# 1916 Diary of Sir Horace Curzon Plunkett (1854–1932)

Transcribed, annotated and indexed by Kate Targett. December 2012

# **NOTES**

# 'There was nothing wrong with my head, but only with my handwriting, which has often caused difficulties.'

Horace Plunkett, Irish Homestead, 30 July 1910

# **Conventions**

In order to reflect the manuscript as completely and accurately as possible and to retain its original 'flavour', Plunkett's spelling, punctuation, capitalisation and amendments have been reproduced unless otherwise indicated. The conventions adopted for transcription are outlined below.

- 1) Common titles (usually with an underscored superscript in the original) have been standardised with full stops: Archbp. (Archbishop), Bp. (Bishop), Capt./Capt'n., Col., Fr. (Father), Gen./Gen'l, Gov./Gov'r (Governor), Hon. (Honourable), Jr., Ld., Mr., Mrs., Mgr. (Monsignor), Dr., Prof./Prof'r., Rev'd.
- 2) Unclear words for which there is a 'best guess' are preceded by a query (e.g. ?battle) in transcription; alternative transcriptions are expressed as ?bond/band.
- 3) Illegible letters are represented, as nearly as possible, by hyphens (e.g. b----t)
- 4) Any query (?) that does not *immediately* precede a word appears in the original manuscript unless otherwise indicated.
- 5) Punctuation (or lack of)
  - Commas have been inserted only to reduce ambiguity. 'Best guess' additions appear as [,].
  - Apostrophes have been inserted in:
    - surnames beginning with O (e.g. O'Hara)
    - negative contractions (e.g. can't, don't, won't, didn't)
    - possessives, to clarify context (e.g. Adams' house; Adam's house). However, Plunkett commonly indicates the plural of surnames ending in 's' by an apostrophe (e.g. Yeats').
  - Initials preceding names reflect the original as nearly as possible (e.g. TP Gill, T.P. Gill, T P Gill, T.P. Gill).
  - Plunkett's symbols for 'about', 'therefore' and the 'long (double) s' have been expanded.
- 6) Text in parentheses ( ) is Plunkett's; text in brackets [ ] is editorial.
- 7) Capitalisation, particularly of the letter C and common nouns, is inconsistent and has been retained if unambiguous.
- 8) Words crossed out in the original are usually reproduced in the transcript, as their frequency or content may indicate Plunkett's thinking at the time.
- 9) Cd (could), wd (would), wh: (which) and Plunkett's symbol for 'about' and 'therefore' have been expanded; the 'long f' (J) has been expanded to 'ss'.
- 10) Approximate monetary equivalents were derived and adapted from Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, "Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1830 to Present", and Samuel H. Williamson, "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to Present", www.measuringworth.com, 2011. The index used was the Gross Domestic Product Deflator, a measure of average prices covering a 'bundle' of all goods and services produced in an economy (making it broader than just the consumer goods in the Retail Price Index). Figures

rounded to the nearest £ or \$. See website for alternative and more detailed measures of relative worth.

Although great care has been taken to ensure accuracy, some misinterpretations will inevitably have occurred in transcription. For clarification, readers are advised to consult microfilm copies of the diaries available in several libraries.

# Correspondence

The diaries are associated with, and cross-referenced to, an alphabetical indexed collection of nearly 4000 items of correspondence donated to the Plunkett Foundation in the years following Sir Horace's death.

- Letters with an identifiable date are noted beside the diary entry for the corresponding day. Letters attributable to only a particular year or month are indicated at the beginning of the relevant section.
- Letters sent by Plunkett appear in Roman type, alphabetically by addressee (e.g. To Balfour, Arthur); letters received by Plunkett appear in italics, alphabetically by sender (e.g. *Fr Balfour, Arthur*).
- Letters between correspondents other than Plunkett appear in parenthesis and are filed with the letters of the first-named correspondent: (*Fr Balfour, Arthur to House, E.M.*).
- If, for some reason, a letter between two correspondents is filed with neither recipient nor sender, the file location is indicated: (*Fr Anderson, R.A. [BAL]*).

For additional holdings, see http://www.nra.nationalarchives.gov.uk/nra/searches/ (National Register of Archives) and Archives in 'Plunkett, Sir Horace Curzon (1854–1932)', Bull, P., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press) 2006.

# **Abbreviations**

1) Frequently occurring abbreviations and contractions:

#### Names

Æ	George William Russell	JGB	John George Butcher
AJB	Arthur James Balfour	KW	Karl Walter
EVL	Ernest V. Longworth	Lady B	Lady Elizabeth (Betty) Balfour
F/Fs	Fingall / Fingalls	Ll.G.	David Lloyd George
GBS	George Bernard Shaw	RAA	Robert Andrew Anderson
GH	Gerald Heard	SHB	Samuel Henry Butcher
GWB	Gerald William Balfour		

# **Organisations**

- 8			
AAOS	American Agricultural	IH	Irish Homestead
	Organisation Society	IS	Irish Statesman
AOS	Agricultural Organisation	IIA	Irish Industries Association
	Society	IRA	Irish Reconstruction Ass'n./
AOS & SHL	Allotments Organisations		Irish Republican Army
	Society and Small Holders Ltd.		(depending on context)
BB Co	Berthon Boat Company	IUA	Irish Unionist Alliance
CDB	Congested Districts Board	K St Club/K.S.C.	Kildare Street Club
CWS	Co-operative Wholesale Society	NAOS	National Agricultural
DATI	Department of Agriculture and		Organization Society
	Technical Instruction	NFU	National Farmers Union
FO	Foreign Office	RDS	Royal Dublin Society
H of C	House of Commons	RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
HPF	Horace Plunkett Foundation	TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
IAOS	Irish Agricultural	UAOS	Ulster Agricultural
	Organisation Society		Organisation Society
IAWS	Irish Agricultural Wholesale	UI	United Irishwomen
	Society	UP	Union Pacific
ICAS	Irish Co-operative Agency Society	Wyo Dev Co	Wyoming Development
IDL	Irish Dominion League	WO	War Office

# General

&c a/c a/cs	etcetera (etc.) account/s	Gt HR	Great Home Rule
ADC	aide-de-camp	Inst/Inst:/Inst'n	Instruction
agricl / agric'l	agricultural	I.Q.	Irish Question
agrici / agric i	agriculture	legisl'n	legislation
Amer'n	American	Ltd.	Limited
ass'n / assoc'n	association	moted	motored
	***************************************	MP	Member of Parliament
ass't betw'n	assistant	Mov't	
	between		movement
bd CC (1 1 1 1)	board	Nat / Nat'l	National
CC (by context)		Nat's	Nationalists
	Cricket Club	o'c	o'clock
	County Councillor	Parl / Parl't	Parliament
Ch: Sec	Chief Secretary	parl'y	parliamentary
coll / coll:	college	PP	parish priest
co / co.	company or county	Powder R	Powder River
com'n/comm'n	commission	Pres't	President
Conv'n/Conv'tn	Convention	Prot	Protestant
coop/coop:	co-operative	Qn	Question
coop'n	co-operation	RC	Roman Catholic
ct'e/c'tee/c'tte/	committee	Rel'n / Rel'ns	Relation/s
com'tee		RR	Railroad
DD	Doctor of Divinity	R'y	Railway
dep't	department	Sec / Sec'y	Secretary
Do / do	ditto	Soc'y	Society
ed'n / educ'n	education	SS	steamship
Eng'd	England	TD	Teachtai Delai
Ex / Exs	Excellency/ Excellencies		(representatives in lower
	(usu. Lord Lieutenant)		house of Dail)
exhib'n	exhibition	Tech/Tech:/Tec'	,
gen'l	general	1 1011/1 1 0011./ 1 00	
gov't	government		
govi	government		

- N.B. The apostrophe in a contraction usually indicates that in Plunkett's handwriting the word ended with underscored superscript letters (e.g.  $Parl^{\Sigma}$  is transcribed as  $Parl^{\gamma}$ ).
- 2) Less frequent or ambiguous contractions are expanded in brackets for clarity and easier reading (e.g. rec[eive]d, originally handwritten " $rec^{\underline{d}}$ ". If the same usage occurs in close proximity, the expanded version is generally not repeated.

# 1916

#### **Events:**

20 Apr - The Aud arrives in Tralee Bay

21 Apr - Sir Roger Casement lands at Banna strand

24 Apr – Easter Rising

29 Apr – Pearse orders surrender

3-12 May - Execution of 15 leaders of Rising

# Jun – X-ray burns received in London

3 Aug – Casement hanged

Christmas - First rebel prisoners, including Michael Collins, released

# **Publications and related documents:**

- Memorandum upon the American Agricultural Organisation Society (New York) 23 pp.
- IAOS Annual Report, pp. 48-50
- Memorandum commenting on Balfour's proposals for an Anti-War League (unpublished Ms, Plunkett correspondence, BALF.A 19/1 and 19/2)
- Confidential document presented to the Cabinet (on Anglo-American relations) (24 February) (copy in E.M. House papers, Yale University)
- Memorandum on the Purpose, Scope and Function of Proposed American Press Bureau in London (23 Mar) (unpublished Ms, Plunkett correspondence, APB 1)
- "The Irish Outlook: Sir H. Plunkett's Three Conditions" (letter), The Times, 3 Jul, p. 6
- "Irish Settlement" (letter), The Times, 24 Jul, p. 10
- "Our Friend Uncle Sam" (letter), Daily Mail, 9 Nov
- "Ulster's Opportunity" (letter), The Times, 7 Dec, p. 10
- Some Tendencies in Modern Medicine from a Lay Point of View (Dublin and Belfast) 31 pp.
- Attributed articles in Irish Homestead:

Letter to Harold Barbour for IAWS managers' conference, XXIII:40 (30 Sep 1916) pp. 623-4 Letter to Fr. Finlay for IAOS Annual General Meeting, XXIII:51 (16 Dec 1916) pp. 793-4

#### Government

Prime Minister: Herbert Asquith (Liberal/Conservative coalition) to 7 Dec, David Lloyd George (Liberal/Conservative coalition) Chief Secretary: Augustine Birrell to 31 Jul, Henry Edward Duke

Lord Lieutenant: Viscount Wimborne

President, Provisional Government of Irish Republic, Patrick Henry Pearse (in rebellion) 24-29 Apr

Approximate monetary equivalents (2010): £1= £72 ; \$1 = \$15

Correspondence [Notes]	1916	Diary Entry
To Balfour, A.	No date Date uncertain	
[Bernstorff]	1 Jan, Sat	Began the year in the British Embassy Washington where I was taking a 2nd two days visit, this time to study at the Department of Agriculture. Lunched with Chas Grasty to meet Henry White late ambassador to Paris. Bernsdorff [sic] sat at the next table about 4 feet from me & that made it difficult to converse. White is also pro-German.  Had a talk with Vrooman & left by afternoon train for New York.
	2 Jan, Sun	Began the day with a 2½ hours conference with Houston at Chas R Crane's apartments. I converted Houston completely & I think we shall now get ahead with the Irish agric'l policy in the U.S.  Lunched Mac & his wife at the Brevoort. Called with them on the Gifford Pinchots, tea'd with Pritchett – all working at my hobby.
	3 Jan, Mon	Lunched with George W Perkins a clever ambitious enormously wealthy (former partner of J.P. Morgan, organiser of Harvester

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		Trust &c) business man. My object in meeting him was to get him into the A.A.O.S. – his money but not his name which is politically more than suspect. I may have succeeded!
		Saw also McCarthy & Pres't. McVey of N Dakota University who were at loggerheads over the A.A.O.S. relations. I brought them together.
		Bonn & his wife were in New York & he poured himself out. He had been talking to Bernsdorff [sic] & it is clear that the diplomat is uneasy about the German-American situation. Two more submarine outrages today. Wilson hurrying back to Washington from his honeymoon. Bonn declares Germans have no big conquest ambitions. They have their jingoes of course. But they don't want Belgium. "Antwerp?" I asked. "No" he said "that harbour no good it is surrounded by Holland. Rotterdam would be better best. Zebrugge would be better than Antwerp." No alliance with Turks – the Germans know them too well. What they want is a Balkan countries union. Trade not conquest is the aim.
		Bonn admitted that the French had surprised the Germans as much as they had the English. But he did not believe the Russians would hold out. They had 2,000,000 Russian prisoners.
Fr Bonn, Moritz Julius (misdated 1915) Fr Spring-Rice, Cecil  [query in original]	4 Jan, Tue	After a morning's correspondence in N.Y. went to Lowell's at Harvard. He had to meet me at dinner Coolidge and Rev. James L. Barton D.D. L.L.D. president of the Bd. of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. He had thorough knowledge of the Balkan situation, knew Armenian question intimately, was in correspondence with his missionaries all over the East, with the State Dept. in Washington & with Bryce. He told me that about a year ago there appeared an article in a Constantinople widely read Turkish paper asserting that the German emperor was converted to Islam & had converted the Germans. He had visited the holy places & so forth. But the crowning proof was the way the formerly Christian Germans had sacked Christian cathedrals. Barton did not think the attack in Egypt would succeed on account of the water difficulty. Coolidge thought this one hope of redeeming the promise to punish England must be redeemed – a psychological necessity. He feared there might be a great surprise in store {? the big air ships}. Barton said the Turks had massacred a good many Armenians but their avowed policy was to torture them into a longing for death which they were doing by driving them into ?four exits down south without food & water. The Germans he is convinced are at the back of it all, for commercial reasons, the Armenians being their only trade competitors in the East.
	5 Jan, Wed	A busy day going about among Harvard folk. Found them almost unanimous in their disgust with Wilson & most of them tentatively considering T[heodore].R[oosevelt]. Met a delightful lecturer a professor Merriman who knew Adams, Smith-Gordon & many other of my Oxford friends. Nothing new in my information but a changing of my mind on many points of international law relating to the sea.
	6 Jan, Thu	Another talk with James Ford but most interesting talk with George Grafton Wilson, Professor of International Law. I never met such a doctrinaire. He weighed Germany & England in the balance of this very shifty law and a breach which injured property was as grave as one which cost innocent lives. But he

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		laid down some principles & said a few interesting things. Acts of war are justified only by commensurate military advantage. On this score the Lusitania outrage is to be condemned. Retaliation is never legal to the prejudice of neutrals & cannot impair their rights. Merchant ships can only arm against privateers & the fact that a submarine acts like a pirate gives the merchantman no more than a grievance against the flag – the government. One point he made was that if ships could arm for defensive purposes the U.S. could not prevent the German ships which, since they were not armed, were not interned, from arming & waiting an opportunity to get out & raid British mercantile marine.
		Wilson holds that Great Britain should stick to his dear law. He is confident that she would gain more military advantage in neutral sympathy than she could possibly lose. Lowell strongly holds we should declare a blockade of Germany & try to make it effective.
		Left for N.Y. midnight.
	7 Jan, Fri	Back in New York. Had an interview with Roosevelt. But he was too rushed & excited to talk connectedly. I think he is quite likely to be next President & but for his temperamental defects he might be a good one in such a situation. But he is still the talking clever irresponsible creature God made him.
		Lunched with Arthur Young to talk over an idea of mine for inducing the War office at home to practice economy by calling in big accountants as friendly advisers. Worked at a pamphlet for the A.A.O.S.
		Shane Leslie called in after dinner on Godkin & me & brought the first number of a new American Irish weekly journal called "Ireland". It was to support Redmond & will only live as long as the money lasts. All the American Irish Press is bought by the Germans except one Chicago paper said Shane.
To McCarthy, Charles	8 Jan, Sat	Bosler called early & I discussed giving him an option on my interest in Diamond Cattle Co & Rock Creek Conservation Co. I let him know I could not be treated as a negligible creditor.
[Probable confusion: Jane Addams' close associates were Julia Lathrop and the Jewish Lillian Wald.]		Dined with Ernest Poole & met Miss Julia Wald [sic] (Jewess & 2nd only to Jane Addams in social work – her being in N.Y.) Ida Tarbell, Fred. C. Howe & other social workers & thinkers. Howe is now Comm[issione]r of Immigration & has ideas upon land settlement. Must link him up with A.A.O.S.
	9 Jan, Sun	Called early upon Crane, lunched with Ralph Wortley at his country house, worked at A.A.O.S. pamphlet & dined with Jim Byrne to confer with Pritchett, Godkin & him about the project which we advanced a bit – on paper.
[zemstvos – weak locally elected assemblies]		Crane talked very interestingly on Russia & wired to S. Harper whom he had financed for an intimate study of Russia extending over 10 years. He spends ½ of the year in Russia & ½ at home in Chicago. Crane has kept him out of cliques the besetting sin of inquirers in Russia. He sees Jews & Xians, Teuton & Slav, aristocracy & democracy, government & Revolutionaries indiscriminately & is in confidence of all. The result of recent inquiries is, There will be no revolution & no separate peace. The whole people are on the War. The liberal forces are organised through the Zemtsvos [sic] & municipalities which are working together for the war. This is what makes mobilisation possible.

