

1918 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’ (ſ) 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	LI.G.	David Lloyd George
GBS	George Bernard Shaw	RAA	Robert Andrew Anderson
GH	Gerald Heard	SHB	Samuel Henry Butcher
GWB	Gerald William Balfour		

Organisations

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

General

&c	etcetera (etc.)	Gt	Great
a/c a/cs	account/s	HR	Home Rule
ADC	aide-de-camp	Inst/Inst:/Inst'n	Instruction
agricl / agric'l	agricultural	I.Q.	Irish Question
ag / agric're	agriculture	legisl'n	legislation
Amer'n	American	Ltd.	Limited
ass'n / assoc'n	association	moted	motored
ass't	assistant	MP	Member of Parliament
betw'n	between	Mov't	movement
bd	board	Nat / Nat'l	National
CC (by context)	Catholic curate	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/ com'tee	committee	Rel'n / Rel'ns	Relation/s
DD	Doctor of Divinity	RR	Railroad
dep't	department	R'y	Railway
Do / do	ditto	Sec / Sec'y	Secretary
ed'n / educ'n	education	Soc'y	Society
Eng'd	England	SS	steamship
Ex / Exs	Excellency/ Excellencies (usu. Lord Lieutenant)	TD	Teachtaí Delai (representatives in lower house of Dail)
exhib'n	exhibition	Tech/Tech:/Tec'l	technical
gen'l	general		
gov't	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^y is transcribed as Parl'y).

2) Less frequent or ambiguous contractions are expanded in brackets for clarity and easier reading (e.g. rec[eive]d, originally handwritten "rec^d"). If the same usage occurs in close proximity, the expanded version is generally not repeated.

1918

Events:

6 Mar – John Redmond dies

12 Apr – *Report of Irish Convention*

23 Apr – One-day general strike (except Ulster) against conscription

10 Oct – Mail boat *Leinster* sunk by a German submarine in Irish Sea; some 500 drowned

11 Nov – World War I ends

21 Nov – Representation of the People Act entitles women to vote and to sit in House of Commons

14-28 Dec – General Election (Sinn Féin soundly defeats Parliamentary Party in Ireland. Countess Markievicz, Sinn Féin, elected first woman MP).

10 Dec – *Resigns Congested Districts Board*

Publications:

- “The Government and Ireland”(letter), *Irish Times*, 6 May, p.2

- “The One Alternative: Sir H. Plunkett on Home Rule”, *The Times*, 7 May, p. 4

- *Home Rule and Conscription* (The Talbot Press, Dublin & T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London) 31 pp.

- *The Irish Reconstruction Association: Its Objects*, reprinted letter to the Dublin press of 22 Nov (Rapid Printing Co, Dublin), pp. 4

- *Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention*, Cd.9019, 176 pp.

- *The Irish Convention: Confidential Report to H.M. the King by the Chairman* (printed for private distribution, not published) 154 pp.

Government:

Prime Minister: David Lloyd George (Liberal/Conservative coalition)

Chief Secretary: Henry Edward Duke to 5 May; Edward Shortt

Lord Lieutenant: Viscount Wimborne to 2 May, Viscount French

Approximate monetary equivalents (2010): £1= £50 ; \$1 = \$10

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
(Fr Byrne, Helen Macgregor to Godkin,L.) Fr Byrne, James (Jan., date uncertain) Fr Callan, Walter (yr uncertain)	No date; date uncertain	
To Dunraven, Ld. Fr Flood, W.H. Grattan Fr Walter, K.	1 Jan, Tue	Began the New Year with a choking bronchial cold and a big days work. I had to see Redmond, the Council of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, Midleton, MacDonnell & many others about tomorrow’s procedure & to write endlessly. Sir B Windle & Sir T Esmonde came to stay. Crozier (Primate) came to tea & I went into the whole Ulster situation with him. He has an inferior mind and not a very fine character. His strength is physical.
To Doheny, Francis (by sec’y) To Flood, W.H. Grattan (by sec’y) Fr Hetherington, A.L. (cable)	2 Jan, Wed	The Convention reassembled after the Xmas holiday & I had a difficult & anxious day in the Chair. Got through all right & I think the position was improved. I was hard put to it to keep myself up to the mark. In the evening I had a temperature of 102°.
To Hetherington, A.L. (by sec’y) To Tyrone Committee of Agriculture <i>Fr Dromore Co-op. Soc.</i> <i>(Fr McCarthy, Charles to Smith-Gordon,</i>	3 Jan, Thu	Had to get the local doctor after a horrid night – pains, fever, choking. He diagnosed not influenza but bronchitis & kept me at home. I was on the telephone all day & the Convention had a lively day, the chief event being the decision to send all documents shown to the Grand C’tee to the Convention. These include the Barrie & Londonderry letters which will I expect play the devil for a while though in the end it may do good by

