## The Catholic Record

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-M. J. Hagarty, Stephen V.

LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 17, 1921

## DOMINION STATUS FOR IRELAND

The emotions that now surge through the souls of millions of the sea-divided Gael are too profound, of Ireland. too sacred for the ordinary facile expressions of rejoicings over a great victory. Mighty victory though it is, won by the indomitable for English sympathy: 'Ulster is not to be coerced.' Agreed, but spirit and all-conquering resolve of the Irish race, the first impulse and the Irish race, the first impulse and the first action of countless Irish Ulster (disregarding local choice) millions will have been that of and then say that, though no one gratitude to the God of Nations for may coerce Ulster, Ulster itself millions will have been that of preserving their dear Motherland through the age-long struggle and finally restoring to her the crown of independent nationhood.

For Irish independence, we believe most firmly, is secured as effectively by the treaty just concluded between Great Britain and Ireland as it would have been by Great Britain's recognition of the Irish Republic. Moreover the Treaty gives an assurance of Irish national unity difficult if not impossible of attainment under the Republic. Mere political forms do not secure liberty; there was a time when many pinned their faith to the republican form of government as the sole safeguard of freedom. Now they see and know, not as a matter of political theory but as an indisputable fact, that England with an hereditary king is at least quite as free as France with an elective president. And the Canadians are few who could be brought to think that if they elected their Governor-General and dubbed him President they would thereby increase their measure of self-government. Indeed, it may be said in passing, there are rights and liberties with regard to education and language that Canadian Catholics now enjoy that would be jeopardized if not destroyed in the process of converting Canada into a republic.

It is the full self-government which Canada enjoys that, under the failure of a huge mill in the manship. the treaty just signed, will be the Ligoniel district became known, measure of the self-government writes our Belfast correspondent. The extent of the liabilities that will ensure the free play of reach the enormous amount of Irish genius in shaping the destiny £300,000. of a free Ireland.

The first two articles of the treaty with masterly directness at once establish the Dominion status the pawnshops in their districts are full to overflowing, they cannot take another pledge, and their other of Ireland and preclude any and all source of income—the sale of new and expired pledges—is at an end, future attempts to encroach on the liberties thus established. It disposes effectively of the very real objection so often put forth by Irish republicans that the freedom of the Dominions is secured by their distance from England. Now, the concrete status of the Dominions defines more clearly and incontrovertibly than could written instruments the status of Ireland; and in the assertion of full Dominion rights secures her the interested cooperation of the self-governing sister nations, who jealously safeguard their own autonomy with its orderly and continuous development. They are henceforth, and necessarily for their own sakes, the powerful allies of Ireland against any attempted encroachment on their common status.

The Irish Free State, then, possesses that complete political independence sought by Sinn Fein, and possesses it in greater security than would be afforded by a Republic. Political independence was not sought as an end in itself; but as a all likelihood it will have been necessary means to attain "the complete economic, and the complete moral and intellectual independence of Ireland.'

But the great consideration that movement. weighed most with the Irish states-

national unity.

Will "Ulster" come in? possible for Ulster leaders to allay at once the spirit they have for years fomented; but in a short time union is inevitable.

In the Manchester Guardian some three weeks before the Irish agreement was reached the extraordinarily well - informed "Politicus" had these paragraphs in the course of his article:

"There are some people who think honestly that if Ulster is not allowed her way in everything she is being infamously treated and Englishmen are betraying her. Mr. Bonar Law is believed to be under this kind of The only way in which the Die-hards can hope to create and maintain this conviction is by preventing discussion.'

Pointing out that discussion would make clear that Ulster can retain her own local Parliament and secure ample guarantee of special protection for her economic and other interests, he continues:

"But that is not what the Ulster extremists want. What they want is that a majority in four counties should be allowed to veto the unity

"Fortunately there is one method of overcoming their objections to which no exception can be taken on the principle on which they appeal for English sympathy: 'Ulster is not to be coerced.' Agreed, but what is Ulster? You cannot throw may coerce the Nationalist districts within that area. If Ulster is resolved to be a purely self-regar State isolated from the rest of Ireland she cannot resist a demand for a plebiscite and a boundary com-mission, which will mean that her six counties will shrink to something like three and a half.

Now that is precisely the provision made in Articles XI. and XII. If this impossible little Irish province wishes to retain its present status, the treaty permits it to do so: but its present governmental powers will not be modified or

enlarged. However, if the six-county Par-

effected. very life, is inextricably bound up average man's simple query. have had their eyes opened:

vaded industrial Belfast today when handsome volume of perfect work-

'The plight of the unemployed Orange workers is desperate. the pawnshops in their districts are as there is absolutely no money coming in.