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		General Kuropatkin who is commanding an army corps on the Western Frontier declares that no power exists at Petrograd to stop the war. He added there must be no "Portsmouth" (which Crane says was Roosevelt's spectacular blunder. R. cabled twice saying the Czar to pay an indemnity. "T.R. created the Jap menace.")
		On Balkan situation Crane holds that Bulgaria ought to be allowed to keep the part of Macedonia guaranteed to her in 1878, taken from her by the treaty of Berlin & by Servia in 2nd Balkan war, & now won back Servia should have Albanian coast, Romania eastern Hungary where there are 5 million Romanian sympathisers. Russia blundered badly in her treatment of Bulgaria.
		On the political situation Crane was optimistic for Wilson. The Preparedness policy would fail but Wilson's profound knowledge of the European situation would enable him to make a triumphant defence of his International policy. He & all the cabinet who count were strongly pro-ally. I asked about Mexico & all Crane said was that Wilson had all Latin America behind him. The Argentine were ready to furnish 800,000 & Chile 300,000 men to support a Pan American defence of the Monroe Doctrine which the U.S. might interpret. I asked about Brazil & the big German colony there. These Germans Crane said he knew for certain were against any German interference. Latin America was unanimous against the use of force in Mexico.
	10 Jan, Mon	Dined with Crane & met Ray Stannard Baker a good writer of fiction & on social & political subjects. He was a Wilsonite but condemned the President's party appointments. Crane said that this administration was the only pure one of modern times. They had got the record of the telephone calls betw'n the White House & Wall St. in Taft's time – constant communication. None in Wilson's time &c.
		Spent most of day hard at work on the AAOS pamphlet.
Fr Spring-Rice, Cecil	11 Jan, Tue	Met Bourke Cockran who "gassed" a bit. He has lost grip of things & his opinion on public affairs is of little weight.
		Worked at the pamphlet again. The brothers Pinchot dined. Fred Howe & Pritchett lunched with me at Century Club.
To Ponsonby, May (fr ?Anderson, R.A.;	12 Jan, Wed	Was to have sailed today but the Adriatic was delayed 2 days on her outward voyage & so sails tomorrow.
PON.19) Fr Lowell, A. Lawrence.		The War news continues bad but it looks as if the allies must win in the end. America seemed to be getting very sore with England & vice versa.
		Called at her request on Mrs. Borden Harriman a friend of Pres[iden]t. Wilson's (who I think she wanted to marry) & who is supposed to have great influence at the White House. She had met me 27 years ago crossing the Atlantic. She was then a maiden & now she has a daughter who looks as old as she does! She told me that Wilson's prospects of re-election were declining badly & it certainly looks that way.
	13 Jan, Thu	Up at 6 A.M. & finished the pamphlet which I hope will get a big endorsement for the A.A.O.S. It was a killing rush. Charles R. Crane came by night from the President at Washington to talk to me. On the pier he told Godkin that Spring Rice's health made

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		him very "difficult" & added to the friction betw'n the Administration & the British F.O. He said Wilson (who sent me his photo signed "to my sincere friend Sir H.P. with the warm regards of Woodrow Wilson") wanted me to be appointed ambassador. I told Crane the job would kill me in a month! I said that with this new trouble in Mexico, probably "Made in Germany", it was more than ever important to rest the future peace of the world on an understanding betw'n the U.S. & the B[ritish]. Empire. He said Wilson would not stand in the way of that.
	14 Jan, Fri	344. Next me sits R H Brand of the Round Table and opposite General Hermonius a Russian over about munitions who has no English nor French I believe. Otherwise I know nobody & can rest.
	15 Jan, Sat	370
	16 Jan, Sun	371
	17 Jan, Mon	356
(To Spring-Rice, Cecil fr Lansing, Robert; SPR.3) Fr Broderick, J.J.	18 Jan, Tue	376. The Captain had not appeared at any meal (I sat next him) so I went to call on him in his cabin. We discussed the submarine menace & the chances of getting sunk. He fears mines more than submarines & from those a neutral ship is no safer than a belligerent. But he thinks the submarines are still about our coasts. He seems rather unconcerned about it all & I thought took too light a view of the lives under his charge.
	19 Jan, Wed	355.
	20 Jan, Thu	370. After a restful uneventful voyage we tonight get into the danger zone. The passengers are all assigned to their proper life boats & stewards tell them how to put on life belts. The wind has sprung up from the south & I go to bed half dressed with the feeling that until daylight in the Channel submarines could not operate & the only danger is mines. Not a soul on board shows a sign of nervousness – a curious effect of the daily horrors of the war.
	21 Jan, Fri	372. 113 to L[iver]pool, 3046 N.Y. to L'pool. Arrived off bar too late to catch tide & land.
(Fr Spring-Rice, Cecil to ?Admiralty.; cable SPR.4)	22 Jan, Sat	Got to London 3 P.M. & found big budget of letters. Only news was that Col. House had left for Paris & S. Brooks for New York. Geoffrey Robinson I had heard on the ship had ceased to be Editor of Times. So my sources of information were curtailed. In the family an interesting item. Reggie had got engaged to a Miss Kathleen Chalmers. Neville Anderson was home from the front having wrenched his knee at Football! An operation & 2 months at least in hospital (where I saw him) was necessitated. I was secretly glad that the ewe lamb was safe.
Fr Leslie, Shane	23 Jan, Sun	Saw Mary, Conny & Dorothy. Dined with Hall at Wimbledon, chief event.
		Lunched with Arthur Balfour alone. Explained American pos[itio]n to him. He was most cordial. We had long discussion on possible naval policies towards neutrals. I read him Lowell's letter of Jan. 12 & he asked if I could possibly get Lowell to come over. I said no not in term time.

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		On the military & naval situations B. was optimistic. He said (not for publication) that this war had given him a profound contempt for all nations except the Germans – and he said the English. "We have to do all the work for the allies" – financing them I suppose he means. I had to do most of the talking as he wanted to hear all about America. I must see him again tomorrow. He told me I must see Grey.
		I am in perfect agreement with A.J.B. on 3 important points 1. The intervention of U.S. would be a decisive factor in the War. 2. It would be helpful & not embarrassing (notwithstanding Freedom of Seas crux[)] to Eng'd in Peace making. 3. The Pax Britannica can no longer be insured. An alliance betw'n the Republic & the Empire is essential to permanent peace.
	24 Jan, Mon	Adams came from Oxford to talk over the situation. Brand & Hichens of the Round Table lunched with me & I had talks with Grey & Arthur Balfour. The last showed me wires received from Spring Rice showing that the relations betw'n the U.S. & Eng'd were getting very strained. I had ¾ hour with Grey. He does not in the least understand the U.S. & is I fear making a sad mess of our diplomacy. He argued the blockade & contraband issues very narrowly I thought. He may propose a Round Table conference betw'n Allies & neutrals over our exercise of sea power & it would be infinitely preferable to exchange of notes which I fear are exacerbated by Spring Rice's temperamental defects.
		Grey struck me more than ever as wanting in imagination. He has a wonderful power of clear expression of such thoughts as he develops. But he does not see far or deeply.
		I dined with Mrs. Childers to meet Mrs. Bagg. They were very depressed & depressing. Indeed the whole situation looks bad — much worse than any of its parts. There seems to be a hopeless bewilderment, moral collapse & confusion everywhere at the trend of <u>public</u> affairs. Who will reinstate the State?
To Childers, Mary ("Molly"; Mrs. Erskine) enclosing recent letter from her mother, Margaret C. Osgood. (To Spring-Rice, Cecil fr	25 Jan, Tue	Home again. There is much in Irish life to discourage the bravest lover of that country but in the Plunkett House there is real hope. My "crowd" are the only body not pro & not anti any other section. It was the quarterly meeting of the I.A.O.S. C'tee & the spirit was perfect & the work was got through quickly & well.  Kilteragh reopens with a job cook & the new domestic economy
?Admiralty via F.O.; cable (SPR.5)		starts experimentally.
To Seton, Sir Malcolm	26 Jan, Wed	Worked at IAOS all day & dined with Daisy, now in a small Dublin house, to meet Sir Matthew Nathan, Fr. Finlay & Æ. After Daisy & Hetty retired we told N. what we thought of the Irish Government's treatment of the I.A.O.S.
To Adams, W.S.G. To Byrne, James To Godkin, Lawrence To Smith-Gordon, Lionel (Fr Spring-Rice, Cecil to Grey, Sir Edward; SPR.6)	27 Jan, Thu	I.A.O.S. Tom & May came to me. She is reconstructing my household. She is a genius in housekeeping.
	28 Jan, Fri	Eddie & Beatrice came with Randal & governess.
	29 Jan, Sat	Lunched at Vice Regal & met Lt. Michael O'Leary V[ictoria].C[ross]. who was decorated with a distinction from the

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		Czar of Russia.
		J.E. Healy dined & told me the Irish news.
	30 Jan, Sun	H.W. Suydam of the Brooklyn Eagle came to lunch. He had been with nearly all the armies in the field, French, German, Turkish, Austrian, British particularly. His experiences were "thrilling" especially by his modesty as a raconteur. His forecast is a war of exhaustion. He is convinced that the Germans cannot be driven out of Belgium & that they will hold on to Antwerp.
To Adams, W.G.S. To Ponsonby, Thomas	31 Jan, Mon	Eddie, May & Tom left. Beatrice remained & to her I expressed my regret that Eddie did not live a more useful life. She takes him at his own value.
(To Sharman-Crawford, Col. R.G.; PON.20/2) Fr McCarthy, Charles (Fr Pinchot, Gifford, to (sister) 'Nettie', PIN)	1 Feb, Tue	Beatrice left & Norman came. St. J[oh]n Ervine dined & I got a good talk with him. He is a very honest capable thinker on Irish problems.
	2 Feb, Wed	I.A.O.S. I realise that Anderson's heart & mind are in the war services & that the work of the Plunkett House suffers accordingly. Fortunately Norman is a pacifist & concentrates on the works of peace.
	3 Feb, Thu	I slept in my roof shelter last night. It was wild & wet, temperature 42° & the rattling of the shutters made rest difficult. Still I did sleep fairly & I am convinced that an hour of sleep out of doors is worth 1½ hours in. Worked at I.A.O.S. today.
	4 Feb, Fri	Went to a meeting of the N.E. Kildare Cooperative agric'l society & spoke for ¾ hour. Norman & Gregan came with me & I think we did good.
	5 Feb, Sat	I.A.O.S. & work upon Peace League, &c. Healy & Daisy came for week end.
	6 Feb, Sun	Heard from Col. House from Paris. He wants me to meet him in London later in the week. I had Herbert Shaw to lunch & the St. J Ervines to dinner. The former was sec to the Irish Unionist Alliance & left politics for battle. He was at Gallipoli & in the retreat from Servia. He gave a most interesting account of the Franco British operations so far as he saw them. He made it clear that the Bulgarians could have wiped out the British force.
		St. J. Ervine I had asked out as I wanted to advise him about his health. I poured Battle Creek ideas into him & hope I may have helped him.
	7 Feb, Mon	Mrs. Jack (now Lady) Leslie passed through Dublin. She is one of the cleverest & most far seeing American women I know & she is very gloomy about the future of the British Empire. "The awful muddling."
		Worked at my criticism – A.J. Balfour's memorandum to the Cabinet on the bases of International Peace.
	8 Feb, Tue	C.D.B. in morning badly conducted by Birrell & Nathan whose whole mind is set upon keeping in with the clericals & John Fitzgibbon M.P. Then hard work at I.A.O.S., Carnegie Trust & my memorandum on Anglo American relations for A.J.B.

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[Reference to line of Alfred Lord Tennyson's poem Lady Clara Vere de Vere: "Her manners	9 Feb, Wed	Adams spent half the day with me & we discussed problems of peace. Philip Kerr of the Round Table I got to join us for an hour. He holds that there is no such thing as International Law. The neutrality of Belgium & the Monroe Doctrine are the only approaches to a code which is operative in any large number of minds. Had a talk with Arthur Balfour upon the Anglo American situation about which he was just going to consult the Premier. We agreed that I should sound House (who had told me he would arrive Friday or Sat[urda]y & actually arrived tonight) & then see him again. He gave me his pamphlet – "Blockade".  Saw Reggie's fiancee. A really nice girl. Her people Dr. & Mrs.
had not that repose Which stamps the caste		Chalmers are not of the Caste of Vere de Vere.
of Vere de Vere"]		Went by night train to Newcastle for Bowes Bd. meeting.
	10 Feb, Thu	Duty to my "C/Sellities" compelled me to be at Newcastle today & I settled many important colliery questions. I got back at 7 P.M. I got on to the telephone to House. He is lunching with Arthur Balfour & Grey tomorrow at 2 PM. He says he will then have to talk & he proposed lunch with me at 1 P.M. at St. James Club to eat & perhaps pick my brains! I shall see A.J.B. first.
	11 Feb, Fri	Col. House was very interesting. In Berlin no great distress, though awful inconvenience & desire for peace. But the Huns believe in their new & powerful submarines & expect them to sweep British commerce from the seas at any rate in the Home waters. House, who had wanted the President to force the issue on the Lusitania, but now thinks after the (unwise) 9 months delay it must be forced on some other issue, says another incident is sure to occur. He deplores the misunderstanding of the American attitude to Great Britain & said "Why won't your gov't give us the crumb which will enable us to give them the loaf[?]" But he cannot define either the crumb or the loaf. He does not trouble about incidents & small issues but thinks in the large. He told me he has absolute authority as the "spokesman" of the President. He carries round a letter in which this word is used. He has asked the President to do nothing till he gets back. So I am going to try & bring about an agreement betw'n him & the Gov't so that he can go out with full authority. He told me an interesting little piece of American political history. He cabled Wilson strongly urging the strong attitude on the Lusitania outrage. Wilson's reading this cable and his note to Germany based upon it made Bryan resign saying that House & not he was Secretary of State!  Saw JG Butcher & Tommy Bowles at Carlton Club. The former was very strong on our adherence to law & quite unsatisfied about our orders in council. The latter's attitude was simply neutrals be damned. They can only bark – not bite.
	12 Feb, Sat	Began day with another interview with House in which I discussed the Anglo-American relations chiefly from the point of view of the Pres[identia]l election. I argued that it was necessary for Wilson to come out for the allies on one or the other 'plea/plan – the German refusal to agree to his large humanity claim or a new submarine outrage, preferably or both. He asked me to prepare a document to make this view of things plain & bring it to him tomorrow. He also told me that the American Gov't felt the justice of the German complaint that the arming of merchantmen was unfairly destructive of submarines. I pointed out that the immunity of submarines from accountability was

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		quite as important a factor as their vulnerability. They popped up from no one knew where & disappeared no one knew whither after they had committed their murder. They could no more be made accountable than a floating mine. Nearly all the rest of the day I spent at the admiralty with the naval experts & W F Nicholson a Balliol (therefore rather cynical) civilian official who had been Ld Fisher's private secretary & was full of knowledge. I wired for Adams to come from Oxford & till late at night we worked over the papers I had obtained. These included recent interchange of very hot despatches betw'n Sir C Spring Rice & Lansing which showed the worst relations betw'n them.
	13 Feb, Sun	Up early & completed my work with Adams. Went to see House & had a full hour's discussion with him. Got him to see that my "new fact"[,] unrealisable accountability of the submarine[,] outweighed the preposterous new fact of its vulnerability which it was coolly suggested should be met by forbidding its prey to carry the means of defending itself. I agreed to spend all this week helping him.
Fr McCarthy, Charles	14 Feb, Mon	Yet another interview with Col. House and a talk with Arthur Balfour (in a walk from his house to the Admiralty) about the Anglo American situation. I begin to fear that House may have been responsible when in Germany for suggesting the Lansing proposal to the Allies which no doubt Bernstorff jumped at. I have blown it to pieces in House's mind. But if this surmise is correct he is in a very awkward position. I called on Lady Paget & that chatterbox said "Col. House is not taken as seriously this visit as on former visits". I urged him to cable the President strongly urging an abandonment of the proposal to the allies as bound to exasperate the Anglo American relations. I sent him a précis of the arguments against the abrogation of the right of merchantmen to carry defensive armament & telephoned him it was coming. I said in the latter I had offered to help him to draft a cable on the subject to Wilson. He replied "I have cabled him". I am terribly handicapped by having no confidential clerical assistance.
(To Capt. R. Kelly, Dept. of Recruiting for Ireland, fr Anderson, R.A., IRR.1)	15 Feb, Tue	A telephone conversation only with House. Called on Pollen who was just going to lunch with him. Had to lunch with me, at Lady Paget's request, Edward Marshall N.Y. journalist, a most interesting fellow. He was very lame, had been shot to pieces in the Spanish American War when he was with the Roosevelt Roughriders – was in bed for 7 years & is now again a war correspondent. He is strongly pro-ally but most gloomy about the state of Anglo American relations, which the enormous sums spent on the magnificent propaganda of the Huns in the U.S.A. (even the pro-ally Press being largely bought) he fears will make it impossible for Wilson, even if he wishes, to come in. He told me that for a pro-ally propaganda an interview with Lloyd George would be more helpful than anything, as he is the one man who appeals to the American democracy. He has stayed in London weeks to try & get this. Tomorrow he was going to Paris & to the Front. I got him to stay & let me try & get at the demagogue.
Fr Byrne, James (Fr Kelly, R., Dept. of Recruiting for Ireland, to Anderson, R.A., IRR.2)	16 Feb, Wed	Gilbert Murray & AH Pollen lunched with me & I worked all day at an attempt to get some good publicity work done in U.S.A. Then found that Sir Gilbert Parker had got himself put at the head of a publicity office under the F.O. with Masterman & such like under him. Gilbert Murray took me to this office & there I tried to get that live man Edward Marshall (to whom the Germans had