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<i>Lionel)</i>		exposing the hopelessness of a settlement which depends upon the reasonableness of Carson's army!
To Walter, Karl <i>Fr Flood, W.H. Grattan</i> <i>Fr Kellogg, Dr. J.H</i> <i>Fr Leslie, Shane</i>	4 Jan, Fri	The local Dr. was persuaded to allow me to do half a day at the Convention. I went in and made them adjourn at lunch! I stood it well & my influence was I think helpful with Redmond & Midleton who both behaved splendidly. Londonderry made a poor, rather mean speech.
To Leslie, Shane To McCarthy, Charles To Walter, Karl <i>Fr Beach Thomas, Wm.</i> <i>(misdated 1917)</i> <i>Fr Walter, Karl</i>	5 Jan, Sat	Indoors all day with heavy breathing & general discomfort. But the Dr. says my lungs are clearer & evidently it is only yesterday's indiscretion that I am suffering from. Tim Healy called at my request. I found him in despair of any change in Irish government – unless Germany won. That was his whole position & in an hour & a quarter I think I shamed him out of it. He looked upon me as an ignorant optimist – Lecky's characterization. It is better to be so than a too learned pessimist. As he was leaving in came T.P. Gill. He always addresses me as Gladstone addressed the poor Queen who complained that he addressed her as if she were a public meeting!
<i>Fr Armstrong, H.B.</i> <i>Fr Ramos, Dr. R.A.</i>	6 Jan, Sun	Col. Sir William Foster – species Dug Out came to lunch on introd[uctio]n from R Hart Synnot. He stayed on very long & bored me when I wanted to rest. The Starkies came & went soon which I regretted. On the whole got no rest.
To Armstrong, H.B. (by sec'y O'Brien, C.) To Beach Thomas, Wm. To Brooks, Sydney To Walter, Karl <i>Fr Waterford C'tee of Agric.</i> <i>Fr Walter, Karl</i> <i>(Fr Walter, Karl to Pritchett, Henry S.)</i>	7 Jan, Mon	Stayed in the house all day & dictated my Secret Report.
To Aston, E.A. (by sec'y O'Brien, C.) To Redmond, John E. <i>Fr Monteagle, Ld.</i>	8 Jan, Tue	Presided over Convention for morning sitting. Only half the members attended which contrasts markedly with the 90% attendance we have had throughout. The reason was that the week is given up to the Land Purchase Subcommittee's excellent and practically agreed report. I shall score attendances & for the rest coddle myself and get on with my other work. Sent off today 10 paragraphs of Secret Report to the F.O. printers bringing the story up to Nov. 28. I expect to send add[itiona]l paragraphs tomorrow finishing 1917.
<i>Fr Aston, E.A.</i> <i>Fr Dunsany, Ld. Edward</i> <i>Fr Sullivan, Jerry B.</i>	9 Jan, Wed	Presided again for morning sitting & in afternoon wrote four long paragraphs for my Secret Report, bringing it up to the end of the year. A heavy job which was almost too much for me.
To Aston, E.A. To Bernard, John Henry (Archbp. of Dublin) To Bryce, James To Dromore Co-op Soc. (by sec'y) To Frewen, Moreton To Kelly, Denis (Bp. of Ross) To Monteagle, Ld.	10 Jan, Thu	Got through the Land Debate by 2 P.M. & adjourned the Convention till Tuesday next when the fiscal debate comes up again. Hetherington secretary of Carnegie Trustees came over by day mail to look into the affairs of the Trustees in Ireland.

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To Shaw, George Bernard To Walter, Karl To Waterford C'tee of Agriculture.		
Fr Kelly, Denis (Bp. of Ross) Fr Reynolds, John	11 Jan, Fri	Greatly disappointed by an admission in a conference with Duke that "things had happened" which made it more difficult for the Government to put pressure on Ulster. In other words Carson is supreme in the Cabinet. That one man may wreck the Convention. There are wobblers all round & extremists in the S of Ireland as well as in the N. But today we received an amendment from Redmond accepting Midleton's proposed compromise provided legislation followed! If we could get all Ireland outside the NE corner united in this we should only partially fear failed [<i>sic</i>] if Ulster remained obdurate[,] as the opinion of the world would soon come to our aid.
To Redmond, John E. To Windle, Sir Bertram <i>Fr Gray, H.G.</i> <i>(Fr Lysaght, Edward E. to Lloyd George, D.)</i> <i>Fr Phillips, C.J.</i> <i>Fr Walter, Karl</i>	12 Jan, Sat	½ day at office. J.E. Healy came back from London having seen Northcliffe who told him that America was now financing the war & that the Irish Question must be got out of the way at once at all costs. Carson must be taken by the throat & so on. And now Æ & Lysaght & Murphy are going to fight against a settlement on the Midleton compromise lines & to two of these three ending the war means nothing. Had another treatment for the tumor in the bladder: the Dr. says another treatment should suffice.
<i>(Fr Anderson, R.A. to "George" (likely Russell (Æ))</i>	13 Jan, Sun	Not precisely a day of rest. Midleton came to lunch to talk over the plan of campaign in the Convention for the week. He had just returned from London and had learned little fresh as to the intentions of the Gov't should the Convention agree by a large majority to a perfectly workable & moderate Home Rule scheme. He had not seen Carson, but he had talked with Northcliffe. We agreed to go ahead with his compromise & the moment we got all the support for it that was possible, to put it into a Scheme & try to get the Convention to adopt it. Then the Government would have to act. I heard from Cecil Harmsworth about his brother's anxiety for a settlement & from the F.O. that Willert (at New York now doing publicity work) wanted me to cable something about Convention S. Leslie could use with very important persons – probably cardinals &c! After Midleton left MacDonnell came & I had great difficulty in getting him to reconsider his amendments which would complicate things. Daisy, who was week-ending anxious for Gerald who had gone over last week as a private in the A[rmy].S[ervice].C[orps]. (Motor Transport) & reported himself unhappy & sick, crossed to London.
To MacDonnell, Ld. Antony Patrick <i>Fr Phillips, C.J.</i> <i>Fr Smith, T.R.</i>	14 Jan, Mon	Saw Midleton, Redmond & MacDonnell, wrote voluminously. Hetherington left me. Felt rather unfit for the fray which is to come in the middle of the week.
To Frewen, Moreton To Kelly, Denis (Bp. of Ross) To Murphy, Wm. M. <i>Fr Whelan, M.J.J.</i>	15 Jan, Tue	This morning I had the worst shock of my public life. Redmond came to me 5 minutes before the Convention met & told me that his proposed acceptance of the Southern Unionist compromise had been rejected by the Bishops (except the Bp. of Ross who is still in bed at the Gresham) by Devlin & most of the County

