

If we are to make a compromise between two claims we must have those two claims stated clearly, and even stated strongly. We must understand our own first principles and the other party's first principles; we must see where both start before we see where both can meet. A great deal of well-meaning rhetoric has been poured out recently in praise of Abraham Lincoln; chiefly by people who seem to be quite incapable of the intellectual virtues that Lincoln really possessed. The real lesson of Lincoln is not the value of lecturing other people about righteousness, but the value of asking yourself, by the painful effort of thought, what you really think right. Lincoln could compromise because he knew where he differed fundamentally from the other man, and where he did not. In a phrase which is dreadfully vulgarised and wildly misunderstood, he did in reality know his own mind. The phrase is now generally used about some stupid bully who prefers to do without a mind. When a man really knows his mind, and knows the other man's mind, they can begin to bargain.

Now we do not see how Mr. de Valera could very well have opened the discussion otherwise than as he did. Seeing that he is not only the leader of a Republican Party, but actually the President of a Republic (in his own eyes at any rate), it is simply inconceivable that he could have made his first speech to the English people without even asking for a Republic. If he had suddenly forgotten the very word separation, his followers would have been justified, not so much in shooting him as a traitor, as in locking him up as a lunatic. It is perfectly manifest that, on his own principles, he must regard Ireland as having a right to an independent republic, and that he must say so. But he also said something else, which is worthy of consideration. He said that what he had been expecting, and we may suspect what he is still hoping for, was a treaty between England and Ireland, apparently to cover the questions of common defence. Reading between the lines of a document that was constrained to be a sort of defiance, we can certainly infer from this that the Irish leader is not by any means blind to the real English difficulty, arising out of the real English danger. On the principle of knowing our own minds, we must repeat to ourselves that the real English stipulation is for the adequate defence of England. Whether that is achieved along with liberty for a republic, or loyalty to a monarchy, may be a matter of importance; but it is certainly one of secondary importance. On one side at least it may be called a matter of words; at any rate their republic will be much more republican than our monarchy is monarchical. For the rest, Empire may come before England for some cosmopolitan imperialists; but it comes a very long way after England for us. If we could absolutely ensure for ever the independence of England, we should not be worried by the independence of Ireland. But we do want to insure it, while the bargain is going; and that is what the bargain is really about. We care very much less about whether the bargain is called a treaty than about what are the terms of the treaty, even if it is a treaty. That the Irish Republican leader should begin by calling it a treaty seems to us utterly natural and inevitable. What will be said next nobody knows; the essential for the moment both in Ireland and Poland is to keep the door open for reason; and the danger is that the door may be slammed, in the one case by Prussia and in the other by Prussianism.

THE ORANGEMEN'S IDEA OF SUPERIOR CIVILISATION

The following news item was published in the *New York World* of Tuesday, from its Irish correspondent (says the *Brooklyn Tablet* for August 27):

"Two men yesterday entered Tyrone Street, in Belfast, which is almost wholly inhabited by Catholics, and, having warned some Protestant residents to take their children indoors, flung a bomb at a group of children and young people, five of whom were seriously wounded, one young woman named Flanagan, it is feared, fatally. The bombers have not been caught.

The object of this outrage is believed to be to provoke reprisals from the Catholics, who, being largely outnumbered and the Orangemen having their own special police fully armed to protect them, always come off worst in these outbreaks. The bombing followed an open air Orange meeting signalled by violent denunciation of the peace proposals."

Self-Determination for Ireland

FIRST LEAGUE CONVENTION HELD IN DOMINION.

The first convention of the New Zealand Self-Determination for Ireland League opened in the National Mutual Buildings, Wellington, on Saturday, the 8th inst., when the following delegates were in attendance:—Wellington: Rev. Fathers Connolly and Gondringer, Messrs. P. J. O'Regan, J. J. McGrath, B. Doherty, M. J. Reardon, D. Bourke, J. A. Scott, P. Griffin, Mesdames T. J. Bourke, T. Dwyer, and M. Gleeson; Auckland: Messrs. Hall Skelton, J. O'Connell, and J. Murphy; Otago: Rev. Father Silk, Messrs. J. Robinson and H. Murrow; Westland: Mr. E. G. Cotter; South Canterbury: Dr. J. P. Hastings and Mr. J. O'Brien; North Canterbury: Messrs. T. Cahill, J. Ryan, and R. Kelleher.

Mr. O'Regan, who presided, extended a hearty welcome to the delegates, and explained that the main purport of the convention was to select representatives to attend an Irish Race Convention which was to be held either in Dublin or Paris on January 21 next, an invitation to be represented thereat having been received by cable from the Dail Eireann, and evidently the object was to submit the proposals for a settlement to that convention. Since the truce in Ireland they had necessarily suspended their activities, though he regretted that the press of this country had not refrained from biased comment and unfair criticism of the elected representatives of the people of Ireland. What form of government they should accept was primarily a matter for the Irish people themselves, though doubtless overseas Irishmen were entitled to express an opinion if they were invited to do so. They all hoped for peace, but no peace could be permanent without justice. People who styled themselves Imperialists had long been allowed to have their own way in discussing Imperial problems, one result of which was that the public had forgotten that until comparatively recently representative men in England of all parties (including the arch-Imperialist Disraeli) had looked forward to colonial independence as a matter of course, and had never regarded what was now called Dominion Home Rule as anything other than the first step towards complete nationality. Quite recently it had been emphasised by several of the most representative of British public men, that whether they would become completely independent was a matter entirely for the colonies themselves. No matter what individual opinions may be, it was common ground that any citizen was perfectly free to advocate colonial independence, and if it were lawful to do so in a self-governing colony, it was difficult to see by what mental process it could be regarded as a crime in Ireland. The president further referred to the need for having definite rules for their organisation and, although it was impossible to send as many delegates as the invitation had evidently contemplated, he had no doubt New Zealand would be worthily represented.

[Other details of the convention appeared in last week's issue of the *Tablet*.]

A PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

Prior to the commencement of Mr. Hall Skelton's address in the Paramount Theatre on Sunday, Mr. P. J. O'Regan, who presided, intimated that some weeks ago a cablegram had been received from Dail Eireann inviting the executive officers of the Self-Determination for Ireland League of New Zealand to attend the Irish Peace Conference to be held on January 21 next either at Dublin or Paris. The cable news had given no previous intimation that such a conference was to be held, but there was now reason to believe that the object was to submit the British proposals for settlement to a conference representing the Irish race throughout the world. Previous to the reception of the message, the speaker continued, the League had practically determined to suspend its activities during the negotiations for a settlement, but the cabled invitation had made it imperative to summon a representative convention of delegates representing the Provincial Councils of the League throughout New Zealand. Referring to the appointment of Miss Mackay, of Christchurch, as a delegate, Mr. O'Regan said that no one had ever received such a compliment as Miss Mackay, in that she was not personally known to more than two of the delegates, she