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		offered an enormous bribe to work in the American Press for them) to do the job – or rather to be given the job. "Impossible[,] it would make the other Amer'n journalists angry". Went to Ld. Robert Cecil & discussed the question with him. He is a good man with much more vigor than Sir E Grey. I may yet work it.
		Dined with the "Round Table" to discuss a treatment of the Freedom of the Seas in the forthcoming number by Philip Kerr. Brand, Hichens also present.
Fr Pinchot, Gifford	17 Feb, Thu	Spent most of the day writing a memorandum for the admiralty & the F.O. on the Anglo-American situation. Lunched with Lady Paget where I met a clever American lawyer Anderson who was over to get importation (into neutral countries) facilities for the Chicago [meat] Packers. These scoundrels prevented Chicago taking up the Anglo French loan. Lord Eustace Percy & I dined at his Club to discuss the situation. He is very clever and a fine citizen. I hope to work with him.
	18 Feb, Fri	Adams & Lever who is working at Munitions & knows the American side of the business lunched with me. L. confirmed the great importance of getting the U.S. in with us.
		Long talk with Bryce who will help in the peace part of my propaganda.
		Tea with Bernard Shaw whom I wanted to prevent hindering me. I daresay he will help.
Fr McCarthy, Charles	19 Feb, Sat	A forenoon & lunch golfing at Weybridge with AD Hall, Nash & Sir Wm. McCormick. Did some Dev[elopment] Com'n & Carnegie Trust business very pleasantly!
		In afternoon had a talk with Ld. R Cecil on the American publicity campaign & then a talk with House whom I afterwards met at a Round Table dinner at the Waldorf Astors. Called at 10.30 on Bryce who is off to Paris in the morning for a week & explained to him my anxiety to place Wilson in a pos[itio]n, should he come in to the war, to make a proposal for avoidance of future wars which we can assent to, thus strengthening his hand with his own people.
		House was extraordinarily interesting about the European situation. He condemned our "psychology" which played all the time into the hands of the military party in Germany, e.g. Runciman's declaration that German trade was to be crushed after the war. (Punch's cartoons against Wilson were illustrations of our stupidity in American policy). The German people's minds were absolutely dominated by their government and they would support the Kaiser to the bitter end with their last pfennig & drop of blood. After the war if Germany was badly beaten the armed democracy would perhaps assert itself. But a desperate effort would be made to smash France – probably by a break through on the Western frontier in the near future while little could be done on the Eastern. The Germans were confident. In Germany, France & England the Colonel heard exactly the same arguments why each's position was hopeful. As to peace Germany expected a huge indemnity, Antwerp & otherwise the status quo except that Poland would be a new state under German influence. Austria was so grateful to Germany for saving her from the Russians that German influence there would be stronger than ever. In Turkey & the Balkans commercial concessions rather than territory. The

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		colonies Germany did not much care about.
	20 Feb, Sun	Had Monteagle, Shan Bullock & Rolleston to lunch & a talk with Lady Leslie (Mrs. Jack), & with Mrs. Bagg on the Balkans. Dined with JG Butcher to meet GW Prothero & discuss the American propaganda. Edward Marshall told me his idea of working Middle West opinion – I thought it good.
	21 Feb, Mon	Worked all day with a "Confidential Secretary" (lent by Col. F H Browning of the W[ar].O[ffice].) at my memorandum. This stenographer was such a hopeless duffer he wasted my time & I got no forrader! [sic]
		Dined with Miss Beatrice Chamberlain who had nothing interesting to tell me, but her views were sound, I thought, on the situation generally.
	22 Feb, Tue	Worked nearly all day in my memorandum on the Anglo-American situation. I read it to House who greatly approved & asked for a copy for the President.
To House, E.M. To Wilson, Pres. Woodrow	23 Feb, Wed	House left today. In my final interview with him (which was very cordial) he told me he had little doubt the U.S. would be "in the thick of it" in the near future perhaps in 30 days. He said that Lansing's blunder in sending his note of Jan. 18 to Spring Rice was seized on by Bernsdorff [sic] (who somehow got hold of it & published its contents) to announce the new submarine campaign, thinking that Wilson was now finally committed to the disarmament of merchant ships entering or leaving American ports. House also told me that but for his friendly intervention S.R. would have had to go as the administration could not get on with him. He had before he left again smoothed things over but Wilson said "This is no time for a nervous invalid to be in charge."
		Worked again all day & did not quite finish my memorandum on the Anglo-American situation. Wrote a letter to the President, however & gave House a copy of the memorandum as far as it had gone. Reggie was in town for the day.
[vis inertiae – power of inertia]	24 Feb, Thu	Finished my memorandum. Arthur Balfour read it & was "in full agreement". He will get it circulated in the Cabinet. Then the question will be whether Yankee push will surmount the collective vis inertiae of the F.O., W.O. & Admiralty. Had a long talk with Ld Eustace Percy (very able) in the F.O. upon the details of the plan.
Fr House, E.M.  Fr McCarthy, Charles	25 Feb, Fri	Called on Page who showed me a code cable he had sent to Pres. Wilson on Feb. 15 urging him to come into the war on the side of the allies. I got permission to show it to Arthur Balfour only & I promised to keep no copy of it. B. said he had never seen any such communication from an ambassador to his master – in this case a sort of combination of King & Prime Minister. Interviewed Gordon Selfridge on a scheme for getting up an American press organisation to work American opinion. Saw the Admiralty Censor Sir Douglas Brownrigg and found him quite human. Had to leave at night for Dunfermline for Carnegie Trust Annual Meeting. Dined with Mrs. Waldorf Astor to meet Milner & the Duke of Devonshire.
	26 Feb, Sat	An Executive C'tee, 2 Sub Committees & the annual general meeting of the Carnegie U.K. Trust. Not very interesting but

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		important. Hetherington put me up for the night as I wanted to see Reggie who late in the day, I heard, had put to sea in the Lion.
	27 Feb, Sun	Had an introd[uctio]n from A.J.B. to Admiral of the Harbor Sir Robert Lowry (an Irishman) so phoned him & he asked me to lunch. Spent the afternoon with him picking up a good deal of naval information & learning a lot about the netting of submarines &c.
		In Edinburgh called on J P Croal (Ed[itor] Scotsman) & fully instructed him on the correct attitude towards America as AJ Balfour & I see it.
		Left by night train for London.
[G.E.R. – Great Eastern Railway]	28 Feb, Mon	After not a very good night had an interesting & useful day. Chief event a meeting at Selfridge's to discuss with Gordon Selfridge the formation of an American syndicate to deal with the distribution of pro British views in U.S.A. (especially Middle West) in exchange for on the understanding that news is to be given with the news. Selfridge had an old Press man Crane (N.G.) and Thornton Gen Manager of G.E.R. both Americans. The last named first rate. I took Pollen & Philip Kerr with me & afterwards we three went to the F.O. & discussed the provision of news with Eustace Percy. Edward Marshall had been cabled for to France but had not arrived. Selfridge is getting him tomorrow or next day & he will be the chief executive man of the syndicate. The whole difficulty is how to manage the Press men (Americans) & this I fear I shall have to do.
To House, E.M.	29 Feb, Tue	Monteagle came in early and condoled with me on poor Ernle's death yesterday morning of which I had heard nothing. She had as unhappy a life as could be imagined without poverty. Unhappily married she gave birth to two fine sons – especially the younger. But of these she has seen little for many many years. She was "impossible" with her ailments & eccentricities.
		Worked away at my scheme for the conversion of the Middle West to sane views about the war.
		Philip Kerr & I who had promised ourselves a quiet fortnight at Kilteragh beginning this week decided to stick to this job, which we consider of vast importance & see it through.
		Today I heard that Lord Kitchener highly approved my memorandum to the Cabinet.
[J.A.]	1 Mar, Wed	At it again hard all day. At lunch with Pollen I met Owen Seaman & damned him for his Punch cartoons. Sat next A J [sic] Spender of the Westminster [Gazette] and got him to agree to my preference to the American Press over the English in the matter of news while the message from the English to the American peoples to strengthen Wilson's hand at this crisis is being delivered. So also Donald of the Chronicle whom I saw in the morning and others I have still to approach. Wilson is evidently ready to strike at Germany, so I gather from the Press. House will be with him by Saturday.
		Had meeting of Adams, Thornton (G.E.R. American manager, best of the Americans in London), Bell of Chicago Tribune to

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		discuss propaganda. A very busy day.
To Spring-Rice, Cecil	2 Mar, Thu	During the day managed to get Bullock 3 weeks leave to help my American propaganda project. H.W. Thornton who dined with me provided an office in Parliament St. Tomorrow we begin. Wilson has challenged Congress to vote for or against his strong policy – a master stroke.
	3 Mar, Fri	The same work all day.
	4 Mar, Sat	Ernle's funeral at Charborough. I alone represented the older generation of the family. Reggie (who brought his fiancée along) & Beatrice, Eddie being unwell at Londonderry, the next. There was a goodly following of tenants & labourers who walked the 2 miles from the house to the church 2 miles away where the first half of the service was conducted & back to the disused church in the grounds where the second half was got through by the same blundering 3 clergymen, the coffin being lowered through its floor. Then a walk about the fine Park while Reggie rather gloated over his new possession for he is sole heir and gets great possessions. Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Dorset & Kent will know him as a landed gentleman, though ½ Dunstall goes to Eddie under his father's marriage settlements &, as Reggie owes a debt of honour to Eddie who gave him £15000 out of his heritage when he was left penniless so far as my father's tying up went, it will probably all be Eddie's. Then there is a big slice of Wimbledon & some good blocks of investments! Well I must try & make Reggie see what it all means & the choice he has of using his fine opportunity or living selfishly.
		I too was rather heartless – I was working consciously & unconsciously all day at my scheme for an Anglo American entente.
	5 Mar, Sun	With Philip Kerr & E Percy most of day at propaganda job.
		Sent Winston Churchill my memorandum for the Cabinet.
[Humphry]	6 Mar, Mon	Thornton, Marshall, Gilbert Parker between them took up my day. The first is helpful, the second I am afraid is on the make & the last as head of the Government's publicity bureau at Wellington House "regards one with suspicion" as my old groom Thomas Browne used to say about doubtful vets. Was to have dined at Tring with Mrs. Humphrey [sic] Ward but just missed the train.
(To Bryce, James fr Theodore Marburg) To House, E.M. (2)	7 Mar, Tue	Had Starkie, Ld. E Percy, Kerr & Adams to lunch to discuss the Anglo American relations propaganda. Attended the Naval estimates Debate (in Distinguished Strangers Gallery!) & cabled House not to lose his regard for A.J.B. on account of Winston Churchill's treacherous attack upon his administration. Worked hard all day at this job.
To Bryce, James To Ward, Mrs. Humphry	8 Mar, Wed	In the morning worked for an Asquith pronouncement to start the Anglo American entente campaign. The American initiative is essential in my propaganda, it saves the faces of the self advertising, minor salaried jobbers to whom the Publicity business has been given. So an American Theodore Marburg (with whom on Bryce's introd[uctio]n I lunched) formerly US Minister to Belgium is to write (or sign!) a letter to Bryce on the misinterpretation of Asquith's phrase about destroying Prussian militarism. Bryce is to write to Asquith quoting Marburg. Asquith is to reply to Bryce who will forward reply to Marburg. Marburg

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		is to sign a letter to the Press enclosing Asquith's pronouncement! At night I heard that the F.O. were nervous about this & might put in a spoke. Worked also for an interview from Arthur Balfour who has never given one yet!
		I loathe all this scheming. But then there's the dream of a Pax Anglo Americana!
	9 Mar, Thu	Still waiting for the big men to help me to help the country – or rather the English speaking world. Begins to look a little hopeful.
To House, E.M. To Pinchot, Gifford Fr Bonham Carter, M. Fr Godkin, Lawrence Fr House, E.M. (cable)	10 Mar, Fri	Asquith waiting & seeing. Wrote at length to House on the Balfour-Winston Churchill episode. Got a cable from him through the Admiralty which greatly pleased me. "Sincerely hope nothing will be done to embarrass Balfour. It would be a serious blow to the plan so carefully worked out to which he is such an important factor". As I have urged on House that AJB (& not Grey) is the man to think out with Wilson the Pax Anglo-Americana this is very important.
To McCarthy, Charles	11 Mar, Sat	Another <u>long</u> talk with Arthur Balfour who asked me to continue it at lunch but alas I was engaged to lunch with Parkins. B & I are agreed in our view of the future defence of civilisation by an Anglo-American <u>entente</u> . He is working hard at the interview upon the Freedom of the Seas which he is to give to my propaganda in the U.S.A. He told me that the appointment of Fisher as First Sea Lord would be disastrous. F. was not a strategist but a great naval constructor. He had made, against much opposition four capital improvements in our Navy – types of ships, guns &c. The trouble with him was his partiality and vindictiveness which would split the Navy from top to bottom. Fisher was 75. He was losing his virtues, but his vices were unimpaired. If, B said, the Navy meets with some disaster – "and, of course, this is quite possible" – he would have to go but he had told Asquith the appointment of F. to <u>his</u> place which would probably follow, would be fatal.
[mount – carry weapons in a position from which they can be fired]		At lunch met a naval air man who told me that the reason [H.G.] Wells' idea of "a thousand aero- & sea-planes over Essen" had not been carried out was that hitherto these craft could not mount high enough to be beyond the anti aircraft gun range. Now they could, but the air guns were getting much more efficient. He told me that the effect of bombs on factories had been less serious so far than could have been expected. In several instances, the edifice had been destroyed but the machinery unhurt & the factory at work in a week! Still the Wells plan might put Essen out of action for months.
		Saw Kitchener's secretary who will probably get an interview with K for me.
		Ld. Newton newly in F.O. in charge of publicity & prisoners of war asked me to see him. I found he was absolutely ignorant of the publicity work being neglected & needed. His chief point was that whatever I did the credit must go to Gilbert Parker & Masterman. He had not read my Cabinet memorandum, but only some answers to it.
	12 Mar, Sun	To Stocks, Tring, the country home of the Humphry Wards for lunch. She had been given facilities for seeing the fleet & the army in France, the munitions factories &c by the Government in order that she might write a series of letters to the American

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		Press. I wanted to see her & prevent her doing anything which would hurt our propaganda, especially as Roosevelt had moved her to write. I read her first letter, made a few suggestions which she adopted & generally cautioned her against the dangers.
	13 Mar, Mon	Another long talk with AJB with whom also I lunched. I met too Lord Rayleigh. With both I discussed my latest argument why the liberty-loving peoples <u>must</u> win this war. I have still to work it out but roughly it is this. Science will rapidly develop a new war machinery which will have two qualities, enormous destructiveness & immunity for itself: e.g. the submarine (of the future). If a military bureaucracy is left in power it will be able in the reconstruction period after the war to prepare for the next war. This war was very near being decided by preparation. The next war very likely would be. The democratic peoples would never stand the necessary Naval and military estimates for adequate preparation. Therefore Germany would triumph. Ld. Rayleigh seemed to agree to the nightmare so far as it is based on the possibilities (or probabilities) of progress in physical science. A.J.B. was critical but not adverse.  A new note on submarine policy appeared in our Press today. I
		tried to stir the Admiralty to a quick answer. Quite useless.
(Fr Spring-Rice, Cecil to Mr. Montgomery; SR)	14 Mar, Tue	Began the day with a two hours talk with Herbert Hoover the very capable & very American head of the Belgian Relief Fund. He agreed generally with my view about the Anglo American situation. He said that at present there was no possibility of their joining us but in a month, with intelligent publicity work, there would be a complete revulsion of feeling. He had been thinking out Peace plans & I must get him to go over them again. His idea is that by some economic methods Germany could be prevented from preparing again on a huge scale.
		Saw Ld. Kitchener at his request. Had ¾ hour with him. He was greatly impressed by my memorandum to Cabinet. "If you get the Americans in I will revise my estimate of a three years war – not otherwise." He talked quite freely & was ready to discuss anything in connexion [sic] with the War. Alas I had other fish to fry. But he told me some interesting things. The French very nearly broke at Verdun but now that position was all right. The Gallipoli fiasco may be justified by history. "We are never ready and this venture greatly delayed the Turks & gave us time which was vital". At Gallipoli he said we may now have over concentrated.
		On my particular job he said he would help as best he could. He advocated getting rid of Gilbert Parker, Masterman & Co! He wanted me to have all the money I needed to buy the American Press. He believed in what I was trying to do. He will give facilities to American journalists to visit the front.
[Garlant's]		Had a meeting of American correspondents at Garlands [sic] Hotel, Suffolk St[reet]., St. Loe Strachey being host. Philip Kerr & Bullock were there & were greatly pleased with the "talk" I gave. Things seem to be started at last.
Fr House, E.M. Fr Leslie, Shane Fr McCarthy, Charles	15 Mar, Wed	Had a bad disappointment. Asquith discovered that the phrase he had used about destroying "Prussian domination" (the misinterpretation of which was the peg to hang the opening of our propaganda on) was also used by Briand. Therefore he cannot