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[Bp. Joseph MacRory]		<p>Councillors. He would not move his amendment accepting Midleton's motion conditionally on the Gov't legislating forthwith. We had no time to discuss the situation. Redmond had collapsed utterly. He told the Convention that he (the leader of the largest party – the future premier!!) had only known “in the last few hours” that he had been forsaken thus & said he would not move his amendment. Thereupon the Bishop of Down & Connor rose & made an ignorant demagoguish anti-English speech on Customs which he would reserve demand not because the British Parliament might not use the power fairly to Ireland but because it would as ever use it selfishly cruelly for our destruction. Goulding replied briefly & Devlin made a tub-thumping speech at the Ulster Unionists. In the afternoon Sir R. Anderson defended them. I adjourned after he sat down and had a conference with a few leaders which came to nothing. Then a talk with Devlin which may make him think.</p>
To Monteagle, Ld. <i>Fr Frewen, Moreton</i>	16 Jan, Wed	<p>Things were a little better today, but it is now quite clear that the Bishops are out to wreck. They want either to avert Home Rule, or if this is impossible to be in with the prevailing Sinn Fein sentiment at its initiation. Hence they are fighting for Customs – the sole condition of Southern Unionist concession of Home Rule which would probably force Ulster to come in!</p> <p>Andrew Jameson made nearly, if not quite, the best speech of the Convention & it had its effect. But the dead weight of Clericalism & Sinn Fein was against him & in the afternoon things went rather badly. Still I have managed to delay coming to an issue & hope to get Gov't help or some new development in Ireland to save the situation.</p>
To Walter, Karl <i>Fr Bryce, James Fr Flood, W.H. Grattan</i>	17 Jan, Thu	<p>A troublesome day – or rather ½ day in the Chair. But Redmond is recovering from his collapse & will now support Midleton. Gwynn will back him for all he is worth. If he shows courage he may yet retrieve the situation. Northcliffe is rushing the Convention & I am going to see him tomorrow if possible in London. I am in no fit state to travel but nobody else can deal with the Gov't & the Press just now. Shaw comes with me.</p>
To Hetherington, A.L. To Whelan, M.J.J. <i>(Fr Daly, James to O'Brien, Cruise) Fr Pinchot, Gifford</i>	18 Jan, Fri	<p>Cap't. Shaw & I got to work early with Adams at 10 Downing St. Cecil Harmsworth was there too. I placed the Convention situation clearly before them. Lloyd George was immersed in the Man Power problem which he had put (in the best speech he ever made, some say) before a secret session of the House yesterday & before a Labour Conference today. He recognises the gravity of the Irish situation and will probably see me tomorrow. Had two important interviews today, one with Northcliffe after the other with W. Lond [<i>sic</i>]. N. was emphatic in his determination that Ulster must be coerced to come into an Irish Parliament – if need be under fiscal autonomy. ‘Why can't they give up Customs – why not treat Ireland like Newfoundland[?]' I told him why – there would be trouble in the H of C from English M.P.s. Then Ulster <u>must</u> give way to whatever settlement is arranged with the rest of the country. When I mentioned downing tools in the shipyards & aeroplane wing factories the answer came “America will down tools if this cursed Irish Question is not got out of the way. For one aeroplane wing Belfast can make, America will make 100. America ought to be turning out 9 million tons of shipping a year, she is only turning out 2 million all owing to</p>