Ulster will come in. The Irish delegates saw to that in Articles XI. XIII. and XIII. The Irish Free State can afford to wait until those erstwhile vociferous "loyalists," stripped of all heroics and deserted by their English abettors, get good and tired of their lonesome role of dog in the manger. For to this sorry depth has sunk the belated omnipotent Protestant Ascendancy.

When they do come in they will be treated with proverbial Irish generosity and given a caed mille failte home.

As we write (Dec. 9th) the newspapers tell us de Valera declares graphies so copiously provided. that "the terms of this agreement are in violent conflict with the nation," and states that his attitude reflection that they were righteous is supported by two of his cabinet

colleagues. It were idle to prophesy concerning the situation that has arisen as in malignities of English rule in Irecleared up before the RECORD may have been, were due in no say that we regard Mr. de Valera and crass, of Irish history. as but the figure-head of a mighty

men who negotiated and signed the Sinn Fein, its very soul in the dark that he "was impelled to the com- War, but mainly to the loss receive and marble to retain." Im- the boys of today in the character persons.

treaty was probably the desire for and discouraging days of the movement, issued this statement :

"I have signed the treaty between Yes, there is not a doubt in the Ireland and Great Britain. I be-world about that. It may not be lieve this treaty will lay the foundations of peace and friendship be-tween the two nations. What I have signed I shall stand by, in the belief that the end of the con-flict of centuries is at hand."

And Michael Collins, the idolized Commander in Chief of the Irish Republican Army, is of the same mind. "Do you expect any trouble about getting the agreement accepted in Dublin?" he was asked. "Trouble," he replied, "you can get it with or without trouble, but I have got over trouble before.'

the men released from Kilmainham remarked: "What is good enough for Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins is good enough for me."

Katherine Tynan in a newspaper article sent from Dublin says that toward the peace negotiations." She continues:

"If I know anything about the feelings of the people there will be no such sudden outburst of rejoicing as marked the truce. come later, but then the relief was so immediate and so needed that it was with laughter and tears that the people ran to their deliverance. But if it should prove that tomorrow is the great day of all the years, then there will be something worth telling, unless indeed

both the British Parliament and Ireland? Dail Eireann closing the long ushering in the new era of Irish priate Christmas gift than freedom.

What that will mean for civiliza-

RACE"

"Can you tell me a good history gifts. liament decide to stay out for the of Ireland?" That is a question nament decide to stay out for the present, that does not mean that the decision is final. The Governdoubtless it has often been put to the decision is final. The Governdoubtless it has often been put to the decision is final. The Governdoubtless it has often been put to the decision is final. The Governdoubtless it has often been put to the decision is final. The Governdoubtless it has often been put to the decision is final. The Governdoubtless it has often been put to the decision is final. The Governdoubtless it has often been put to the decision is final. The Governdoubtless it has often been put to the decision is final. The Governdoubtless it has often been put to the decision is final. The Governdoubtless it has often been put to the decision is final to a fish diet, so that it came to requitable, having regard for any biliberty instead of licentiousness. Heretics often make that mistake." ment of Ireland Act of 1920 pro- others. Now there are of course Street, New York City, for \$5.00 plus vides the means of union of North countless books dealing with various 24 cents for postage. The \$5.24 and South through the Council of phases and periods of Irish history; must be in American funds, now at Ireland. It is by this means that but the average reader does not the union will probably be want an Irish library; he wants the history of Ireland in compendious Whether six counties or three and form, the general outlines of Irish a half, "Ulster's" economic and history in a single volume. And it financial prosperity, indeed her was always difficult to answer the

with the rest of Ireland. This has It is so no longer. Seumas Macbeen ineluctably demonstrated by Manus, who has long delighted the the Belfast Boycott. A newspaper readers of the Catholic Record just to hand furnishes evidence that with glimpses of Ireland as seen will go home to more than the through Irish eyes, has completed capitalists of the North who already his "Story of the Irish Race" and the Irish Publishing Company of "Unconcealed consternation per- New York has published it in a

In his foreword the learned and patriotic author says:

"The story is developed with the object of interesting and informing the man who can not, or will not, afford the time to read studiously. Yet it is earnestly hoped that it may whet the appetites of many, and stimulate them to go browsing in broader and richer pastures-in anticipation of which there are set down, at the ends of chapters or periods, titles of some of the more important books dealing with the

subject just treated of." This is an excellent feature of an excellent work. No one can study intelligently any phase or period or movement of Irish history unless it is studied against the background of the general history of the Irish survival of the once insolent and people. No one, we venture to say, will read Seumas MacManus 'Story of the Irish Race" without being irresistibly impelled to study more deeply some particular phase or period or movement. And the guide posts are there in the biblio-

'Each generation of Englishmen," wrote John Redmond, "have wishes of the majority of the comforted themselves with the men though their ancestors governed Ireland infamously."