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[Kitter]		write the promised letter until he has seen Briand, i.e. till the end of the month! I went to Arthur Balfour who at once said "Preposterous. This only means that he is too lazy to act!["]
		Smith Gordon, just home from his American & Canadian research work for the Coop Reference Library made on my instructions a much wider inquiry into the American feeling about the war than I did. He did it well. He confirms in every respect my Cabinet memorandum.
Fr McCarthy, Charles	16 Mar, Thu	An interesting day at Oxford with Smith Gordon. We discussed with Adams, AL Smith & Cartwright (of the W[orkers']. E[ducational].A[ssociation]. I think, but a man of the people & very much in the counsels of the Labor unions) the best way of getting the Unions or their representatives to talk to Labor in America.
		On the way to the train called on Philip Kerr & unloaded on him a large burden of the London work. He is surely the salt of the earth.
To Byrne, James	17 Mar, Fri	Worked away at the publicity business but was blocked everywhere. Lunched with Sidney Webbs. They are very interesting always on account of their wonderful knowledge of social conditions. But alas! their minds in regard to the war are warped by a desire to use it for purposes of social reconstruction. £4000,000,000 they say it will cost & this must be paid off in 10 years by the rich. Then there will be real equality of sacrifice for the state & the world will begin to health! [sic]
	18 Mar, Sat	The same job but more hopelessly blocked in the F.O. A clerk named Montgomery (son of H[ugh] de F[ellenberg].  M[ontgomery] a chip of[f] the old block) is apparently the chief obstructive. Next week I shall become more active and adumbrate embarrassing publicity work on my own if they don't move & I can stand the strain.
	19 Mar, Sun	1¼ hour with Bonar Law. He too agreed that the Americans, as allies, would end the war. He also said that something ought to be done <u>outside the Government</u> . He is right but I fear the people inside will make it impossible. B.L. has grown a bit since my last talk with him. It was before the war – early in 1914 – upon the Ulster crisis. He is not an inspiring but, I think, a <u>safe</u> leader.
		Dined with Erskine Childers who has been observer in the Naval Air Service. He did not tell me much as I wanted to tell him things. I must see him again.
To McCarthy, Charles Fr Kellogg, Dr. J.H.	20 Mar, Mon	A bad sore throat but had to work very hard. Another long interview with Balfour. Also a talk with R Cecil to whom I suggested that he should try & get the Americans to come in to enable the Dutch to protest effectively against the sinking of their ships. Skilful diplomacy would get the Dutch to make an irresistible appeal to the leading neutral nations to uphold international law on the sea and the rights of small nations to justice even at the of [sic] Germany. The Lusitania would be forgotten in the Tubantia, and the failure to protest against the violation of the neutrality of Belgium in their willingness to come to the succour of Holland. The war would end and America would be the greatest World Power.
	21 Mar, Tue	Arthur Balfour & R Cecil agreed upon a form of cable I might

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[		send (by Admiralty cypher) to House suggesting a line for American intervention. Edward Grey blocked it. Also Montgomery in the F.O. attacked my publicity scheme having been approached by one of the journalists at Strachey's confidential meeting at which it was explained. Pure official jealousy but very disagreeable. Robert Grant an excellent young American business man lunched with me & will help the Amer'n Ctee.
Fr Percy, Ld. Eustace Fr Selborne, Ld. [Brade]	22 Mar, Wed	Went to see Edward Grey & explained the proposed House cable (which went through) and the publicity plan I had in mind. Saw also Sir Reginald Braid [sic] the secretary of the W.O. whose make up explains to me a good deal of the muddle there. Wrote a long memorandum for the Americans who I hope will take hold of the American Press men and give the government a better instrument of publicity in the U.S. than they now have.
Fr Spring-Rice, Cecil	23 Mar, Thu	2 colliery meetings and the library subcommittee of the Carnegie Trustees. Otherwise the Sisyphean task of trying to get something done in the American publicity matter. Had Grant, Thornton, Powell (who presided when I addressed the American luncheon Club) and a young Rhodes scholar Lockwood, who if he had been available would have been an ideal head to the Press Bureau I want to start, to dinner.
To House, E.M. To Percy, Ld. Eustace Fr House, E.M. Fr Percy, Ld. Eustace (2)	24 Mar, Fri	Carnegie Executive Committee which did some useful work. Discussed agric'l policy with A.D. Hall & for the rest worked at the Anglo-American business. This included a long letter (not a good one) to House. I begin to see what can & what cannot be done with the government Publicity machinery by outside help. Very little.
To Percy, Ld. Eustace (incomplete) To Selborne, Ld.	25 Mar, Sat	At last got to a point where I can see my course clear. The crazy government publicity machine is too strongly entrenched to be removed scrapped as it ought to be. Better had it never been born. The only thing now is to try & stir it into activity & criticise it into sense. I have by my memorandum to the Cabinet done the former. I shall try to leave an American C'tee behind, when I leave next week, to do the latter.
		Lunched Arthur Herbert & E. C. Grenfell at the St. James Club & called on Mrs. Bagg. For the rest I was exhausted.
	26 Mar, Sun	A long talk with Tuohy, London correspondent of New York World who gave me interesting particulars about the London American Press crowd & their relations with the Government. One Wiegand, World correspondent in Berlin, an American born in Idaho had been United Press representative in Berlin 2 years before war broke out. It was known that a Rintelen had been spending \$100,000 stirring up trouble in Mexico & a wireless message from Wiegand to the World saying that the Germans disavowed Rintelen & would courtmartial him when he gets back to Germany had been intercepted. R. is now a prisoner in our hands & if he were told this he might surely give away the whole transaction which would be most timely, but Tuohy says the British Gov't don't think it fair to approach a prisoner thus.
[Friday] [Americans on board; none drowned.]		The sinking of the Sussex a British channel passenger boat near the coast of France without warning on Sat[urda]y [sic] & the drowning of a few American citizens should give Wilson his opportunity. If German complicity in Mexican trouble could be

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		proved the U.S. might be in.
[query in original] [ad majorem dei gloriam – to the greater glory of God]		Tuohy told me some very interesting details about Edward Marshall the extraordinary correspondent of the N.Y. Sun who got the interview out of Arthur Balfour. In 1897 he was correspondent for the N.Y. World (I think) & Tuohy & he saw lots of each other. He was then "doping" himself with absinthe – a sort of George Wyndham in his determination to have a short & merry life. "One glorious hour" sort of man. He had left his wife & was living with a lovely lady who is now a French or Italian duchess. It was the Diamond Jubilee time & Marshall was out-Kiplinging Kipling: Marconi had just demonstrated wireless – say a 100 yards talk. Marshall saw his chance. Marconi must talk from the top of St. Paul's to the tip of the Eiffel Tower. He cabled to the N.Y. World(?) to reserve him a week hence a page. He went to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's & told them the part they were to play ad Dei majorem gloriam [sic]. They turned the "proposition" down by a majority of one! In 1898 Marshall, now Rough Rider, lost a leg at San Juan. Seven years in bed broke none of his spirit but changed his morale in certain respects!
	27 Mar, Mon	The Sussex was a French Folkestone-Boulogne steamer. She was torpedoed by the Huns without warning on Friday. Edward Marshall was on board. Went to see him & took Bullock to make a record of the talk as I had no time the day being busy. The French crew lost their heads. The women behaved splendidly though many French jumped into the sea & over crowded & upset a life boat. Considerable loss of life partly by the explosion & partly by the confusion after. Those who stuck to the ship were rescued by a destroyer. Marshall cabled 20,000 words to New York & generally did marvels for a nervous wreck with a wooden leg.
(To Byrne, James fr McCarthy, Charles) [The Indian Industries Commission]	28 Mar, Tue	Today I had to make a decision of great difficulty. The Government want me to sit on a committee (& a very good one) to inquire into the Industrial Resources of India. It might mean 6 months taken, at this critical time, out of my remaining services to Ireland & the Empire in using whatever influence I may possess to aid in the settlement of the Eternal Irish Question & to promote the pax Anglo Americana. Sir Thomas Holland is to be Chairman. Saw Austen Chamberlain about it & did not give final decision. Indeed I have not been officially asked yet so I told A.C. that I should have to make the reservation that if circumstances arose demanding my services in public work at home I should have to refuse. So I may not be asked.  Attended Strachey's American Press tea and, I think, swept away the last of the misunderstandings as to what I was after in all this
To House, E.M.	29 Mar, Wed	complicated business.  Had a meeting of 10 influential Americans & I think got the
		"stage Army" to understand their job.  Had Percy Alden M.P. to lunch. A poor intelligence I thought but a good heart.
		Capt. Gaunt cabled from N.Y. that House had suddenly left for Washington, that his p[rivate] sec was absolutely certain that the breach would come on The Sussex but that Bernstorff thought the fact that no Americans were killed would avert it.
To Bowerman, C.W. fr	30 Mar, Thu	Wrote another long letter to House upon many problems which

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HCP and Kerr, P. (KERR) Fr McCarthy, Charles		America would have to consider with Britain if they became allies. Called with Thornton on Newton & Montgomery at the F.O. to discuss the future of the American Committee. The temporary & the permanent publicity official were equally incompetent.
		Had A.D. Hall to dinner at Club & discussed Agric'l policy. Gave him T[homas].B[rabazon].P[onsonby].'s London address & he will see whether the best of Irish farmers can be used in some public way.
		I finished my fight for a diplomacy which would make it possible for America to join the Allies. I have done good work, under inconceivable difficulties and feel happy about the result.
[L&NWR - London & North Western Railway]	31 Mar, Fri	The storm last Tuesday wrecked the telegraph lines along 100 miles of the L.&N.W.R. Hence the day mail by which I travelled to Ireland was 3 hours late. Old men & women cannot take young men's places for this work. Why don't they have underground tubes?
Fr Byrne, James	1 Apr, Sat	A crowded morning at the I.A.O.S. A not unwelcome change of work, from the exceptional to the normal. But the perspective is changed. The rest of my life will probably be a struggle with a perspective which won't change.
		J.E. Healy dined & I brought him up to date in the Anglo-Amer'n situation which I know pretty well now. Slept on my roof – a cold starlight still night.
	2 Apr, Sun	An ideal Sunday. Golfed with Lane in the morning, had an Indian student (or agric'l organisation &c) to lunch. Otherwise a party of Daisy, Hetty, Norman. Capt. Kelly director of recruiting, R.A.A. & his boy Neville came in afternoon. A blessed rest.
To Bryce, James To Godkin, Lawrence To House, E.M. To Pritchett, Henry S.	3 Apr, Mon	Still struggling with arrears of correspondence & trying to shake off my Anglo American relations work for a while so as to get back to my Irish work.
To Percy, Ld. Eustace Fr Bryce, James Fr Pinchot, Gifford	4 Apr, Tue	I.A.O.S. but largely Anglo American situation correspondence.
To Bryce, James To Leslie, Shane  Fr McCarthy, Charles	5 Apr, Wed	A long talk with Nathan about the state of Ireland. Ld. Wimborne came in with a splash, spent lots of money (very unwisely & mostly on display) was welcomed chiefly as a substitute for the Aberdeens who were pretty generally hated & is already tired of the job. For the last few weeks he has been in London enjoying himself with a Gaiety lady of no great reputation while his wife is in with a "friend", so the gossips say.
		Birrell still treats the most exacting office in the Irish Government as a sinecure, & the country is utterly out of hand. Redmond has shown a good deal of courage in trying to pay in Irish recruits the price of the "Home Rule bill on the statute book" which he was in a position to wring from the Liberal government who were dependent upon the Irish Nationalist vote. But his purely Parliamentary handling of Irish affairs, his refusal to support any Irish movement which did not bow down to the political machine & his failure to use the immense power his Parl'y pos[itio]n gave him to come to some understanding with the Carsonites have

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		combined to leave him without any following among the independent men of the country. The Irish outlook is gloomy and the forces now labelled Sinn Fein, the honest cranks in the lead & with all the revolutionary elements in their train[,] are becoming formidable.
To McCarthy, Charles To Spring-Rice, Cecil To Walter, Karl	6 Apr, Thu	A long letter to Spring Rice on the Anglo Amer'n situation & a visit from Sir H Reichel took the day.
Fr Buxton, C. Roden Fr Cecil, Robert	7 Apr, Fri	Worked at I.A.O.S. Accepted appointment on Indian industrial committee.
Fr House, E.M.		Christopher Turnor came. He is the best type of English landlord – a fine public spirited fellow, but alas not a thinker out of things.
To Shaw, George Bernard	8 Apr, Sat	Daisy buried her old mother in London – exit that generation, happily quite in the course of nature.
		Took a half holiday at Kilteragh. Healy & Æ, Norman & C Turnor helped me to enjoy it.
		C Turnor is much travelled & he knows an immense number of people in authority. He alarmed me today by saying the Dutch if they come into the war, will more likely join the Germans than the Allies.
Fr Ichalkaranji, Chief of	9 Apr, Sun	Mahaffy, aging (or is it ageing?) taking too much protein & using up his wonderful constitution on cigars but very understanding & far more mellow than in his more vigorous days lunched. A very quiet & restful Sunday.
To Buxton, C. Roden To McCarthy, Charles Fr McCarthy, Charles	10 Apr, Mon	C Turnor left. He is a very fine public spirited English landlord. His possessions are great & he uses his wealth in every way well. He does not think very steadily but his impulses are good, his view broad & his knowledge is very wide. He has travelled much, read omnivorously & has made endless friends. He is a good citizen.
		A dull dinner party at Nathan's. Met there however "Baffy" Dugdale, Lady Frances Balfour's daughter, very clever.
To Kellogg, Dr. J.H. Fr Adams, W.G.S. (extract)	11 Apr, Tue	Work including C.D.B. (pure waste of time).
Fr Urs, Bala Raj	12 Apr, Wed	"Baffy" Dugdale (Lady Frances Balfour's daughter) & Mrs. George Nathan lunched at Kilteragh after "doing" the Plunkett House, i.e. Æ. Heavy day's work off & on & left by night for England.
	13 Apr, Thu	Arrived by Irish Mail & left 11.15 PM for Edinburgh. Began with long conference with Johnson about Eddie & Reggie's affairs. Then to Admiralty where I had another talk with A.J.B. about the Anglo American situation. He is losing patience with Wilson who always seems to wiggle out. He protested against my going to India as I was much too useful at home! Dined with Sir T Holland & met Hopkinson one of my colleagues on the Indian Ctee. Also Kershaw of the India Office. Gathered that the trip would enable one to see the whole of India under very favourable circumstances. But I rather dread it.
Fr McCarthy, Charles	14 Apr, Fri	Began by 3 hours with Commander Crowther ?at Leith who showed me the small submarines he had in his command. They are under 400 tons. They are shaped rather like a big torpedo with

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		a weal along the top which forms the deck along which you can only walk single file. At the forward end is the conning tower & the periscope. Down below it is a long passage crowded with miscellaneous machines – 60 tons of batteries for propulsion when submerged & a big 12 cylinder Petrol Engine for surface propulsion. The crew numbers 13 in these small craft & the discomfort must be extreme. They carry 4 torpedoes, 2 in tubes on both sides of bow & two ready to place in tubes.
		After seeing the actual craft I was taken to see a submarine school where imaginary vessels are manoeuvred against by an imaginary submarine on a chart. But all the crew are at their places doing the things – working wheels, horns &c – which they would do in actual warfare.
		The whole thing was very hard to understand of course. But I quite satisfied myself that this class of warfare was in its infancy & capable of indefinite development. There is now no cure for war except a change of heart which will make nations cease to desire to fight. If they do so desire they will prepare and the resources of preparation are increasingly rich. Preparedness will in future be so decisive a factor that all or no nations must prepare!
		Sent in a steam launch to The Lion, an hour's run in rough waters. Reggie was down with influenza but, I was glad to find, will come up to the scratch tomorrow. I talked with him over his settlement with Eddie. I still hope to make things as they ought to be betw'n the brothers but it will be hard enough. Eddie feels himself aggrieved & is horribly vindictive.
		Met Hetherington & discussed Carnegie Trustee affairs for an hour, also met Dr. Mackenzie who is making an enquiry for the Trustees into physical welfare of mothers & children in Scotland. I have to appoint a man to do so in Ireland.
Fr Marburg, Theodore	15 Apr, Sat	Reggie's Marriage. His ship left for sea (gun practice) directly he came ashore & took the shipmates who would have seen him married including the best man. A naval substitute with a shore job was found at last minute. Tom & May, Eddie & I represented the Plunkett side. Everything very quiet on account of Ernle's death.
		Eddie growled all day about his mother's will & was very unfriendly to Reggie over the latter's proposed concessions in the friendly settlement.
		Left by night for London.
(To Smith-Gordon, Lionel,. BYR/J)	16 Apr, Sun	Spent some hours with A.D. Hall discussing I.A.O.S. grant from Development Commission for 1916-17 & the new agric'l policy of the U.K. Dined with the Setons.
Fr Godkin, Lawrence	17 Apr, Mon	F.O., Admiralty & W.O. about Anglo Amer'n situation. Spring Rice today cabled that Bernstorff was said to be packing up, but he intimated that some way out might be found. He will be very unwilling to believe that the breach must come as I have all along insisted.
		A. E. Bullard turned up & I took him to see Arthur Balfour. Bullard's thoughts are helpful to me. He is a good critic of our Foreign policy as he knows Europe well especially its Eastern end. He thinks Grey a bad failure & I fear he is right. On the