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		Irish difficulty. It met me in the States at every turn. I wanted copper, Thomas F. Ryan gave me cigars a foot long but no copper until the Irish Question is settled. I want steel – I am blocked by Farrell” & so on Irishmen everywhere. W. Long had said that if Carson left the Cabinet Bonar Law & he would have to resign, there would be a general election & Ll[oyd] G[eorge] would be swept away. N. laughed at the idea of any other man than Ll.G. being P.M. now. The day ended with a clear conviction in my mind that Ulster must be forced to come in.
Fr Anon. (US views of Home Rule; IHR) Fr Armour Brown, J. Fr Bryce, James Fr Doheny, Francis Fr Walter, Karl Fr Windle, Sir Bertram	19 Jan, Sat	Talk with Milner, Ld. Reading & Lloyd George about the Irish situation. Told the P.M. plainly that I could hold the Convention together no longer without making them feel that there was hope of some result from their agreeing by as large a majority as is now possible – the Government must help. We discussed many plans by which they might help & finally decided that I should return tonight to Ireland & report the latest situation so that Ll.G. might write me the right letter Adams was to draft. Lunched tête a tête with Bernard Shaw.
	20 Jan, Sun	The Mail boat did not leave Holyhead till 8 AM – 5½ hours late. A submarine was on her route & the skipper refused to go by night without an escort, as it was a choice of risking collision without lights or giving the submarines a chance of a big murder of civilians. 7/10ths of the submarine sinkings, the skipper told me, are by night. Went into Dublin in afternoon to see Redmond who was ill again & depressed. He evidently thinks that there is no hope of any settlement unless Lloyd George will make up his mind that Ulster must be coerced. We discussed what action Ll. G. should be asked to take this week to postpone the crash. I am to see him again tomorrow.
To Bryce, James To Windle, Sir Bertram <i>Fr Hetherington, A.L.</i> <i>Fr Moore, Col. Maurice</i>	21 Jan, Mon	The day did not bring forth much light. I saw Æ who was reasonable, Murphy who was intransigent, Midleton who still insists on rushing things & Redmond who is depressed & doubtful. Devlin I heard has definitely decided not to agree to the Midleton compromise unless the Gov’t promises to Coerce Ulster! The situation is far from hopeful, but abandon hope I won’t. I wrote & wired to Adams. T.P. Gill came to tea & dinner & I told him all about the crisis in hope that he might help. At night – after the above had been written Healy telephoned that Carson had resigned from the war cabinet!
To Frewen, Moreton To Lysaght, Edward To Moore, Col. Maurice Fr Lysaght, Edward <i>Fr Oliver, F.S.</i>	22 Jan, Tue	The Convention was only ⅔rds present as the Local Gov’t Urban elections take place tomorrow & it is generally agreed that no decisions shall be taken till Thursday. The debate was on Customs, Dunraven, Kavanagh, Gwynn & Fitzgibbon supporting the Midleton compromise, Æ, the Bp. of Raphoe & Murphy going strongly the other way. Lloyd George wrote me offering intervention of War Cabinet – a pow-wow with a few leaders – but I did not read his letter, as Midleton would have regarded it as an attempt to postpone the Customs issue which he is determined to force. The situation is absolutely hopeless except for the fact that the alternative to a settlement is unthinkable.
<i>Fr Nuttall, John W.</i>	23 Jan, Wed	Cypher wires over the Irish office wire were the order of the day.

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		Redmond took ill – not this time, anyhow, a diplomatic illness. The debate went on & got more embittered owing to the lobbying outside. Lysaght, under Sinn Fein pressure, had resigned – left what he regarded as the sinking ship. His resignation was announced in the Press but his reasons, given in a long letter, were suppressed by the Censor to his great indignation. I decided to read LI G's letter tomorrow & to recommend the Convention either to go ahead with the construction of a scheme of gov't which might form basis of an agreed measure, ?leaving over the fiscal question, or to adjourn till the Gov't can confer with the Convention.
<i>Fr Frewen, Moreton</i> [Laurence O'Neill]	24 Jan, Thu	The most tiring day I have yet had in the Chair. Midleton won't yield a point; nor will the Bp. of Raphoe the real leader of the Nationalists; and the Ulster Unionists are more dumb than ever. We had a long fight over Lloyd George's letter. It was an "indignity" to send a delegation to the British Gov't! "They can't help us, we must work out our own problem". The Ld. Mayor of Dublin after lunch swung the whole Convention round in a 10 minutes speech of compact common sense. "We are at a standstill & it is nonsense to pretend that we are not. As for "indignity" we have suffered that at the hands of England for centuries & can stand it for a day". The Primate & the Bp. of Raphoe (on whom Midleton made an unwise attack, accusing him of bringing not peace but a sword into the Convention) fought strongly for further consideration of the non-controversial points. But every point would have produced a fight & would have widened the breach. In the end I got the Convention to agree to send a delegation, to let the Grand C'tee meet and nominate it & adjourn till Feb. 12th. The Communiqué I worded so as to show that the adjournment was for a good reason & yet I left it vague whether the Gov't wanted most to see the Convention leaders or the Convention that their leaders should see the Cabinet.
To Frewen, Moreton To Nuttall, John W. <i>Fr Douglas, James G.</i>	25 Jan, Fri	A huge pile of correspondence to work off after the 3 days sitting. Decided to go to London a week before the Conference with the Cabinet as the centre of gravity in the Irish Question has returned to Westminster!
To Armour Brown, J. To Bryce, James To Douglas, James G. To O'Brien, Cruise To Oliver, F.S. <i>Fr Phillips, C.J.</i>	26 Jan, Sat	Only half a days work, though rather strenuous. The staff dissipated for the week end & I could not do much.
	27 Jan, Sun	A family party. Daisy Fingall & the two girls. Gerald away as a mechanical transport Tommy & Oliver a cavalryman at the front. I had Callan for the week end but decided to do no work.
To Gray, H.G. To Walter, Karl	28 Jan, Mon	Tried to get the tenth instalment of my Secret History started in hopes that I might have the actual situation described in readable form for the Cabinet next week.
To Dunraven, Ld. <i>Fr McCarthy, Charles</i> <i>Fr Martin, D.P. (to Carnegie Lib. Trustees)</i>	29 Jan, Tue	Worked all day at Convention office at Secret Report. Lunched with Daisy to meet Londonderry & Decies – crossed by night with Cap't. Shaw to London to prepare for conference with Government.
<i>Fr Leslie, Shane</i> <i>Fr O'Brien, Cruise</i>	30 Jan, Wed	Not so long ago a night journey to London tired me not at all. Today I was no good. Shaw & I worked a bit at 10 Downing St.

