the principles vindicated by the War. Their application to Ireland is clamant and inescapable. The English speaking world has been drawn together as never before by the War. It is vitally in the interest of both the British Empire and the United States that such good relations should continue, should deepen into perfect understanding and permanent sympathetic cooperation. Nothing in the world would so powerfully contribute to that end as a free and contented Ireland; nothing will so surely wreck all such hope as failure on the part of England to remove that deep sense of injustice and tyranny which rankles in the hearts of millions of the Irish race, and is shared by other English-speaking millions not of Irish origin. The nations of the British Empire and the United States have the same political igstitutions and ideals, the same civilization, and above all the same language and literature which makes mutual and sympathetic understanding so natural, so easy Irish flasco;" and not a little in that it can be prevented only by just such great positive barrier as the

unsettled Irish question. And if the statesmanship of the English - speaking nations cannot measure up to the duty of removing that obstacle to union amongst themselves what folly to hope for the success of that greater union of the League which ent political ideals, of conflicting mutual understanding because of and the intercourse and interchange of ideas which these make possiblepowerful unifying influences conceivable in the present stage of civilization.

There can be no manner of doubt that far and away beyond the petty considerations of party politics President Wilson feels the stupendous responsibilities that are his in this crisis of the history of civilization. momentous of international questions which must be settled and which he has dedicated himself with such singleness of purpose and high

CANADA A NATION Canadians of all shades of politics small nation. The situation was not had won the War in the first week? Dominions are part and parcel of the successful, if the British enlistment solemn undertaking in order to crush Empire which takes its place as a had come too late, if Tannenberg whole amongst the great powers, and the Dominions are represented on first few days of battle—in short, if Barnhardi's big plan had worked, and gression. The combined efforts of addition the same recognition as the left Germany mistress of the world, Great Britain, France and Russia smaller sovereign states seemed un. how many Germans would have reasonable; but the status of the repreached their rulers with their arregance. world; nor was there ever in history three. The victorious Pruesian have only themselves to blame. They a precedent for the dual status of the Government would have been popular self - governing Dominions. The if ever a government was popular." recogni ion now secured for them Therein lies the gist of the world's than the shameful bargains they atat the Peace Congress is as verdict. it is transcendently important as

principle of "equal nationhood." And this formal recognition is quite

Henceforth in international as well as in national affairs affecting Canthe agricultural industry may be her.

"Thus, from the very beginning of the conflict."

"Daughter am I in my Mother's house But Mistress in my own."

NOTES AND COMMENTS THE INDEMNITIES that Germany

which her thirst for war and for conquest has inflicted upon the world is naturally the paramount theme of discussion on both sides of the Atlantic. Such indemnities may have to be weighed in the balance with Germany's ability to pay, but that pay she shall, and to the very limit of her capacity, is the consonant verdict of the conscience of humanity. Those who have never understood either the War or the peace, says Gilbert Chesterton, are telling us everywhere to forgive, in the sense of forget, missing the fundamental fact that there is really no question of forgetfulness. It is not, he avers, whether these things shall be remembered or forgotten, but whether they shall be remembered only by the innocent and forgotten only by the guilty. And it is not so much a question of reparation or no reparation, but of imposing the labor of it on those who sinned or on those who suffered. this light who that has not gambled away his entire sense of justice but must stipulate for the payment of the debt by the debtor!

CHESTERTON, with that clarity of vision which is one of his chief characteristics, has put the whole problem in a succinct paragraph, which slightly paraphrased reads like this: Nobody is going to forget that Verdun is battered or Belgium laid waste. No peasant returning to his village fails to notice that it happens to be a heap of stones. No an invisible chair at an invisible table. The most absent minded scholar does not look for a book in the library of Louvain. The most innocent inland rustic does not book in the library of Louvain. The most innocent inland rustic does not book in the library of Louvain. The most innocent inland rustic does not book in the library of Louvain. The most innocent inland rustic does not book in the library of Louvain. table. The most absent minded a passage on the Lusitania. People are not going to forget to rebuild their houses, or re-till their fields in France or Flanders. The question about reparation is therefore perfectly simple. Somebody will pay to rebuild the house that was seat of learning and the sacred fane, and if this burden is not placed upon the guilty it will fall upon the innocent. In other words, if the the human tribute in death. punishment is not meted out to the incendiary, it will fall upon the despoiled householder. Can there ful where the verdict should lie?