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		Anglo-American situation he agrees generally with me but thinks that my pax should be Anglo-Franco-Americana – a Trihyphenated-Peace! I think he is wrong & that the American people would in the long run rather get back to the Anglo-Saxon note.
Fr Bullard, Arthur [obsolete spelling of Budapest]	18 Apr, Tue	Adams, Philip Kerr & Bullard at lunch were very interesting especially P.K. He is clear that the war was due to the conspiracy betw'n Berlin & Buda Pesth to use a huge conscript army raised throughout the two empires and the Balkans to set upon an irresistible Mittel Europa and dominate Asia down to Bagdad. The utter defeat of the whole project now will he thinks give the German democracy its chance.
		Adams brought A L Smith's, his & Cartwright's collection of Labour views gathered from many industrial workers. They were extraordinarily interesting and sane.
		Attended Strachey's journalistic (American) tea-party.
		Had a talk with Bernard Shaw who was in his best vein.
		Dined with Mrs. Bagg & met Lowry of the American Embassy and Bullard. He was at Agadir in 1911 & actually went on board the Panther. The German officer told him that there would be war if England stayed out & that England certainly would not come in because it would mean the revolt of her colonies & the loss of India. Further they said "of course you (the Americans) would take Canada["]. He was at Sofia in 1912 & there the ?Russian newspaper men took the same view. When this war broke out the Outlook wanted him to go to Germany & he went to the Berlitz school in New York to learn German. There the German teacher remarked when the first contingent of Canadians left Canada, "Now you can go & take Canada["].
	19 Apr, Wed	Met Arthur Balfour in street. He told me he gathered that impression prevailed at Washington that we didn't care whether America joined us or not & asked me to make House understand the situation. This I did in a cable which may produce a very important effect on the situation. Wilson today told Congress (in joint session) that he was sending what is practically an ultimatum to Germany – "Cease your submarine programme or we fight you" it almost came to.
		Colliery meeting and a conference betw'n Eddie's & Reggie's solicitors over the settlement between them took most of the day.
To House, E.M. Fr House, E.M. Fr Smith, A.L. Fr Stamfordham, Ld. [CIE – Companion of The Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire]	20 Apr, Thu	Another long talk with Arthur Balfour who begins to realise the importance of having some peace policy in which the Americans & the English can join forces. Wrote at length to House. Saw L J Kershaw CIE at Indian office about my trip. Left by late train for Ireland with A E Bullard.
T	21 Apr, Fri	Rested at Kilteragh with Bullard. Daisy came.
		Bullard was very interesting on the Balkan situation. He thinks the solution will be found in a new Macedonia under an international guarantee. This is the territory taken from Turkey in the Balkan war 1912. It would mean taking a bit each from Greece, Bulgaria & Servia. It would be a sort of buffer state & would prevent the neighbours quarrelling among each other. He

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. ,		says all the Balkan states look at Monarchs as necessary foreign secretaries. Otherwise they are republican in sentiment.
Fr Holderness, T.W.	22 Apr, Sat	Quiet day with Bullard, Norman & Healy.
	23 Apr, Sun	Mahaffy came to lunch. He asked me why I didn't go to church. I said because I could not subscribe to the dogma, not even to the Apostles Creed. His answer amounted to "Nor can I but there are other reasons." There are but I cannot have too many false issues in my rule of life. Besides I work pretty hard (at public service entirely as I understand it) all the week generally & to break into my Sunday rest would be a bad change. Perhaps Christian Science might be considered?
Fr Leslie, Shane  [dies irae - day of wrath; Judgment Day]  ['Methuseliers' - Veteran Corps, Home Defence Force]	24 Apr, Mon	A black day – a dies irae. The policy of wait & see is a veritable sowing of the wind in Ireland. At 1 P.M. Daisy tried to get on the telephone to the Under Secretary's Lodge. She was told from the Castle that a "revolution had broken out", that the police & sentries at the Castle had been fired at, that the gates had been closed & then the telephone stopped. In the afternoon I took Norman who knows the mountain roads to try & find Anderson & his "Methuseliers" who were picnicking in the mountains. I feared they would be ambushed & intended to get at them from the upper side & warn them. Near Sandyford we met some of them & heard they had marched to Dublin. We overtook them & found they had been commandeered. They were armed but had no ammunition & 4 of them were shot dead others being wounded. Then the force was taken into the Beggars Bush Barracks & furnished with ammunition. I came on to the Kildare St. Club & could find no one who knew anything. Spent an anxious night at Kilteragh.
	25 Apr, Tue	Ambrose, caretaker at Plunkett House got through to Kilteragh somehow, though the telephone was only available for military purposes, & told us that the milkman had told him "War was Declared". This turned out to be a Proclamation declaring Marshall [sic] Law. All day the city remained a strange mixture of peace & war. The inhabitants – men, women & children ignored the official warning to remain in doors though rifles were popping off occasionally supplemented by machine gun fire. The military occupied the Shelbourne Hotel & thence sniped the rebels who had dug themselves in in Stephens Green. I went in & sent the staff of the Plunkett House Home, got the Fingall women folk Daisy, Hetty & a Miss Dennis to Kilteragh. There I worked the latter part of the day. I took letters to Kingstown but the mail service was suspended. Three barricades I had to climb to get to the St. George's Yacht Club.  Tom Ponsonby came. He started Monday for the Cattle Show but his train (which he was happily able to leave by motor) was held up 25 hours at Maryborough.
To Masterton Smith, J.E. Fr Masterton Smith, J.E.	26 Apr, Wed	Still no news from the outside world. I went in to Dublin with Tom Ponsonby & Bullard & to Nathan at the Castle. There he was in the Master of the Horse's house carrying on the government of Ireland, Birrell of course being in London where the papers (which have absolutely no news) say he "made a statement in the House" yesterday! I drove my little motor to the Castle via Nassau & Dame Sts. Dame Street from the South G[rea]t. Georges St. was deserted, the military at the Castle & in the City Hall, whence they have evicted the rebels, firing at the

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[COC - Commanding Officer in Charge] [Kinnard] [locum tenens — one in place of; deputy]		houses occupied by "the enemy" on the other side. I went in the Castle which I had some difficulty in getting the guard to enter. I found Nathan surrounded by a queer lot of law officers, police & military. JH Campbell now att[orne]y general was for "thorough" & told me he was going to ask a lot of awkward questions about the management of the business by the authorities at the proper time. General Friend C.O.C. was away in Eng'd when the trouble began on Monday! One Kennard [sic] (an ass and a Christian Scientist) was his locum tenens.
		I learned that there was no "rising" elsewhere in Dublin, that the rebellion was organised & led by Sir Roger Casement whom the Government had captured. I had gone to the Castle to get a cypher telegram through to Arthur Balfour telling him I thought it important to let the American people know of the German origin of the Irish trouble. I changed my cable to definite advice to give the capture of Casement as a piece of "exclusive news" to the American press representatives so as to insure their cooperation. I wired Masterton Smith who has my code with House & he replied that my advice would be acted upon.
		Poor Anderson was shot, but not I think dangerously wounded in the afternoon
Fr Barnes, Sir George S. Fr Kellogg, Dr. J.H.	27 Apr, Thu	Today was to have begun with the meeting of the General C'tee of the IAOS & to have been followed by a United Kingdom Agric'l Cooperative Conference for which I had elaborately prepared. Instead I had to visit Anderson in the Portobello Military Hospital where he was lying hit by three bullets – or buckshot all wounds being slight.
		Went on to the Castle where I spent 5 or 6 hours at Nathan's office. He showed me the official file recording the landing of Sir Roger Casement from Germany on the Kerry Coast, his capture and removal to The Tower where he confessed his identity, & deplored the way his poor dupe had been duped by the Germans.
		All day the Irish Volunteers held their own & illustrated the enormous difficulty of dealing with an enemy in your own city. Troops were pouring in – there were some 700 or 800 raw boys from the shires chiefly – in the Castle yard, with artillery on its way. The G.P.O. & Four Courts, the Royal College of Surgeons (which the Volunteers call their Military Hospital & call upon the authorities to respect under Geneva Convention!) & houses scattered over the city are held against the troops. Musketry pops away all day & from every quarter. Yet men women & children still frequent the streets unconcerned. Birrell

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		How much of Dublin may be destroyed heaven knows.
		Bullard left. His mind was very useful to me in thinking out the Anglo-Amer'n relations problem.
		Saw today's Daily Mail: Northcliffe meets you everywhere! He greatly <u>under-stated</u> the gravity of the situation!
Fr Byrne, James Fr Pimento, A.B. [prob. Raymond W. Needham of British Army recruiting office, Dublin]	29 Apr, Sat	A dreadful day. The Food Committee was to meet at 11 A.M. at the Castle. I took Lane in my little car & Tom Ponsonby took Needham. We went the way we were ordered. When we were coming along the west side of Merrion Square the guard at the crossing of the trams at the N.W. corner opened fire on us. My car was in front & at first a volley was discharged at it. The glass skreen [sic] was shattered & Lane hit through the fore arm. We held up our hands but they kept on firing for some time. Meanwhile Tom had got out of his car & lay down on the road. This was our undoing. The stupid young soldiers thought he was a rebel going to fire at them from behind the cars & several of them fired at him while others kept up a fusillade on the front car. He poor fellow was hit three times, twice in the back near the spine if it was not actually hit. The spinal cord was not hit for there was no paralysis. Most fortunately we were opposite the houses of Dr. Bewley, Sir Arthur Chance & Sir Andrew Horne, the first & last first rate physicians, the other first rate surgeon. Bewley took in Tom & Horne, Lane. I managed to get a letter off to May by a man who was going to England. I had to look after Lane's wife & it was rather lucky that I was ordered to leave Tom alone. He had 2 doctors & a good nurse. Needham & I did our best to get to the Castle so as to have orders sent to the officers & N.C.O.s not to extirpate friendly civilians. I asked Col. Kennard [sic], second in command, to send a soldier to come with us. He sent a corporal & we sallied forth. When we got to Nassau St. the firing from the other side of the TCD grounds was so fierce that we had to turn back. Then I came back to Kilteragh as the Dr. & Nurse forbade me to see Tom & Lane was all right but I had to see his wife. About 5.30 P.M. R.A.A. phoned that the rebels had surrendered unconditionally.
To The Garrison Adjutant, Dublin (DUBL)	30 Apr, Sun	Got such an excellent report of Tom that I was able to wire May (via Military authorities) that he was doing splendidly, lungs & spine untouched. The Castle & his doctors begged me not to risk going to Dublin where the snipers were still active & as in the circumstances I could hardly bring out Lane I stayed at Kilteragh with the exception of a run down to Kingstown to inquire about the food distribution problem. Guns were booming from the Dublin side all day. It seems the Larkin (Labour-Socialist) element are desperate & have no idea of surrendering. I was glad to rest my nerves after yesterday.
Fr Bullard, Arthur Fr Thomson, Basil H. [Sackville St. – now O'Connell St.]	1 May, Mon	George Paynter & May came over. We concealed May's arrival from Tom as the sniping was pretty hot in Merrion Square & he would have been nervous for her. I attended the Food Committee & got Lane home to his wife. Then back to Dublin on more food business. Towards evening the sniping died down & the streets filled. I took a look at the devastation in Sackville St. & saw evidence that there must be in every modern city police preparedness for such outbreaks as this e.g. A police hut at the N.E. & S.W. corners of Merrion Square would have prevented the

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		snipers occupying its 4 sides.
[DMP – Dublin Metropolitan Police]	2 May, Tue	Took May & George Paynter in to Tom. For the rest of the day worked at getting the Volunteer Training Corps men to swear in as Special Constables to aid the D.M.P. (who the Chief Commissioner told me were to be armed) to search for arms & loot & generally restore order.
		Heard that Eddie was at Jervis St. Hospital wounded, not seriously, in the face since Tuesday last. I had heard a rumour on Sunday & on Monday had inquired at the Castle. Today I got a list of the wounded & his name was not there. So I asked Nathan to inquire & got the news after I had got home at night.
		Bullard yesterday got over to me, by a Scotland Yard courier, an extraordinarily interesting letter to Col. House upon the Anglo-American, Irish and general-European-war situations. I am to get the letter, after having copies made, sent to House via Admiralty.
		Bullard thinks the breach betw'n U.S.A. & Germany is inevitable but would rather it was postponed till the Anglo American entente (which he finds no wish for over here except among my friends who alone understand the Liberal basis thereof!!)
Fr Bullard, Arthur Fr Butcher, J.G.	3 May, Wed	Only stray snipers in Dublin, & the Provinces of which we have no news[,] are at the Castle reported quiet. Tom progressed well. Eddie I found in the King George the Fifth Hospital with a slight wound in the face. It seems that he was on leave at Dunsany when the rebellion broke out, came at once to Dublin & offered his services at M.H.Q., was told to report to an officer at Amiens St. & while on his way there with his motor was shot, taken prisoner by the rebels & left (supposed to be dying which suppos[itio]n he encouraged) at Jervis St. Hospital. He was treated very humanely treated [sic].
		Wrote to Masterton Smith about the necessity of getting the publicity business properly attended to. Worked a bit at the special constable levy, but chiefly at Anglo American situation.
To House, E.M. Fr Adams, G. (sec'y to Charles McCarthy)	4 May, Thu	Birrell's resignation announced. He will have a great political funeral as he has done the bidding of the Irish M.P.s for 9 years. But more than any other living man he fomented this Rebellion.
Fr Spring-Rice, Cecil		Did a good day's work on the American situation writing to House & Bullard.
		Wrote Carson urging him to propose disarming the whole of Ireland.
Fr Carver, Clifford N. (HOU) Fr Schiller, H. (year uncertain – 1915-18) [Thomas Drummond – even-handed reformer appointed Irish Under- Secretary in 1835]	5 May, Fri	A new Chief Secretary Lewis (commonly called Lulu) Harcourt & Sir Robert Chalmers as Under Secretary. I am sorry for Nathan. He is a good man & under some other chief might have made his name in the Irish Under Secretaryship. The days of Drummonds are past – though so Antony MacDonnell found – but there is still a great opportunity for both offices. Of Harcourt I know nothing. I have never spoken to him as I did not think he would interest me. He is ambitious & as he comes to Ireland at a time when everybody is open to consider some new policy he has a great chance.
[Markievicz]		They are shooting the leaders of the Rebellion – some 8 so far – & Con Gore Booth of long ago, the Countess Markievics [sic] for some 18 years, has been condemned to death. She is deeply dyed

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		in blood but her motives were as noble as her methods were foul. I met Powerscourt Provost Marshall & he was, he told me, begging the authorities to shoot her. She is to have her sentence postponed till Sir John Maxwell returns. I shall urge her reprieve.
		Lunched with Healy & discussed situation.
To Balfour Lady Betty	6 May, Sat	The letters of 10 days come in in bunches but in no order of priority. They all appear to have been thrown into a heap somewhere & a censoring staff adds to the confusion & delay.
		Spent the day struggling with this incubus. Letters from India, America (N & S) & all parts of the U.K. have to be answered. But there are other things to do. The Irish Question is as unsettled as ever. The New Chief Secretary it seems is not yet appointed.
[prob. Chief Commissioner Lt. Col. Walter Edgeworth-Johnston]		Saw Col. Johnson [sic] (DMP), Neville Chamberlain (R.I.C.) & Major Price, Intelligence officer of H.Q. staff upon evidence of external origin of insurrection. None very helpful.
	7 May, Sun	A long talk with Sir John Maxwell the Commander of the Forces in Ireland sent over to quell the Rebellion which he did effectively. My object in calling upon him was to get the necessary help for collecting all the available evidence of German initiative & direction of the insurrection. This would very likely smash the German Irish alliance in America as the Irish would be furious at having been duped into a mad revolt by promises of naval & military assistance. I have 3 other aims in wishing to make this latest Irish folly part of the big war. The reconciliation of the moderates & extremists in Nationalist Ireland would be made much more hopeful, the destruction in Dublin & other costs of the rebellion would be pooled with the costs of the war & not fall upon Ireland and the soldiers who had died or been wounded in this business would not go down to history as the victims of street riots. Maxwell agreed with all but the last point!
		We then discussed disarming the people. I showed him my correspondence with Carson in which I proposed that he should initiate disarmament with his Volunteers as everyone else would follow & he replied that he could not as the women (especially) of Ulster wanted the arms kept[,] while 50,000 of their men were fighting abroad[,] to defend themselves against enemies at home!
		Maxwell sees that the labour section of the rebels – the [Irish] Citizen Army – whose desperation was the cause of the rebellion's outbreak against John MacNeill's endeavours to stop it at the last moment, have a real grievance and he proposes to embody in his recommendations an immediate inquiry into labour conditions in Dublin. I recommended him to consult Adams.
[DMP Constable James O'Brien]		Lastly I urged clemency. If there have to be further military executions let them be restricted to cases where high treason was combined with murder, such as the shooting of the unarmed fat constable at the Castle gate by which act of brutality the rebellion was opened.
		Maxwell is a good type of common sense Englishman, with little imagination but with a sound judgment where the situation is fairly clear. He has done well so far & I hope won't blunder when he has to deal with the aftermath of the crisis.
To Butcher, J.G. To Maxwell, Sir John	8 May, Mon	A meeting of the Council of the Chamber of Commerce at which I blocked a foolish resol[utio]n attributing the rebellion to the