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		But I accomplished nothing. Dined with Ada Watson & talked old times with Beau. She, of course, was doing war work. She was meeting Colonial officers largely. Their talk about the war was most discouraging. Germany was invincible & the war without end!
To Gill, T.P. (ARMO) To O'Brien, Cruise To Vernon, R.V. (cable) To Windle, Sir Bertram	31 Jan, Thu	Lunched with Bryce & dined with Dunraven. Both interesting but nothing new. For the rest worked at 10 Downing St.
To Bullock, Shan To Kellogg, Dr. J.H. To Londonderry, Ld. (7th Marquess) To Pinchot, Gifford To Ramos, Dr. R.A. To Vernon, R.V. (2 cables) <i>Fr McHugh, John</i> <i>Fr Russell, George W.</i> (Æ)	1 Feb, Fri	<p>Worked with Shaw preparing for conference. Called on Paul Cravath who was over with the American Mission (as Counsel) & had a good talk about America & the war. He was amazed at British stupidity in some of their war preparations, at their failure to see that if America had not come in their defeat (for financial reasons) was "a mathematical certainty[?]" and also at their war effort as a whole which he fully appreciated. He was not optimistic.</p> <p>On the effect of the result of the Convention's findings upon the American war effort & peace attitude he was quite clear. A complete breakdown would be extremely mischievous. A practically unanimous Report would be very stimulating. A disagreement (fully explained) owing to unreasonable demands of a majority would not do much harm so long as it was known that the attempt to settle the question by other means was to be continued.</p>
To Byrne, James To Frewen, Moreton To Russell, George W. (Æ) To Sullivan, Jerry B.	2 Feb, Sat	Lunched with F.S. Oliver, who thought Carson, given time, might bring Ulster in. The South Armagh election was reported won today by the Nationalists by a big majority over the Sinn Feiners. But even so I fear the spirit of revolution & anti Britishism is too strong for reason to get a look in. A talk with Shaftesbury who says the French under Clemenceau's leadership are showing wonderful spirit. He gives gloomy accounts of Lloyd George's antics in the big war affairs abroad. Smuts, acting on his own, was seeking peace with Austria!!
Fr Russell, George W. (Æ)	3 Feb, Sun	Went to Adams at Kingswood and worked hard at procedure for the coming conference. Slept in the country air.
To Callan, Walter To Sec'y GPO, by sec'y (MCH) To McHugh, John (by sec'y) To O'Brien, Cruise Fr Frewen, Moreton Fr Robinson, Lennox to O'Brien, Cruise	4 Feb, Mon	Worked at 10 Downing St. with Adams, Cecil Harmsworth & Shaw. Had a talk with Bernard whom I met at Athenaeum.
To Dunraven, Ld. To Lloyd George, D Fr Marratt, Paul D. Fr Russell, George W. (Æ) (Fr Russell, George W. (Æ) to Lloyd George)	5 Feb, Tue	Saw Barnes Labour M.P. in the War Cabinet about the labour members in the Convention & the possibility of getting pressure put upon the Irish leaders of the big Unions to help a settlement. He was a nice, simple quite intelligent though rather slow minded, thoroughly straight & frank old gentleman. Had a long conference with Redmond at the House. He showed me letters indicating the 'wonderful organisation of opinion[?]' in Ireland on the Customs. The Sinn Feiners are determined to wreck the Convention on this