The ineptitudes, stupidities and land, whatever other reasons there reaches its readers. Suffice it to small measure to ignorance, dense

pilation of this story of our race of Alsace-Lorraine and Poland, pressions received by the brain if building moulds of systematized four corners of America, among all 21,372 priests, of whom 15,531 are impressions received are produced; true and noble men on the morrow. vast majority of America's intel- religious orders. lectual ones he found Ireland's past as obscure as the past of Borneo. On three occasions he was asked by the effects of the War that already moral scruples-a bias is given to history ?' "

Canadians as to Americans: Amongst the prisoners released story rests upon the ignorance of (though four protracted years of and equal," which in great measure from the internment camps expres- our own exiles, and the children of bitter conflict were yet to ensue) is true, but soon after birth they sions of satisfaction with the terms, those exiles. Were these possessed was attended by many of the great- become unequal; sunshine, food, we are told, were general. One of of a general knowledge of Ireland's est figures in the military and civil soil, climate, and every other

In the "Story of the Irish Race"

people are grave and half fearful To the average reader, as well as before the day of the Lord as may to the more studious with greater To the average reader, as well as essayed to dominate the world. leisure, we shall not again be at So though it were idle to prophesy, it is our firm hope and belief fidently the old time puzzling query:

India, and this is how he is and body are the same in all manifest the following form:

"I do solemnly swear true faith kind, and it is mainly through the and allegiance to the Constitution So though it were idle to propha a loss to answer promptly and con- India, and this is how he is and body are the same in all manthat the treaty will be ratified by Can you tell me a good history of porary, the Catholic Herald of effects of environment that such a of the Irish Free State as by

Just at this juncture in Irish tragedy of Ireland's past and affairs could there be a more appro-Story of the Irish Race."

We shall have more to say about tion we shall consider at another this long-sought compendium of mad people that lead the way, superior and the infection. Just though they always point too far. all, and all for each. now we want to introduce it THE STORY OF THE IRISH to our readers in time for consideration when choosing their Christmas

It can be ordered directly by 10% premium.

NOTES AND COMMENTS THE BRITISH and Foreign Bible Society announce that during the course of the Society's existence, it has distributed over 300,000,000 Bibles, printed in 528 different languages. And yet there never had so frail a hold upon its interpreter can have but one result. by the "higher critics" at home.

WHILE the world is expectantly awaiting for a final deliverance of the Ulster Parliament in regard laws of God and His Church?" to the Irish settlement a "thinking This, somewhat paraphrased, is Protestant,' writing from County Father Cuthbert's way of answer-Antrim to the Nation and Athenaum, says: "As to the real attitude of the North towards Orangeism, I should say that at least 50 per cent. of the whole would transfer, if possible, with infinite pleasure and a sigh of relief, the whole Orange organization to the wilds of Central Africa, the only place on earth for which its demonstrations were ever suited. They would be glad thus to shift the greatest blot from Protestantism, and at the same time rid Ireland of the greatest power for retarding progress that ever held sway in any civilized environment. country." But isn't this rather hard on the natives of Central the determination of character, but Africa? Meanwhile, interjects the there is a strong reason to believe Toronto Globe, "Ulster may event- that the effects of a bad heredity ally accept the Irish settlement, but can be overcome by a proper some of the Toronto lodges will environment. Man is born mindnever surrender."

According to a recent census But what of Irish ignorance of tion, as compared with 23,821,458, welfare.

by the woeful lack of knowledge on According to the same census there repeated become indelibly fixed, and activities in order that we may turn the subject which he found in the are now 10,740 parishes, with in time actions corresponding to the out a type of strong, virile, good, classes of people, alike the intelli- parochial clergy, 8,591 engaged in action becomes habit and a number gent and the ordinary. With the teaching and 2,250 members of the of habits make up character.