Correspondence [Notes]	1916	Diary Entry
[		Irish Government's inaction. I must be careful about my utterances on the Irish situation while people are incapable of calm thought. I doubt whether it will ever be possible to get the Dublin employers, not unkindly folk by any means, to understand the modern position of labour.
		Got Needham appointed to sift the evidence of the external origin of the rebellion.
		I have Eddie & servant in the house & Beatrice, her maid & Randal came today – a party of 5. Eddie is the least easy guest among the next generation of my family to fit in. His selfishness is quite the worst I have seen in any human being.
Fr Olivier, Sydney H. Fr Walter, Karl	9 May, Tue	A very small meeting of the CDB over which I had to preside. Fr. O'Hara told me that the feeling in his Parish had been strongly anti Sinn Fein but a reaction was setting in with the executions. I saw Maxwell & General Friend today & told them I thought the executions should now stop in the interests of the country.
To Ervine, St. John  Fr McCarthy, Charles	10 May, Wed	Met Sir Robert Chalmers at lunch at K S[t] Club. He told me he had only come over temporarily (i.e. the moment he begins to understand the Irish situation he will go!) & he showed that he was absolutely ignorant of all things Irish.
		Some artillery officers made observations from the top of Kilteragh, whether in view of a possible German invasion or in order not to be quite so unprepared at the next Irish Rebellion I do not know.
To Tobin, Richard (2) Fr House, E.M. Fr Maxwell, Sir John	11 May, Thu	Suddenly determined to go to London for no special object but only to look around & see what is up at the centre of things. I feel that one who stands outside parties but knows something about them all may do useful work. A very hard day & left by night mail.
To Lowell, A. Lawrence (Fr Robinson, Lennox to O'Brien, Cruise)	12 May, Fri	Arrived in London to find I had crossed Asquith who had gone to Ireland to look at – or into? – the situation. Had a long talk with Arthur Balfour on the Irish Question in its latest development & made him understand my point of view about it all.
[Croal]		Spent the day trying to get evidence of the German complicity in the Irish rising. Lunched with AJB & met a lot of his nieces & Croly [sic] Ed[ito]r of Scotsman.
		Interesting interview with Basil Thomson Deputy Com[missione]r of Metropolitan Police. Very able man. He told me that Casement's diary which was captured showed that he was a vile creature living a double life – treason being his public[,] & unnatural vice his private taste. Basil Thomson is fully alive to the importance of the attempt I am making to break the German-Irish alliance in USA.
		AD Hall & Adams dined with me.
Fr Lowell, A. Lawrence  [Hall – naval intelligence	13 May, Sat	Mrs. J.R. Green fears that we will not get evidence of much direct German complicity & she ought to know. It is to her I owe my acquaintance with Roger Casement. They twain begged me to subscribe to Pearse's ?reading of Irish – & rebellion. The Scotland Yard people & Capt. R. Hall think otherwise.
chief]		Worked with K Walter at the American Committee's office. Long talks with Bullard. Dined with the Erskine Childers.

Correspondence [Notes]	1916	Diary Entry
	14 May, Sun	Went to Wimbledon to discuss the applic[atio]n of the I.A.O.S. to the Develop[men]t Com[missione]rs with A.D. Hall. Dined with Mrs. Bagg to meet Bullard, who stays there, and Skinner the Consul General. He was supposed to be very anti-British & it has been said that if Page were about half way betw'n himself & Skinner he would be an ideal ambassador for this crisis. But I found Skinner utterly disgusted with the Germans with whom he said "We have many bones to pick besides the submarine atrocities". He thinks that the breach must come.
		Sydney Brooks got back yesterday & I saw him today for a few minutes. He too thinks the Americans will fight on our side before long.
To Byrne, James To House, E.M. Fr Leslie, Shane	15 May, Mon	Attended the opening of the trial of Sir Roger Casement at Bow St. having got a seat on the bench through the Metrop[olita]n Police. It was a gloomy business. The fool was guilty of High Treason beyond doubt. He tried in Germany to get the Irish prisoners of war from an Irish Brigade "to free Ireland from England". If Germany lost they were to be given pocket money & sent to America & so on. He is I think mad.
		Another talk with Arthur Balfour on the Irish situation. He is not very hopeful of Asquith doing anything very heroic!
		I was summoned to Dublin to meet Asquith – left by night.
To Balfour, Lady Betty	16 May, Tue	Went to lunch at Vice Regal. Met Asquith but there were too many people about to talk to him quietly & he suggested a talk tomorrow at 11.30 A.M. I suggested Æ also & he agreed.
		Dined with Sir John Arnott, a party of soldiers & others.
		Office & finance C'tee of I.A.O.S.
[Ld. Mayor – Crawford McCullough]	17 May, Wed	Long private talk with Asquith. He told me of his three hours talk with the Ld. Mayor & a few representative Ulstermen in Belfast two days ago. He had discovered that they were absolutely unchanged & he diagnosed them unchangeable. I asked him how he accounted for the survival in a community with such a modern industrial & commercial life, bringing it into intimate relations with other modern communities the world over, of this 17th Century spirit. He said it puzzled him as much as it did me. But he was equally hopeless of the "South & West". More engaging no doubt less unpleasant but equally impossible and more unstable & absolutely impossible. The situation seemed to him to be quite hopeless because the leaders in Parliament didn't lead their followers.
		I unfolded my immediate solution. It was to put a provisional government wholly Irish – a sort of executive council into power for the duration of the war. On this council North & South should be both represented. The experiment in working together would be valuable. After the war the Home Rule Act would have to be tried. How much better to have the issue – whether it is wiser to try a new plan of Irish Government or to re-instate the plan which was so lamentably broken down. He saw the latter point & thought it would be very helpful to have the vacant space left by the cessation of the provisional government.
		I had intended to recommend Shaftesbury as L[ord]. L[ieutenant]. on ground that since there was to be a L.L. in the new scheme that much of the old regime might be continued through the interim

Correspondence [Notes]	1916	Diary Entry
		stage. But he denounced the office as it exists & said it would be on a wholly new footing under Home Rule – which is true. I further found he had taken his estimate of our present Viceroy (whom he described as the best we had ever had) from Lady Wimborne who washed down her marital appreciation with the best of brandy & champagne. So the abolition of the costly mock court is the second best.
		Asquith will go to Cork tomorrow and will leave Ireland with a great accumulation of negative knowledge.
		At a Privy Council of 21 I was the oldest Councillor present(!), & had to administer the archaic oath to Asquith, Sir J Maxwell, Sir Robert Chalmers & The O'Conor Don.
To McCarthy Charles Fr Brownrigg, Sir D. Fr Hopkinson, Edward	18 May, Thu	Asquith went to Cork & I spent the day thinking chiefly, though I got down to some of the arrears of current work.
To Brownrigg, Sir D. To Ennis, M.A. To Nash, Vaughan To Walter, Karl Fr Lewis, Edward	19 May, Fri	Massingham tea'd & dined. He was interesting in his views upon Ireland but had no light to shed. I think I educated him a little on the real course of the Insurrection.
To Hopkinson, Edward  Fr Leslie, Shane	20 May, Sat	Clifford Sharp Editor of the New Statesman came to Kilteragh for the week end. Worked ½ day at I.A.O.S.
Fr Kellogg, Dr. J.H. Fr Shaw, Charlotte F.	21 May, Sun	A day of rest. Thinking of the Irish situation & meditating on letter to Asquith.
Fr Asquith, H.H. Fr McCarthy, Charles	22 May, Mon	Wrote to Asquith recommending a provisional arrangement for tiding over the Irish difficulty, a small Council of State to come in betw'n Martial Law & Home Rule.
		A Miss Boyle O'Reilly daughter of John Boyle O'R of the Boston Pilot visited me. She is on a journalistic mission & I tried to explain Irish things.
		A savage article in the Freeman's Journal showed that Dillon was as bitter & hostile to me as ever. That we two old men should have to continue our squabble to the grave – well I suppose it's Irish anyhow.
To Healy, John Edward Fr Ennis, M.A.	23 May, Tue	First meeting of the Food Committee after the nearly fatal attempt to assemble on April 29 when Tom Ponsonby was badly & Lane slightly wounded. They both turned up. Tom came out to Kilteragh.
To Ennis, M.A. Fr Quinn, Thomas J.	24 May, Wed	A long letter to Col. House & IAOS work took the whole day.
(To Hall, Capt.; HOU.63) To House, E.M. To Quinn, Thomas J. Fr Figgis, Darrell	25 May, Thu	Wrote a long letter to House explaining the Irish situation.
To Ichalkaranji, Chief of To Urs, Bala Raj	26 May, Fri	Went to Killeen with Fingall & Wibberley. Tyne is I think doing the "continuous cropping" well & I hope it will work out.
To Figgis, Darrell To Leslie, Shane To McCarthy, Charles To Provost Marshall, Richmond Barracks (FIG.4)	27 May, Sat	Was to have given evidence before Royal Commission on Irish Rebellion 1916. On reflection I found that all the information I had on the immediate causes was given to me confidentially while on the underlying causes I could not speak without raising endless controversies. So I asked to be excused & had a long private talk with Ld. Hardinge, Sir Shearman & Sir Chalmers. The Judge

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		(Shearman) impressed me most.
	28 May, Sun	The Smith Gordons & his brother, Mahaffy, Needham, Daisy & Fingall, Callan, Norman, Tom, Sir John Barker & his new wife and Blackburn the Warden of St. Columba's College occupied the day.
		Went to London by night mail.
To House, E.M. (cypher) (To Leslie, Shane ("Jack") fr Finlay, Fr. Thomas A.) To Carver, Clifford, HOU.65) Fr House, E.M. [queries in original]	29 May, Mon	The morning papers showed that Wilson had made a speech on Saturday to the Peace League in New York in which he said the U.S. would stand for the right of every people to choose the sovereignty under which they would live (?Cuba ?Bohemia ?Servia ?Ireland), that small nations should have their rights protected equally with large and that America was not concerned with the causes or objects of the War. This last declaration was so deplorable from my point of view that I went to the Admiralty & had a long talk with Arthur Balfour (with whom I also lunched[)]. He showed me a cable which a committee of the cabinet were drafting for Grey to send to House in reply to suggestions from him that Wilson should make definite proposals of intervention.
		Later I drafted a cable to House for myself on the President's speech its good & bad effects on pub[lic] op[inio]n over here.
		I also asked whether the Irish rebellion had affected pub[lic] op[inio]n in U.S. & if so whether he thought a public statement of the facts (to justify the executions) should be made.
	30 May, Tue	Pelton SS Co meeting. Rest of day at Carnegie Trust meetings.
		Dined with Geoffrey Robinson & met A. Shadwell. He is very gloomy about the social conditions after the war. Robinson is anxious about the war itself.
	31 May, Wed	Saw Middleton [sic] on his way to Lloyd George to whom I had written offering to call. I have got no answer up to tonight & M told me Ll.G. had no concern with any opinion except such as could block his scheme which seems to be a mere Parl'y settlement.
To Barnes, Sir George S. To Bhawani Singh, Raja of Jhalrapatan, India  Fr Thomson, Basil H.  Fr White, Amy	1 Jun, Thu	Lunched with Lord MacDonnell. He agrees with my solution for gap betw'n Castle Government & Home Rule. So does Nathan.
Fr Fraser, Lt. Col. (Provost Marshal)	2 Jun, Fri	An utterly unintelligible cable from House "Yes Thursday 1st not Thursday 2nd". No idea what he means.
Fr Herschell [re House] [Battle of Jutland]		During day Admiralty received news that we had suffered a terrible Naval defeat in North Sea. It looks as if we were either outmanoeuvred or outranged.
		Talk with Bryce who also agrees with my provisional government plan.
	3 Jun, Sat	Back to Ireland by Day Mail. Found poor Tom still at Kilteragh with boils afflicting him on top of his other troubles.
	4 Jun, Sun	St. J[ohn] Ervine & Bailey came out & we had some talk of the

Correspondence [Notes]	1916	Diary Entry
		Irish Question. The former had had a strike in the Abbey Theatre Company & had dismissed the players! Bailey had been to Belfast & thought the Ulster bigots were inclined for a settlement (on their own terms).
To Bathurst, Charles To Lloyd George, D.  Fr Walter, Karl	5 Jun, Mon	Lloyd George wired asking me to meet him in London on Wednesday & I wrote him that I would go if what I put in my letter did not suffice. I am not very well & don't want to go on a wild goose chase. Lunched with John Healy & had a talk with Bernard Archbp. of Dublin about the Home Rule settlement rumours.
		The news of the Naval Battle improves. It looks as if Beatty's rash bravery was the cause of our heavy losses.
	6 Jun, Tue	Wrote a long memorandum to the Hardinge Commission on the Irish Rebellion – not for publication but only to make the Com'n understand the truth about Irish thought & feeling. Birrell's evidence was very misleading.
To House, E.M.	7 Jun, Wed	A letter to House on the Anglo American situation.
To Steel, - To Walter, Karl		Edwin G Lowry & wife (Alabama nice) of the American Embassy London came to stay.
To Leslie, Shane To Nathan, Sir Matthew To Pimento, A.B. To Thomson, Basil H. Fr Holland, Thomas H.	8 Jun, Thu	Morning at IAOS work & a meeting of the Council of the Chamber of Commerce. At this a message (verbal & confidential) was brought by 2 members who had been asked to interview Lloyd George in London as I was. He wants to secure a settlement of the Irish Question. It is to set up a Parliament at once for this country minus 6 Ulster counties. There is to be no Election but the Irish M.P.s for the constituencies included are to be taken as elected to the Irish Parliament. A nominated element on a property qualification are to be added as a safeguard! Or else there are to be two houses as in the Bill. We were asked which we preferred and if the former (which we chose for simplicity after saying we thought even a provisional settlement inopportune) what nominated proportion the business men would consider adequate.  I damned the whole idea, but the two missioners said that the matter was put to them as one of grave Imperial importance. The feeling in America was so intense that the export of munitions might be stopped by a German-Irish organised strike in New York harbor was [sic] threatened on account of the Irish executions.
	9 Jun, Fri	The Setons & Philip Kerr came. I spent the morning preparing & the afternoon delivering (very badly) an address to the St. Columba College at the annual distribution of prizes.
	10 Jun, Sat	Dentist & I.A.O.S. morning. Golf with Philip Kerr in afternoon.
	11 Jun, Sun	Hugh Law called and told me of yesterday's conference of the Irish party. They agreed to the cutting off of 6 counties of Ulster as a provisional settlement – an Imperial conference after the war to suggest a permanent settlement!
		A Large party for lunch & dinner, a regular Kilteragh Sunday. I have a feeling that these gatherings are near their end. Social revolution is in the air.
To McCarthy, Charles	12 Jun, Mon	(Not a Bank Holiday this year.) Tom Ponsonby left with his nurse practically a well man.