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		issue, or else to get a “Colonial status” as the stepping stone to independence.
To Frewen, Moreton To Nathan, Sir Matthew To O’Brien, Cruise To Russell, George W. (Æ)	6 Feb, Wed	<p>Carson & the Ulster delegates were still in Belfast but to be in London tomorrow. The Premier saw Midleton, Bernard & Desart (vice Dunraven who had gout) Redmond & O’Donnell (Devlin had a chill!) McCarron & Waugh. The last two I coached for the interview & they did well at it.</p> <p>I was at 10 Downing St. all day watching events & writing up my secret history.</p> <p>I dined with Oranmore & got to know him a bit as only a nephew was there. He is not brilliant but no fool.</p>
To Duke, H.E. (To Leslie, Shane fr Tumulty, J.P.) To Smith, T.R.	7 Feb, Thu	<p>Adams told me today that Lloyd George disliked me – which I had more than suspected. When the Gov’t tried to find a Chairman of their own I was suggested among many others & I have no doubt the Ulster & Southern Unionists consulted turned me down in good style. Besides I have not been able to support any of L.I.G.’s proposals for tricking bringing the Nationalists Ulstermen into an Irish Parl’t.</p> <p>Worked again at 10 Downing Street.</p> <p>In evening Sir Charles Russell Bar[one]t son of Ld. R of Killowen gave the delegates a dinner. Morley, Lds. French & Beresford & other notables were asked. I just worked on my ‘difficults’ & I think did some good.</p>
To O’Brien, Cruise	8 Feb, Fri	Waiting & not seeing. I hung about Downing St. all day while Lloyd George in the intervals of the biggest affairs of any time interviewed (1) Carson (2) the Ulster delegates & (3) Adams. Through my work of a few days ago the Labour party had in the Press a resolution calling for a settlement. I begin to feel that I must force the Cabinet to action by putting the facts of the situation clearly before them – facts which I have almost concealed from myself in trying to play the game (as Chairman) of the Government’s latest evasion of the Irish difficulty – the Convention.
	9 Feb, Sat	Still at the same weary task. At 10 Downing St. I was introduced to Sir George Riddell a wealthy newspaper proprietor very close to Lloyd George. To him I expounded the Convention situation & very emphatically told him what the Gov’t would have to do. This may help.
	10 Feb, Sun	Spent the day with Adams at Kingswood talking the Convention situation over.
To Bernard, John Henry (Archbp. of Dublin) To Bullock, Shan To Callan, Walter To O’Donnell, Patrick (Bp. of Raphoe)	11 Feb, Mon	Lunched with the Rochfort Maguires in a palatial house (3 Cleveland Sq.). They were in touch with the great & wise & the discourse was interesting. Spent the day trying to write a stand & deliver letter to Lloyd George. The sun went down on an effort sadly incomplete.
Fr Rideing, William	12 Feb, Tue	The same as yesterday.
<i>Fr Robinson, Lennox</i> <i>Fr Lowell, A. Lawrence</i>	13 Feb, Wed	At last the Conference with Lloyd George – Duke the only other Minister present – came off. He made a long speech with nothing in it but very clever. The Bishop of Raphoe, Devlin & Murphy clearly don’t mean to settle. I wrote a letter to L.I.G. just half the

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		length of the letter I had spent the last two days on. It said plainly – you must settle & settle through the Convention at once, or you will have Hell. Shaw & I walked home for a dinner with Sir George Riddell at the Ritz to which nearly all the delegates were asked but only Murphy & Bernard came. Vesey Knox & Sir Charles Russell being the only other guests. We agreed that the situation was worsened & that the only hope was in an appeal from me to the Convention to rise above their delegation & decide not to abandon hope.
To Carson, Edward <i>Fr de Bary, Richard</i>	14 Feb, Thu	Had a meeting of the delegates at 11 A.M. & decided not to keep them longer in London & to meet in Dublin (the whole Convention) Feb. 26. The long delay was to allow the Ulster delegates to consult their people in Belfast. If all the Government's business – especially the business of the big war – is conducted as is this Irish business, God help England. The whole system has broken down at the heart of the Empire & I am terribly afraid that the next generation will have a ghastly time of it. A man would hardly save the situation. A dozen men might. The work of government is too terribly vast for any single man to comprehend it. I don't believe our men are lesser lights than those we read of; but science has got us ahead too fast. We have not grown intellectually or ethically to the stature required.
To de Bary, Richard To Dingle Rural District Council (unsigned) To Bullock, Shan <i>Fr Kiersey, T.</i>	15 Feb, Fri	¾ hour interview with Bonar Law. Told him very plainly my view of what the Gov't ought to do. Ulster's attitude was wholly indefensible & the Gov't must intervene. A democratic settlement must be forced. He admitted the immense importance of a settlement but it was impossible because it could only be got by conceding the Customs & this would split England (I think he meant the Unionist party) from top to bottom. It was rather hopeless! Dined with O'Donovan & met Cravath, Sir Campbell Stuart & J.E. Phillips, a very shrewd Northcliffe protégé in the F.O. The discourse was chiefly on the prospects of peace & the conclusion came to was that England would insist on negotiations based on status quo ante very soon!
<i>Fr Harmsworth, Cecil</i> (year uncertain)	16 Feb, Sat	Worked at 10 Downing St., had talks with Bryce & Redmond, lunched with Edwin G. Lowry & came to Fisher's Hill for week end. Bryce supported my contention that Imperial supremacy could be real & exercisable in Ireland even under Dominion Home Rule. He also saw no objection to a delegation from the Irish Parl't to, instead of direct representation in, the Imperial Parl't. Redmond told me he was hopeless of a settlement. The Primate had written to W. Long (who had shown the letter to L.L. George who had shown it to him) stating that the oppos[iti]on of Ulster would be as fierce as ever – there would be downing of tools – possibly civil war. Redmond was "alarmed" about his own state of health & doubted being able to come to Dublin for the very critical debate on the reassembling of the Convention. Lowry gave me an impartial opinion upon the way America (which he knows through & through) would regard an offer & refusal of the Midleton compromise – that is give to Ireland practically the status of an American state. She would be satisfied that England had made a fair offer & that Ireland was very wrong to refuse it.