educated women who were pillars of anniversary celebrations of its the mind and a stamp to the charactheir societies, 'Has Ireland got a great events are being celebrated ter long before the child can exerwith great eclat. The seventh cise any power of discrimination; And then he states a plain truth anniversary of the battle of the hence the child is to a great extent. which alas, is as applicable to Marne took on a specially religious a product and a creation of the character. At Meaux, the Mass of circumstances and conditions under 'To a large extent the blame for thanksgiving for that great victory, which it is reared. American ignorance of Ireland's which really decided the struggle It is said, "all men are born free past, and the proper pride that life of France-Marshall Joffre, hygienic, physical as well as must come of that knowledge, the Admiral Jaures, Generals Lasson mental, moral and social condition, good Americans around them would and Manoury, the latter of whom have an effect in moulding the styled and known as the Irish Free catch the information by contag- lost his sight in battle), Mons. Bar- character. So marked is the effect State. thou and Mgr. Baudrillard of the of environment that observers say, Catholic Institute, among them-and "If a child of white parents be the "apathy of hope long drawn Seumas MacManus has placed by many members of the diplomatic adopted into an Indian home before out had dulled the Irish feeling within the reach of every Irish corps, and of learned and patriotic the age of two years and reared reader the means of removing a societies. The Mass was celebrated among savages it becomes so like reproach that is, we must sorrow- by Abbe Umbrecht, chaplain of the them in thoughts, feelings, actions, fully admit, but too well merited. Alsatian Corps, who lost an arm in likes, dislikes, and prejudices as to The story is wonderfully well the War, and the sermon was be indistinguishable from the told. We are taken through the preached by Mgr. Ruch, Bishop of savage; on the other hand, an glorious periods and through the Strasbourg, whose record through- Indian babe adopted and reared in dark shadows of the history of Ire- out the conflict made him a national the home and under the same conland without exaggeration or over- figure. The theme of his discourse ditions as the white child simply the Crown in Ireland shall be emphasis. Both in the language was the re-assertion by France of becomes one.' and in the treatment there is the principles of justice and frater- If a child of vicious temper be ernor General of Canada and in always scholarly restraint. Yet nal love as contrasted with the kept in an environment of pure air, the interest is sustained, absorbing. spirit of pride in which Germany where peace, cheerfulness, sunshine

> "Pussyfoot" Johnson has been in Calcutta:"

We have always professed great reverence for cranks, in the hope they may succeed half. Sanity is half way to madness, and it is often If a prohibitionist can lead us to temperance, we shall put up with the prohibitionist; there are far too

plained that the Church is vexatious pigeon on a meat diet, could trans- more independent persons being in her restrictions, and that there form the grain-digesting gizzard of Article VI Lintil an artistic and the grain-digesting gizzard of Article VI Lintil an artistic and the grain-digesting gizzard of Article VI Lintil an artistic and the grain-digesting gizzard of Article VI Lintil an artistic and the grain-digesting gizzard of Article VI Lintil an artistic and the grain-digesting gizzard of Article VI Lintil and the grain-digesting gizzard of the British Empire and the grain-digesting gizzard of the grain-diges is too much of the "must" and the pigeon into a carnivorous with frail humanity, Father Cuth- Law in the Spiritual World")-if we whereby the Irish Free State underbert, well-known to overseas believe these statements and conreaders, retorts: "Has it ever sider that the human brain in the Ireland shall be undertaken by His struck you the number of things most highly organised and easily in- Majesty's imperial forces, a guest is not permitted to do, and fluenced structure to be found in all shall not prevent the construction the greater number he must do at creation, we have no need to stretch or maintenance by the Government a dinner table, or a tea-party, or a the imagination to believe the statewas a period in the history of Pro- ball? He must dress properly, ment that "The functions of the tion of the revenue or the fisheries testantism when dogmatic truth pare his nails, brush his hair, look brain in the child are far more The clean, be agreeable, talk sense. On sensitive to impressions for good or article shall be reviewed at a conadherents as at the present time. the other hand, he must not sprawl evil than the finest chronometer is Which goes to show that the mere his legs about, blow his nose too to heat, cold, magetism, and a score held at the expiration of five years reading or study of the Scriptures | loudly, sneeze into his neighbor's of their exterior influences," and from the date hereof with a view to without an authorized guide and plate, eat with his knife, expector- the declaration that "heredity can the undertaking by Ireland of a ate, or do a thousand and one other As it is, while men, with the best of things tabooed in decent company. ment." motives no doubt, are scattering These social laws are more intricate without grumbling or hesitation. Why not use your common sense and bear the same attitude to the ing a question which comes to the universal application.