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		Lunched with J E Healy. He told me that Ll[oyd] George wanted to see him while he was in London but a "cabinet situation" occupied him. Joffre & Briand were over in London telling us we must relieve the pressure on Verdun with a big "push". This means an awful slaughter & possibly no military gain. The Irish Question was in a worse muddle than ever. American feeling has been outraged by the military executions & the stupid people think that Ll.G.'s ridiculous "settlement" will prevent its endangering the export of munitions from U.S.A.!
		At meeting of Council of Chamber of Commerce had a talk with W.M. Murphy who owns the Independent & is fighting Ll.G.'s settlement with all his guns. I am thinking of having a meeting of non political business men &c at the Plunkett House to discuss the situation.
To Dunsany, Ld. Edward To Kellogg, Dr. J.H.	13 Jun, Tue	C.D.B. Sir Robert Chalmers presided & impressed me as a supercilious prig. I daresay he is clever.
		Dr. O'Donnell, quite earnestly, begged me not to go to India as I was wanted in Ireland.
To Byrne, James Fr Hinkson, Katharine Tynan	14 Jun, Wed	A second meeting of the CDB. After it I had ½ hour's confidential talk with Dr. O'Donnell. I told him my political views & said I proposed to come out against Lloyd George's settlement of the I.Q. & gave my reasons. With these Dr. O'D agreed & he told me he had told some "important" politicians what I had said yesterday about my reasons for not giving Ulster the chance of exclusion now.
		I worked at I.A.O.S. a bit & came back to Kilteragh where I met the Lowrys who had taken my car to Glendalough. I played him a match round my "old man golf course" which I did in 22 – 5 2s & 4 3s the record.
	15 Jun, Thu	Trying to write a letter to the papers about the Irish situation.
		Edward E Lysaght & wife came to tea & dinner. He is a Clare landlord of a strong rather erratic Nationalist type, with all the good constructive ideas of Sinn Feinism & only some of the wild ideas. He is writing a book about my work which I rather dread.
To Hinkson, Katharine Tynan Fr House, E.M.	16 Jun, Fri	I.A.O.S. & talks with Philip Kerr.
	17 Jun, Sat	Went with Philip Kerr to Howth to see the rhododendrons at Howth Castle & Mahaffy at his house on the other side of the hill. Boyd Carpenter was staying there & Ld. Cheylesmore who is conducting the court martials in Dublin was calling.
		I worked at my letter to the Times & failed to finish it. It is a great responsibility.
	18 Jun, Sun	William Martin Murphy was among the callers today. He showed me correspondence with Lloyd George which shows that the latter knows the opposition his scheme is bound to provoke. Starkie lunched & liked my scheme as did W F Bailey.
	19 Jun, Mon	Philip Kerr left for Ulster. I spent the whole day writing a letter to the Times which will probably be too long to print in its entirety. It, I think, smashes Lloyd George's preposterous scheme for the partition of Ireland.

Correspondence [Notes]	1916	Diary Entry
To Godkin, Lawrence	20 Jun, Tue	Two IAOS Committees & left by night mail for London where I hope to explain the Irish situation to ministers or some of them. Healy came with me.
	21 Jun, Wed	Arrived early after bad night. My letter was not in Times as it reached them at 10 P.M. last night. Saw Geoffrey Robinson with Healy & agreed that I should publish letter in Dublin papers & possibly a short letter in Times which is blocked with despatches from all over the world. Healy & I had also an hour with Walter Long who told us (1) that Lloyd George had never told the cabinet, who therefore had not agreed, that there was an American munitions crisis to be met (2) that he had never got their authority to propose his preposterous scheme of Home Rule (3) that he had given Carson (this I knew from another source) a written pledge that the exclusion of the six Ulster counties should be permanent.
		During the day I met Lee of the American Committee & had an interesting talk – the Anglo American relations which have ceased to be active but prospectively are, I argued, none the less important.
	22 Jun, Thu	Four colliery meetings. Then lunched with E R Cross, with whom Massingham, to discuss the Irish muddle, both these men being connected with the Nation. Had a fit of vertigo at table & had to come back at once to bed!
Fr Maxwell, Sir John [Dr. James H. Sequeira, early specialist in use of radiotherapy at the Royal London Hospital.]	23 Jun, Fri	Spent all day in bed except that I went to Dr. Sequeira to be X rayed.
	24 Jun, Sat	Another day in bed & a nurse to dress my sores. Sir Matthew Nathan & Philip Kerr among the callers.
	25 Jun, Sun	Very slow progress. In bed all day. Shaftesbury called.
	26 Jun, Mon	Very very slow progress. The doctor hints that over work & worry is the cause of my trouble & a good rest in bed is probably the best cure!  Selborne & afterwards Lady Selborne called. I told them both I
		regretted his resignation (on Lloyd George's Irish proposals) announced today as I am in hopes that the proposals may be withdrawn as unworkable. He is a fine public spirited fellow but not very intellectual. She is much abler.
To Roosevelt, Theodore	27 Jun, Tue	Long letter to Roosevelt. Col. Pat Cox called, just home from Salonica. Very interesting.  X rayed again.
	28 Jun, Wed	No effect for the X rays & complaint very troublesome & obstinate.
[Editor – J. L. Garvin]	29 Jun, Thu	No progress. Editor of Pall Mall Gazette called & told me he intended to back my Provisional scheme. He heard my views & wrote an article of which he sent me a proof. I cut out the praise of myself & otherwise improved it.
	30 Jun, Fri	My plan was prominently & not too badly advocated in Pall Mall Gazette. Since yesterday Lansdowne gave away the Cabinet disagreement on Ll.George's scheme. Mine may get a look in.

Correspondence [Notes]	1916	Diary Entry
[Medinal – a patent barbiturate]	1 Jul, Sat	Last night was heavily drugged with "Medinal" & slept well in intervals of the pain which is now getting very severe. Had a drowsy day & felt very poorly.
	2 Jul, Sun	Very bad day. Great pain chiefly due to bad surgery I think. Had to take double dose of sleeping draught. During day wrote a short letter to Times.
["The Irish Outlook: Sir H. Plunkett's Three Conditions", <i>The Times</i> , p. 6]	3 Jul, Mon	My letter appeared in the Times. I think I have scotched the Lloyd George scheme.
	4 Jul, Tue	Had Horder in with Sequeira to try and get some diet hints which would enable me to hasten this crippling ailment. He had nothing to suggest though he is a really able man.
		Dalziel called again & I told him to keep hammering away against the Lloyd George scheme.
Fr Lowell, A. Lawrence Fr Godkin, Lawrence	5 Jul, Wed	Very slow progress.
Tr Gould, Editrelice	6 Jul, Thu	Worked hard to try & write a smashing exposé of the Lloyd George plan. Hurt myself badly & failed to get to press.
	7 Jul, Fri	After a night of pain & drugs a miserable day. Adams came to see me & so did JG Butcher who was on his way to a meeting at the Carlton where the Tories met for hours & I think made a good fight against the scheme.
	8 Jul, Sat	A very bad night even with cocaine locally & double doses of sleeping draught.
		Saw Dunraven, Bob Yerburgh & FS Oliver.
Fr Roosevelt, Theodore	9 Jul, Sun	Last night I got sleep with local application of cocaine & no "Medinal". That drug was beginning to do me serious injury as my heart was getting very irregular. I am much better. But I called in Thomas Horder wishing to get him without Sequeira & he told me that I was absolutely right in my surmise that an overdose of X rays was the cause of the <u>acute</u> dermatitis I am suffering from.
	10 Jul, Mon	Asquith made his announcement of the Government's scheme for dealing with the Irish difficulty. It was Lloyd George's – borrowed from T P O'Connor.
		Last night I was back on the Medinal.
	11 Jul, Tue	Am getting very slowly better. Anderson has been over the last two days – a comfort.
	12 Jul, Wed	Slow progress.
	13 Jul, Thu	Bryce & Grey (Earl) called during the day. I am spreading the light over the Irish bog.
To House, E.M.	14 Jul, Fri	A long talk with Walter Long who told me the whole story of the Lloyd George Irish solution. So much of it is Cabinet secrets that I must not write it down. He, Lansdowne & Robert Cecil take my view of the scheme but feel that they must endure (& make Ireland endure) anything rather than break up the Coalition Government. The crazy bill is being drafted & Long will send me a copy for my "obs".

Correspondence [Notes]	1916	Diary Entry
[2:0003]		Adams & Bernard Shaw were both among my visitors & I had a too busy day for which I shall doubtless be punished.
	15 Jul, Sat	Ld. MacDonnell, Lewis Haslam & Sir M Nathan called. With all I upheld my solution. Sleepless night last night.
[Tuinal – a combination barbiturate]	16 Jul, Sun	Tuinal last night & I slept better. Selborne came again & Geoffrey Robinson. The Daily Telegraph asked me for a copy of my Irish proposal. I think I shall get it recommended.
	17 Jul, Mon	Ralph Stuart Wortley turned up & cheered me. Walter Long sent me a copy of the draft Home Rule Amendment Bill & I dictated to Ralph a damaging criticism of it.
	18 Jul, Tue	Saw Ld Grey, Lady Selborne, Ralph Wortley, Urban Broughton & Dr. Horder. The last was rather depressing about my case. It seems likely to be much longer than I had expected.
	19 Jul, Wed	Rolleston & Paul Cravath were my only interesting callers today.
Fr Bullard, Arthur	20 Jul, Thu	No progress – no callers of interest.
To Pinchot, Gifford	21 Jul, Fri	Bernard Shaw paid me another visit. Very kind of him as his time is fully occupied.
	22 Jul, Sat	✓
	23 Jul, Sun	Still slow progress but a visit from Horder rather cheered me. He told me that the X ray burn was of all burns – thermal, friction, chemical &c – far the most intractable & my slow progress was quite normal. Still I am dreadfully pulled down by the drugs.
		I wrote a letter to the Times to urge Gov't not to proceed with their mad Irish Amending Bill & this upset me.
["Irish Settlement", <i>The Times</i> , p. 10]	24 Jul, Mon	A wretched night in spite of double dose of sleeping draught & a miserable day. But Adams, Dr. Ross & Hetherington (who were holding Carnegie U.K. Trust meetings today & tomorrow) called. My Times letter had effect I think. The Bill was dropped today – a great relief.
To Godkin, Lawrence To Roosevelt, Theodore	25 Jul, Tue	Some favourable comments on my letter to the Times. It upset me a good deal so I am glad & think it did some good.
	26 Jul, Wed	A very painful & sleepless night. Aspirin added to the poisons relieved the pain.
Fr McCarthy, Charles	27 Jul, Thu	Had a long talk with Bonham Carter about the Irish settlement (provisional) & Casement who I think ought not to be hung.
	28 Jul, Fri	Another bad night – so bad that I insisted on a consultation betw'n Sequeira & Horder. They have decided that I must get to Ireland as quickly as possible as I am doing no good here.
Fr Warren, Mrs. Fiske	29 Jul, Sat	Getting much worse & must get home as quick as possible.
To Bonham Carter, M.	30 Jul, Sun	Wrote a note to Bonham Carter about Casement & the Irish settlement, the former not to be & the latter to be hung up.
		Very good – 75%.
	31 Jul, Mon	[No entry]
Fr Bonham Carter, M. Fr Plunkett, Reginald	1 Aug, Tue	Left London by night mail for Kilteragh.

[Notes] A.R.		
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[28]	2 Aug, Wed	Arrived Kilteragh. No further entries in diary till 8 [sic] October – as I was too ill to write it.
		In Daily Graphic, My Nature Cure. Fresh air, milk & fruit. [Newspaper photo pasted in, caption: "A Revolving Bedroom. The revolving bedroom which Sir Horace Plunkett has had constructed on the roof of his residence near Dublin."]
	3 Aug, Thu – 11 Aug, Fri	[No entry]
1	12 Aug, Sat	[Newspaper item pasted in:] Irish Times, Aug 12, 1916
		SIR HORACE PLUNKETT
		Sir Horace Plunkett, who has been seriously ill for the last seven weeks as a result of an accidental burning while undergoing treatment by the X-rays, is now at his residence, Kilteragh, Foxrock. Sir Horace is still confined to bed, and unable to attend to any business or correspondence.
<i>U</i> ,	13 Aug, Sun – 24 Sep, Sun	[No entry]
Barbour for IAWS managers' conference, in IH, XXIII:40 (30 Sep 1916) pp. 623-4]		
	25 Sep, Mon	[Irish Times item pasted in] 25/9/16

Correspondence [Notes]	1916	Diary Entry
[1,000]		SIR HORACE PLUNKETT
		A representative of the <i>Irish Times</i> has learned from the physician in charge of the case that Sir Horace Plunkett is progressing slowly towards recovery, but is still confined to his bed. The local trouble had been aggravated by the condition of the patient's general health, but this had steadily improved during the last few weeks. He lives in the open air night and day.
29 Sep, Fri: To Bullock, Shan To Godkin, Lawrence Oct (day uncertain) To Walter, Karl (cable) Fr Masterton-Smith, J.E. 2 Oct, Mon: Fr Walter, Karl 4 Oct, Wed: (To de Bary, Richard fr Russell, Geo. W. (Æ)) Fr Holland, Thomas H. 9 Oct, Mon: To Wells, H.G. Fr Walter, Karl 12 Oct, Thu: To Balfour, A.J. To Walter, Karl (date uncertain) Fr Walter, Karl 13 Oct, Fri: (To Kershaw, L.J. fr Low, C.E.) Fr Walter, Karl 16 Oct, Mon: To Balfour, A.J. 17 Oct, Tue: Fr Walter, Karl 20 Oct, Thu: To Irish Times 23 Oct, Mon: Fr Walter, Karl 24 Oct, Tue To Leslie, Shane (incomplete) To Walter, Karl 25 Oct, Wed: Fr Channing of Wellingborough	26 Sep, Tue – 27 Oct, Fri	[No entry]
Fr Walter, Karl  To Wolff, Henry fr Ewbank, R. (year implied) WOL.28 Fr Ervine, St. John  Fr Walter, Karl	28 Oct, Sat	Dr. Wallace Beatty called in for the second time Dr. Moorhead & they reported that my progress had been as good as could be expected & allowed me to lie in the study & walk about the house a little so long as the ulcerated sores were not thereby inflamed. They prophesied a cure in 2 months! I had expected to be quite well in 2 weeks. I may now resume my diary & will when I can sit in a chair write opposite the story of my illness.

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[2.000]	29 Oct, Sun	Awful weather – glass down below 29 – gales & horizontal rain from S.S.E. to N.W. The last 3 days I have spent mostly in the study but have slept out in the hut.
		So unlike a Kilteragh Sunday. 2 nurses my only companions. Lane & Stopford the only callers.
Fr Walter, Karl	30 Oct, Mon	A memorable storm raged. No callers. I manage to sleep out in any wind & only come inside if horizontal rain backs in & wets my bed.
To Balfour, Lady Betty To Ervine, St. John	31 Oct, Tue	Beatty says the swelling which is the cause of pain is reducing very slowly.
	1 Nov, Wed	Mahaffy called. The old chap is as vigorous as ever.
To Carver, Clifford (HOU.75) To House, E.M. To Walter, Karl Fr Walter, Karl	2 Nov, Thu	Offered to give up night nurse but doctor & friends objected.
Fr Selborne, Ld. Fr Walter, Karl	3 Nov, Fri	Harold Barbour called. He & his wife propose to donate a £5000 building to the I.A.W.S.! He will I think succeed me in the leadership of the cooperative movement.
	4 Nov, Sat	[No entry]
	5 Nov, Sun	Sir John Maxwell called. He is going to be superseded by Sir Bryan Mahon. Asquith told him that they want to create a fresh atmosphere in Ireland. Martial law is to be withdrawn. Carson & Redmond are to join hands in a recruiting campaign. Ballot act may be considered. Prisoners will probably be released – except 'perhaps' those convicted of crimes.
[poss. Hungarian Prime Minister Count Istvan Tisza]		He was interesting about the war. The Eastern strategy he thinks all wrong. Instead of the Gallipoli venture he would have concentrated troops at Alexandretta to work in with the Armenians & Russians & so cut the Turkish army in two. The Turks, the W.O. always said could only put 800,000 men into the field. If Germany can provide ammunition & money they could put 5 millions into the field! The Balkan muddle was awful. Sarrail probably a political general. He does not see how 'Tais' could have acted otherwise once he had broken his treaty with Servia. The allies never were able to protect France from Germany. The Greek army is utterly rotten.
To Selborne, Ld. To Walter, Karl	6 Nov, Mon	[No entry]
Fr Kershaw, L.J.	7 Nov, Tue	[No entry]
Fr Walter, Karl	8 Nov, Wed	Bernard (Archbp.) called. He had heard that the new "settlement" rumoured in the press is Carson & Redmond to agree to immediate Home Rule for all Ireland (the Prots to have ½ the representation in popular House) plus conscription!! I told him the only real settlement must come from & not to Ireland. He agreed.
		In the morning papers Hughes <u>was</u> elected. At night the news from the West & Far West threw doubt on the issue. It means much to me whether Wilson goes or stays.