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		I found Betty & Gerald as delighted as ever to have the old Irish days recalled. He looked rather poorly – she not as robust as the last time I saw her.
	17 Feb, Sun	A quiet day with Gerald & Betty Balfour. He told me he is heavily engaged in an industrial undertaking, chiefly I gather a project for getting sulphate of ammonia out of peat. A.J.B. has put a lot of money in it. It was on the point of success – when the war came. I fear the concern is in very low water. Gerald is spending the rest of his time studying philosophy & I gather has almost despaired of ever getting to a point where he can commit himself to print! He is just wasting a really good brain & of course a great experience. Betty feels it.
	18 Feb, Mon	James Byrne a Major in the U.S.A. army (non combatant of course) turned up & I lunched him at the Club & Cravath dined us both at the Garrick. We had a great Irish-American talk. More conferences with Adams, Southborough & Shaw. Saw Barnes again & agreed with him to meet the Labour M.P.s at the H. of C. to talk over the Ulster situation. An air raid – very noisy but no damage.
To Byrne, James To Byrne, Helen Macgregor <i>Fr Childers, Erskine</i> <i>Fr Flood, W.H. Grattan</i>	19 Feb, Tue	Decided to borrow Rolleston to help me to write my secret report up to date so that I can devote myself to the crisis in the Convention. Had a conference with labour Members of Parliament at Geo. Barnes' room at House of Commons. I think I made a good impression on them & enlisted their help in dealing with the Ulster situation. I made a statement of the whole case for a settlement in the Convention & Shaw who was with me said I did it well. The audience consisted of Rt. Hon. Geo. N. Barnes, M.P. War Cabinet, Rt. Hon. J Hodge M.P. Minister of Pensions, Rt. Hon. G.H. Roberts M.P. Minister of Labour, Rt. Hon. G.J. Wardle, M.P. Parl'y Sec of Bd. of Trade, S. Walsh M.P. Parl'y Sec of L[ocal].G[overnment].B[oard]., Rt. Hon. W. Brace M.P. Parl'y Sec Home Office, J. Parker M.P. Junior Ld. of Treasury.
To Flood, W.H. Grattan (by sec'y) To Kelly, Denis (Bp. of Ross) To O'Brien, Cruise (cable) <i>Fr Gray, H.G.</i>	20 Feb, Wed	Barring a talk with Dunraven my work all day was at my secret report which I have not yet been able to bring up to the <u>coming</u> to London!
<i>Fr Bryce, James</i>	21 Feb, Thu	Worked steadily at Convention Report and at letter Prime Minister was to write to me to enable me, if possible, to save the situation on Tuesday next. Had AD Hall to dine with me. He told me Rhondda was making a terrible mess of the food situation.
(To Frewen, Moreton fr Churchill, Jenny) To Kavanagh, Walter M. and Windle, B. To O'Brien, Cruise (To Vernon, R.V. fr Southborough, cable)	22 Feb, Fri	Lunched with Arthur Balfour & talked Irish Question. He had been consulted by the Cabinet upon it & he had simply told them that their proposals to settle it were all wrong. He still believes in the partition of Ulster. He had no argument – which is wicked in one of the greatest dialecticians of the age.
To Bryce, James	23 Feb, Sat	Worked at 10 Downing St. at the Lloyd George letter to the