## BOY LIFE ENVIRONMENT Adapted from Dr. G. A. Dickinson's

"Your Boy." Character and conduct are so dependent on the conditions under which one lives and is reared that it is well to consider the subject of

Heredity is a powerful factor in less, ignorant of everything in the world, so we may say that the formation of character begins at taken by the Bishops of Germany at birth. Through the senses as they the request of the Cardinal Arch- develop man receives impressions of

Irish history? The author of "The in 1919. The decrease is due partly In early life that brain is very

Every child is thus an unconscious imitator, and having no power to France has so far recovered from choose between good and bad-no

and quiet prevail, there can be no

The elementary principles of mind "Pussyfoot has been with us, but difference in character prevail, so are not going to attack him. that in millions of people no two in virtue of the common citizenship are found exactly alike. In this of Ireland with Great Britain and world of diversity all are necessary —the workers, the thinkers, the British Commonwealth of Nations

in confinement and feeding it on and toward the payment of war many drunkards and grog shops in a grain diet, could modify the India, and anybody is welcome to slay them. We only hope Pussyfoot will not slay liberty instead of semble in structure that of an semble in structure that of an by way of set-off or counter-claim, ordinary grain-feeder, such as a by way of second uch pigeon; and if Holmgren, by revers- determined, in default of agree-To a correspondent who coming the experiment and feeding a ment, by the arbitration of one or "must not" in her way of dealing stomach (Drummond's "Naturel British and be absolutely changed by environ-

No one can escape the effects of His Majesty's imperial force (a) in the Bible by the shipload among the and oppressive than the Ten Com- environment; without clearly inheathen, it is being torn to pieces mandments, or the Precepts of the tending to do so adults naturally Church, yet you submit to them follow the fashions and take up the "fads" of the times. In this and in agreed between the British Government of the ment and the Government of the innumerable other ways character is being formed and changed.

> To be reared in an environment foreign power such harbor and of civilization makes the child civil-other facilities as the British Govized: it is the existing religion. whatever the particular kind, that surface occasionally in this part of makes the child grow in religion. the world. The answer, then, has God's way of building character and making good men is through the influence of good men. Of course, man is naturally a moral and religious being, he has Divine exceed in size such proportion of impulses; but how else can they the military establishments maingrow and develop except it be through and by the stimulation of the community in which he is Britain, reared?

Amid the turmoil and struggles of nothing? It had been said, "There the customary port and other dues.
Article X.—The Government of refuse to work when all around him are full of emulation and eagerness in their work." Indeed, in ness in their work." Indeed, in by the Act of 1920, to Judges, childhood environment exerts its officials, members of the police greatest influence, diminishing in forces and other public servants youth and throughout adolescence when the habits become fixed. More progress can be made in our ance of the hereof paragraph. work in one generation of children than can be made by working on bishop of Cologne, the Catholic all that passes around, and through many generations of adults-good population of Germany is 20,544,106, the natural instincts is enabled to food, pure air, useful activities, or 35 per cent. of the total popula- learn all that is necessary for future and the influence of sympathetic the years next preceding the date understanding in pure homes being the most potent for good, And Arthur Griffith, the founder of Story of the Irish Race" tells us to the number killed during the plastic, the mind is then "wax to this is our boy problem—to place payable to any of these excepted

## THE TERMS OF PEACE

TEXT OF TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Lo idon, Dec. 6 (Associated Press) The text of the agreement signed this morning by the British Government and the Irish representatives

Article I.-Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the community of nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for peace and order and good government in Ireland, and an executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be

Article II.-Subject to provisions hereinafter set out, the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament, the Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the practice usage governing the relationship of the Crown or representative of the Crown and the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.
Article III.—A representative of

pointed in like manner as the Gov. accordance with the observed in making such appointments.

Article IV .- The oath to be taken doubt that the temper will change. by the members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State shall be in

great variety of constitution and established, and that I will be faithand his heirs and successors by her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the

Article V.—The Irish Free State shall assume liability for service of If Hunter, by keeping a sea-gull the public debt of the United Kingpensions as existing on that date in

VI.-Until an arrange-Irish Governments takes her own coastal of the Irish Free State of such vesforegoing provisions of this ference of representatives of

hare in her own coastal defense. Article VII.-The Government of Irish Free State shall afford to time of peace such harbor and other facilities as are indicated in the annex hereto, or such other facili-ties as may from time to time be Irish Free State, and (b) in time of war or of strained relations with a ernment may require for the pur-poses of such defense as aforesaid.

Article VIII.-With a view to securing observance of the principle of international limitation of armaments, if the Government of the Irish Free State establishes and maintains a military defense force the establishment thereof shall not tained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great

Article IX.—The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State Amid the turmoil and struggles of life who could sit still and do shall be freely open to the ships of the other country on the payment of

the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation, on terms not less favorable than those accorded who are discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the change of government effected in pursu-

Provided that this shall not apply to members of the auxiliary police force or persons recruited in Great Britain for the Royal Irish Constabulary during hereof. The British Government will assume responsibility for such