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Fr Walter, Karl	9 Nov, Thu	The Daily Mail had a really fine article on the American attitude to the war. I wired them as opposite. That rag has an enormous circulation.
		[newspaper item pasted in:]
		OUR FRIEND UNCLE SAM
		From SIR HORACE PLUNKETT.  To the Editor of The Daily Mail.  Sir,—Your leading article to-day upon what we owe to the friendship of the United States, written while the Presidential election hangs in the balance, is the right word at the right moment and, your circulation being what it is, in the right place.  The note you have struck will earn the gratitude of all who believe, as I do, that the future peace of the world depends largely, if not chiefly, upon the mutual understanding and respect of the two democracies whose ideas of the liberty for which we are fighting are fundamentally the same.
		Horace Plunkett. Foxrock., County Dublin, Nov. 9, 1916.
		I have got my morphia down from 1 gram to 7/12ths of a grain but am still far from healed.
To House, E.M. To Walter, Karl	10 Nov, Fri	[No entry]
·	11 Nov, Sat	[Newspaper item pasted in:] Sir Horace Plunkett is at last making satisfactory progress towards convalescence, though he is still unable to take any part in business matters.
		So the Times of today. Caröe brought it by day mail. I wired "Warmest congratulations" to House as Wilson's election is now assured.
	12 Nov, Sun	"Boss" Croker & his squaw called.
Fr House, E.M. Fr Kerr, Philip	13 Nov, Mon	I walked on my lawn in boots & trousers.
_	14 Nov, Tue	I walked as far as Lane's.
To Kershaw, L.J.	15 Nov, Wed	Mahaffy called. A slight setback. Progress desperately slow.
	16 Nov, Thu	Weather quite awful. I slept in a S.E. gale 40° Fahr.
	17 Nov, Fri	[No entry]
[papain – enzyme derived from papaya]	18 Nov, Sat	At last the false membrane over the sores is being 'digested' off by stuff called "papain" & the surface of the remaining sores is raw but ready to skin over. If it does skin over I get well, so I am told, that may be a 10 days or 2 weeks job. Meanwhile night & day is only made tolerable by morphia – no[w] reduced to two \(^{1}\)4-grain injections.
	19 Nov, Sun	A great disappointment. Had to increase the morphine from ½ to 7/12 gr[ain].
Fr Walter, Karl [Jorrocks – fictional sporting character of author R.S. Surtees]	20 Nov, Mon	Unhappy at having to keep up increased (7/12th) morphia. After 3 nights in bedroom slept out again. 40° Fahr, dry N.W. breeze. Very "salubrious" as Jorrocks would say.
Fr Alston, Walter C.	21 Nov, Tue	Dr. Beatty thought I might be able to sail to U.S.A. Dec 6th.
To Walter, Karl Fr Walter, Karl	22 Nov, Wed	[No entry]
To Alston, Walter C. Fr Walter, Karl	23 Nov, Thu	I decided to offer K. Walter a commission to come with me to America & help me to study the Anglo American situation at that end.

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Fr House, E.M.	24 Nov, Fri	Alice came to me. She told me a good deal about her domestic worries. Rowley is a selfish boor of a husband & her life is miserable drudgery. I don't know how I can help. He simply refuses to do anything I suggest & I have of course no authority.
[mutatis mutandis – taking account of respective differences]	25 Nov, Sat	Wimborne called to talk over the Irish situation with me. His idea of the way out is to offer Home Rule at once with Ulster (or the Protestants or Unionists) having ½ the representation in the popular or both Houses and National Service Act to apply (mutatis mutandis) to Ireland. Voluntary recruiting he said is exhausted & compulsion he regards as impracticable. I told him I would try a new plan. Introduce National Service into Ireland for Home Defence only, that is for the United Kingdom. This will free a large number of British troops and after the Irish had had 6 months' training they would volunteer in large numbers for foreign service. The world would shame them into it, if necessary. But it would not be necessary. Of course great tact would be required & details would have to be worked out.
To Walter, Karl Fr Alston, Walter C.	26 Nov, Sun	Eddie & Beatrice came for a dine & sleep. He is still the spoilt child, which he was not by any means in his childhood days.
Fr Walter, Karl (2)	27 Nov, Mon	[No entry]
To House, E.M. [Beatty]	28 Nov, Tue	Drs. Moorhead & Beattie [sic] decided that I might go to America as it is on public business. They say the ideal course would be to stay at Kilteragh till I am well. My ailment seems to be still intractable & it will not be till I have been some time at Battle Creek that I shall be quite well. But how shall I fare till I get there[?]
To Walter, Karl Fr Walter, Karl	29 Nov, Wed	[No entry]
To Balfour, A.J.	30 Nov, Thu	The strain of last days is great & I long to get on board ship where I can at any rate rest my mind.
	1 Dec, Fri	Left Kilteragh & travelled by night mail to London. It is a risk but I felt that I ought to try & get back into useful life. My best chance is via U.S.A. where I can possibly help both the Anglo American & the Irish-American situations.
	2 Dec, Sat	Arrived at 105 [Mount St.] which was a confusion of furniture of 3 rooms crammed into 2 & very uncomfortable. P. Kerr, Ed Marshall, Geo. R Parkin called, the last named with a Canadian Major Campbell Stuart who wanted to consult me about a project for marching a Canadian Regiment ½ Orangemen & ½ R.C. through Cork Dublin & Belfast on their way to the Front! I approved. Called on Northcliffe to discuss my Irish recruiting idea & also to talk American affairs (as affecting the war) with him. He was too rushed & excited to discuss anything. He motored me to the W.O. & then sent me home in his car. He was I think on his way to intrigue with Lloyd George for a new government.
	3 Dec, Sun	Had a useful conference with Dr. Kelly, WGS Adams present on Irish agric'l policy after the war. Then Dr. K & I went to Selborne & heard his views. All very interesting. Ld. MacDonnell, W C Alston, Moreton Frewen, Mary, Daisy, the Setons, Maurice Headlam all called! I had slept 10 hours (under morphia) in the night. I reduced my day morphia to 1/6th & the change seems to

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		have really helped me.
	4 Dec, Mon	A bewildering rush which I stood well. I only went out once, to the Admiralty. Arthur Balfour was sick but I saw his secretaries & also Capt. Hall the "D.I.D." (Director of Intelligence Department) with whom I fixed up a method of communication. Then callers all day.
		The Northcliffe[-]Lloyd George plot to upset the Asquith Ministry (& substitute Ll:G.) has matured. Asquith had to announce that the Gov't was to be reconstructed. I shall have to leave without knowing what Gov't will be in power when I get to the other side.
To O'Farrell, Sir Edw. (by sec'y) To Nicholls, Mrs. (by sec'y)	5 Dec, Tue	Another – happily the last – terribly full day. Walter came early & we arranged various final jobs. Then Walter Long came & told me the whole cabinet situation. Asquith is probably going to resign & the King will send for Lloyd George he thinks. It is 100 to 1 he says that Ll G won't be able to form a ministry. "Thank God" I said. I showed him my recruiting scheme for Ireland & he agreed with it. Adams came in while we were talking. He drafted for me a short letter to The Times reviving my Better Way settlement. Long approved of this too.
		Looked in at the Agric'l Policy subcommittee of the Reconstruction committee. Milner was in the chair about to give evidence. I apologised for failure to attend till after my convalescence & was kindly received.
		Then went to F.O. & had a talk with Robert Cecil who told me, as far as he knew, the Gov't's attitude on the Anglo American situation into which I am going to inquire. But he said God knows what Gov't will be in power when I get to the other side!
		At the flat there called Mary & Conny, Mr. & Mrs. Bernard Dunning, Mamie & Hetty, Betty Balfour, Charles Grasty, H.W. Thornton. With the last two I discussed the American situation. (Thornton is a strong Lloyd Georgeite & I rather offended him by giving my op[inio]n of that unstable demagogue.)
		Then came Urban Broughton M.P. He says England will be absolutely smashed by June by the sinking of merchant vessels.
		Dr. Douglas whom I met in Selborne's C'tee called as did JGB. He praised Lloyd George in a way which made me understand why the Labor people hate him. Lastly came Lytton who is now under Arthur Balfour at the Admiralty & talked the British Naval policy to me. He is thoroughly indoctrinated with naval jingoism.
[Letter to Fr. Finlay for IAOS Annual General Meeting, XXIII:51 (16 Dec 1916) pp. 793-4]	6 Dec, Wed	A mad rush to get off. Dr. Kelly called to discuss our attitude on Selborne's Committee. I had a typist in & sent a revised copy of my recruiting scheme to W. Long. I wrote several letters & then went to the White Star Special at Euston. There Daisy met me & insisted on coming to Liverpool although I had K. Walter with me. She is surely a friend.
		Before starting I had a bad fit of vertigo & then getting to the boat was very miserably managed. Still I stood it all.
["Ulster's Opportunity", <i>The Times</i> , p. 10]	7 Dec, Thu	After yesterday's horrible rush with all its discomforts we never left the dock all last night or all today. I was very unwell & the ship's doctor is a very inferior dresser of my wounds to either of my nurses. Then the diet (milk chiefly) is poor & for fear of the

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		submarines not a chink of window (no longer port holes) can be open after dark!
	8 Dec, Fri	Never moved all day – a cold fog & I was very unwell. I took a risk feeling that I must get out to Col. House & the Irish Americans – my bit. It remains to be seen whether I shall recover my poor health as it was when I left London in the open Atlantic. But then there are the submarines.
		Reduced the morphia from ½ gr[ain]. (two ¼s) to ⅓rd.
	9 Dec, Sat	A nasty sore throat & still in the Mersey in a raw cold fog. The papers came on board and I learned that Arthur Balfour was Foreign Secretary – the very best thing for my mission.
		Learned also that the Germans had a commerce raider in the Atlantic! Late at night we sailed.
	10 Dec, Sun	170 miles from Rock Light. Dawn found us in Belfast Lough waiting for admiralty instructions! We were still in sight of Ireland when the sun went down. I was miserably ill – a heavy feverish cold added to my great local discomfort. Still we were on the Atlantic & out of the raw damp of home waters.
(To Marburg, Theodore fr ? Hoffman)	11 Dec, Mon	400 miles.
ii : Hommany	12 Dec, Tue	396 miles. A heavy roll but fine weather. If I were only able to get out!
	13 Dec, Wed	394.
Fr Hopkinson, Edward	14 Dec, Thu	404.
	15 Dec, Fri	372 The Captain (Ranson) on whom I called told me a German commerce raider was in the N Atlantic route & that he had had to manoeuvre a good deal to conceal his whereabouts. He sends no messages by wireless. We discussed submarines, the arming of merchantmen & other subjects of British sea interest. He does not see how any remedy for the submarine menace can be found. He thinks the only difficulty they are under now is crews. He had taken back three skippers whose ships had been sunk by U53 off American coast a few weeks ago. They said the crew of that craft were like madmen – their eyes staring – protruding – out of their heads. Their sufferings must be awful if they do inflict suffering on others.
		Walter's belief that the prohibition of entry of warships to neutral ports would pay us because it would stop long distance submarining is not well founded, the Captain says, since they can refill at sea easily.
	16 Dec, Sat	377
	17 Dec, Sun	346 – 370 to N.Y. But later in the day we learned that the Admiralty orders were that N.Y. Harbor must only be reached by night. So we had to slow down & "burn time" as we could not land till Tuesday morning.
	18 Dec, Mon	This irritating delay may be a blessing in disguise. I shall be no more than able to stand the few days I must be in New York before I go to Battle Creek.
	19 Dec, Tue	A trying day. At last we landed. Dear Godkin was on the frozen snow-covered dock. Also Cannon my auditor who came later and

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		went into my year's a/cs with him. I persuaded him to go to Battle Creek (he was in poor health) & I shall talk things over quietly with him there. I saw James Byrne & Pritchett later in the day but was too unwell to speak my mind to them. I had acute local pain & had to resort to Morphia for sleep.
	20 Dec, Wed	Lunched with Col. House. I was not well enough to talk to him as I should have wished but I gathered a good deal about his mind & the President's. He told me that Wilson was not going to blunder into premature peace proposals but was going to ask both belligerents – the Central Powers and the Allies – to state specifically their peace terms.
		Regarding the attitude of America to the war generally House had changed his view somewhat. He agrees that the best hope of peace in the world lies in a friendly understanding of the American & British peoples & that to bring about such mutual understanding is the best work a man can do. But he no longer seems to regard American intervention in the war as practical politics. He did not say this but he gave his reasons for doubting Lord Kitchener's statement of op[inio]n (made to both of us) that it would quickly end the war. The Germans have a strong belief in their long distance submarines & if they become desperate (from privations at home) they would argue that unrestricted sinking of ships would help Germany (by bringing Britain to her knees) far more than anything America could do would hurt her. He said too that many people felt the British would never give America due credit for her part in the war.
		We had some talk about the future of America. House thinks she has nothing to fear from Germany. Apart from Japan (in control largely of China) England was the only power which could imperil the U.S. He said few people realise that England is going to be not only a naval but a first rate military power. Apart from officers the new army he considers the best in the field.
		House is very much alarmed at the submarine menace. He says the American Naval attaché in Germany is an exceptionally able officer & he does not believe the British navy can possibly protect the seas of the world against these elusive & terribly destructive craft.
		Shane Leslie called on me & talked rather hopelessly about the Irish situation in America.
	21 Dec, Thu	Called on Bonn in a German down town office where he was doing, he said, "economic & financial work". He told me that Germany would give up Belgium & the occupied portion of France but not Poland. He was confident that Russia would collapse. He admitted the blunder of Belgium & accounted for it by their not knowing how strong they were – especially in artillery.
		I arranged for Walter to have an hour with House & he got a good deal of information out of him.
		The President's proclamation note to the belligerent nations calling upon them all to tell the Neutral states (who were deeply concerned) exactly what they were fighting for & on what terms they would accept peace was published. The terms of the message were very offensive to the Allies as they & the Central Powers were treated as being equally guilty or innocent in the matter of

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		the independence of small nations & sanctity of treaties. I fear the English will be furious.
		Lunched with Sydney Brooks & wife.
To Balfour, A.J.	22 Dec, Fri	An early hour with House. I explained more fully the British resentment at Wilson's assumption that we did not know what we were fighting for. He asked me to write him a note he could show Wilson on the subject. I wrote a letter to Arthur Balfour & called R Cecil who is acting Secretary of State that House assured me Wilson's attitude was still strongly pro ally & I fear Wilson is much of what his enemies say of him. House is disgusted at many of his recent utterances. But I must not write more here.
		Left by P.M. train for Battle Creek with K. Walter who insisted on seeing me that far. We had a final pow-wow on the Anglo-American situation & came to the following conclusion. Wilson is strongly pro-ally – so much so that he fears he will be drawn into war with Germany over the submarine outrages. He dreads this & has sent out a peace kite in hopes that he may find some way of escape from the terrible decision he fears he will have to take. I wish I were not so unwell. I would stay near House & try to get his Chief to understand the contempt with which his hesitation will be regarded.
	23 Dec, Sat	Delayed by a snow storm. Should have arrived 10 AM, arrived 5.30 P.M. Dr. Kellogg at once took me in hand and I think they will cure me in 2 or 3 weeks.
		K. Walter came with me as far as Battle Creek & went on to Chicago & Kansas City.
		Had to take ¼ grain morphia.
	24 Dec, Sun	A day of examinations. Cannon in the intervals went over some of my business with me. Very few interesting people here & I fear I shall be pretty dull. Reduced morphia to 1/6th. Could not drop it today as they muddled my treatment & I had good deal of local pain.
	25 Dec, Mon	Not a merry but a less sad Xmas than I should have had at home. I was rather sick & had to have a double dose of morphia before I could approach sleep. I had hoped to drop the cursed drug. I am relieved to find that my indulgence in it is remarkably small. A nurse who is attending me here tells me his last patient took 8 grains a day against my ½ grain.
	26 Dec, Tue	To my great disappointment the local malady seems likely to persist. It has all healed over but not with a natural skin. A thick rough itching surface with a good deal of induration below has to be cured and after all the whole thing may have to be excised. Really such treatment as Sequeira's ought to be actionable.
To House, E.M. (BALF/A.10)	27 Dec, Wed	Had a talk with Dr. Case who has seen many & known of 100 X ray burn cases. He was not very encouraging. I hoped a fortnight here would cure me. I now fear I may have to stay here as long as I can spare from work at home & then go back half cured.
		Two local reporters interviewed me about the war. They both told me that the local people regarded England's object as being the same as Germany's, that is, more land.
To Campbell, Edward F.	28 Dec, Thu	A very miserable day. The doctors here think it necessary to keep

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		on hypodermic morphia at night & the late hours of the day are so miserable that I fear there is no other way to get sleep.
	29 Dec, Fri	Not at all well.
	30 Dec, Sat	Still very weak & nervous.
Fr House, E.M.	31 Dec, Sun	McCarthy turned up having travelled all night & we talked of many things. He is strongly pro-ally, sees great danger in an early peace. He told me the Irish in America are very badly stirred up over the Rebellion executions. Some of them (not usually rabid) are now against any League of Peace because it would block war with England! He described his N.A.O.S. work which altogether satisfied me.
["neither chick nor child" phrase from Bram Stoker's <i>Dracula</i> ]	Year-end Summary	A bad year for this diarist. The Irish Rebellion tried me sore & then the last 6 months were a perfect nightmare from the X-ray dermatitis which that blundering London Specialist inflicted upon me. From my sick bed and after I left it while still very weak I took a small part in trying to help in the Irish muddle. But undoubtedly the most useful work I was able to do was in trying to get the British and United States governments to understand each other. It was all confidential & no credit will come my way. This moves me not as I have "neither chick nor child" Were I a family man I should like those who come after me to know how I strove to make people who counted on both sides see that the best hope – a poor one at that – of a lasting peace was a right mutual understanding between the two branches of the English speaking world.