Peace Conference has been pretty well anticipated by the world at large. With no purpose of unduly forestalling the action of that august assembly, the cogitations of the average man may be epitomized in a few Chestertonian sentences. "There is a very simple question to ask," says the Fleet Street oracle, "about how far most Germans had any responsibility for the fighting. It is to ask how many Germans had any delicacy about winning? No German would the premeditated character of the will rejoice that our representatives at the Peace Conference have already War in the fourth year. The question was the world, the central the mastery of the world, the central the war in the fourth year.

SERIOUS AS may be the food probinvolving a like recognition in the lem in Europe and America it is a Allow us to attack France and we will not enter the grave problem for the Japan of the and when they instructed their au government in the present and imme-phenomenal rise in price of rice, and us Briey, Toul and Verdun. while it is true that the production demanded the recognition by Great of this staple has been increased Britain and the Allied Nations of the year by year, the increase has not you will have to draw from the war, kept pace with the growth of popuas important on the part of Great is at the mercy of the elements, and cessfully, but came one and all to the help of threatened right. Like Ger-Britain as on the part of foreign in a country subject to frequent many, Great Britain had guaranteed typhoons at the most critical period Henceforth in international as well of the crop, the precarious nature of

IN THIS connection, and in connec-

Orient, now and in the future, the tremendous rate of increase of her shall pay for the colossal wounds population is significant. Until a few years ago the rate of increase was about 500,000, but last year's increase is put at 800,000. According to official figures just published the total population on December 31, 1917, was 57,998,373, exclusive of Korea, Formosa and Karafuto. These figures are eloquent not only of Japan's serious future food problem, but of her increasing dominance in the Pacific. Such percentage of increase it maintained, will in fifty years create a new set of problems not only for Japan herself, but for the world at large. The islands which comprise the Empire of Japan are already over populated: the surplus must find a home else where.

## OPENING OF PEACE CONGRESS

PRESIDENT POINCARE OUTLINES SCOPE

INTERNATIONAL LABOR LEGISLATION Just at 3 o'clock a ruffle of drums

and blare of trumpets announced the approach of M. Poincare. The French president was escorted by the group of premiers to the head of the table, while a hush fell upon the assemblage as the moment arrived

came into being. The entire assem-

blage stood as the president spoke.

M. Poincare spoke in an earnest easy manner, without declamatory effect and following usage there was no applause or interruption happens to be a heap of stones. No peasant knocks at the front door that isn't there, or tries to sit on an invisible cheir stress to sit on In opening the conference President Poincare said:

made his principal military objective, and which the valor of the allied has victoriously defended armies against unceasingly renewed offen-

Permit me to see in your decision the homage of all the nations that you represent toward a country which more than any other has enburnt, and to restore the destroyed dured the sufferings of war, of which entire provinces have been trans-formed into a vast battlefield and have been systematically laid waste by the invader, and which has paid

France has borne these enormous sacrifices, although she has not the slightest responsibility for the frightcatastrophe which has overbe any two rational opinions as to whelmed the universe. And at the moment when the cycle of horror is ending all the powers whose delegates are assembled here may acquit As to Germany's responsibility for themsleves of any share in the crime the War the ultimate finding of the which has resulted in so unpreceden ted a disaster. What gives you the authority to establish justice is the fact that none of the peoples of whom you are the delegates has had any part in the injustice. Humanity can place confidence in you because you are not among those who have outraged the rights of humanity.

There is no need of further information or for special inquiries into the origin of the drama which has just shaken the world. The truth bathed in blood, as already

had dared to hope for. They have tion is, how many Germans would empires, bound together by a secret secured for Canada the status of a have repudiated the War if Germany plot, found the most abominal of pretexts for trying to crush Serbia and force their way to the East. At the without its peculiar difficulties. The If the sweep upon Paris had been same time they disowned the most Belgium and force their way into the

were exerted against that man-made

"It, after long vicissitudes, those who wished to reign by the sword have been destroyed by their own blindness.

"What could be more significant tempted to offer to Great Britain and France at the end of July, 1914, when to Great Britain they suggested : 'Allow us to attack France on land Whatever may be the ultimate political destiny of Canada, our self.

The shortage of the food baseador to say to France: 'We will only accept a declaration of nuetral. only accept a declaration of nuetral. ity on your part it you surrender to

"It is in the light of these things. gentlemen, that all the conclusions will take shape.

"Your nations entered the war sucthe independence of Belgium. Ger-many sought to crush Belgium. Great

hostilities, there came into conflict the two ideas, which for 50 months, tion also with the grave problems world—the idea of sovereign force, were to struggle for dominion of the arising out of Japan's place in the which accepts neither control nor