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
To Kelly, Denis (Bp. of Ross) To Kiersey, T. (by sec'y)		Convention. Then Shaw & I went to Brighton to have a quiet think over my speech on Tuesday next. I chose Brighton because Chris Hall was all alone in hospital there & I thought a visit might cheer him. Went to the Brighton Hotel & was lodged in a boarding house 3 blocks west & very uncomfortably.
	24 Feb, Sun	Called twice on Chris Hall. The poor boy is very badly wounded – a piece of shell went through his left lung taking his left arm, which it practically paralysed, on the way. He is only 20 – clever – artistic – old for his age. He sees it all clearly – thinks the war all wrong. His outlook to life is gloomy Indeed. Came back to London & saw Redmond & Southborough about the Convention situation. R. is hopelessly depressed & is no good any longer. He thinks he has some obscure internal malady. On whole very ill.
To Phillips, C.J.	25 Feb, Mon	To my dismay, when I got to 10 Downing St. I found that Lloyd George, Milner & Philip Kerr who had been week-ending together had completely destroyed the draft letter Adams, Shaw & I had concocted for the P.M. to write to the Convention – to be read tomorrow morning. The P.M. was staying away till tomorrow! It was a case for strong action. I got Adams to telephone Philip Kerr that the revise would wreck the Convention & I insisted on the original form being restored which it was! But it took the whole day & I was unable to work at the speech I shall have to make tomorrow. On the gloss I put on the letter will depend possibly the fate of the Convention & God knows what that may mean for Ireland!
To Redmond, John E. <i>Fr Dunraven, Ld. (date uncertain)</i>	26 Feb, Tue	A rough passage after such a day. Drugs alone made it possible for me to address the Convention which I had to do at length. I think I spoke well, at any rate I was well received. But when I sat down Mahaffy insisted on raising a debate on the State of the Country (which truly is awful) & tried to move a resolution to the effect that we could not go any further till the Government governed. He could only do this by first moving the adjournment of the debate & after an acrimonious discussion this was negotiated by a strict party vote of 50 Nationalists to 33 Unionists. We adjourned at lunch time & the afternoon was spent in negotiations betw'n parties. I had to go & see Duke (at his request) & he showed the usual incapacity to understand Ireland. Windle stayed with me & Gwynn dined. Daisy also came for a night & told me the talk of the town. Went to bed dog-tired & not hopeful.
To Duke, H.E. (2) To Redmond, John E.	27 Feb, Wed	Another hard unsatisfactory day. No progress but the wreckers did not make much either. We may beat them yet.
To Dunraven, Ld.	28 Feb, Thu	Dunraven opened in a general speech on the situation because he could not attend next week & that was all on the main debate. The rest of the morning sitting – after which we adjourned – was devoted to minor matters as negotiations are going on outside Convention. During day I learned that only possible settlement was a concession of the <u>principle</u> of Customs. The Bp. of Raphoe, who (now that Redmond is, by ill health & political causes, eliminated & the Bp. of Ross unable to leave Skibbereen) the leader of the Nationalists is strong enough to prevent any settlement which does not concede the principle.

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		The Prime Minister wired me to report at once exact pos[iti]on reached in Convention. I sent long cypher wire to effect that Customs must be conceded, Southern Unionists must fall in & then only will Ulster move. I added that if Customs concession made other difficulties would probably be surmounted.
<i>Fr Dunraven, Ld.</i>	Mar – date uncertain	
To Leslie, Shane To Rolleston, T.W. Fr Shattuck, Henry	1 Mar, Fri	Still working upon crisis. No new developments.
To Adams, W.G.S. To O'Donnell, Patrick (Bp. of Raphoe)	2 Mar, Sat	Letter from Gwynn (who had two interviews with the Prime Minister yesterday). Showed that the Gov't, as we might have known, will not vary their terms. The fate of the Convention is now in the hands of the Bp. of Raphoe. Redmond is ill & Dr. Kelly, Bp. of Ross is not able to travel from Skibbereen to Dublin. So Dr. O'Donnell is now leader of the Nationalists. To him I wrote a long letter on the fiscal situation pointing out the un wisdom, as it will appear to the world, of wrecking the Convention over it. Had the Vernons out for the weekend.
To O'Donnell, Patrick (Bp. of Raphoe) <i>Fr O'Donnell, Patrick</i> (Bp. of Raphoe)	3 Mar, Sun	James O'Connor, attorney general, came to see me at my request to talk over the situation. He, I knew, was a friend of Cardinal Logue's & had been in correspondence with him. He has shown the Cardinal Lloyd George's letter to me & he showed me the Cardinal's comments. They were to the effect that the proposals were inadequate & would settle nothing. The criticisms of the financial proposals were normally ignorant. The mere suggestion of alternate sittings in Belfast and that the Department of Industry & Commerce should be located there were partition & so on. The situation looks very hopeless.
To Adams, W.G.S. (2) To Windle, Sir Bertram <i>Fr Crozier, John Baptist</i> (Archbp. of Armagh) <i>Fr O'Donnell, Patrick</i> (Bp. of Raphoe)	4 Mar, Mon	Preparing for the morrow. Wrote at length to 10 Downing St. Saw Powell & Andrew Jameson & Ld. MacDonnell. Wrote a note on the procedure for the enlightenment of the Convention.
To Adams, W.G.S. [Ld. Mayor – Laurence O'Neill]	5 Mar, Tue	In the morning sitting it looked as if the end had come. Gwynn returned from London where he had two interviews with the P.M. on the latest crisis. The only hope seemed to be to get the S. Unionists to agree to fiscal autonomy in principle provided there was no U.K. federation. L.I. G. told Gwynn that a combination of Nat's & S.U.s on this basis would only embarrass him as it would corner Ulster & this he dare not do. On learning this Midleton would not make the further concession & I was again at my wits end. The Bp. of Raphoe & Murphy saw their opportunity & tried to rush the Convention on to the rocks. In the lunch hour the Bp. summoned all the Nationalists to meet & tried to get them to declare themselves finally against the compromise & for the extreme demand. He seems to have been too autocratic & some reaction set in. Ld. MacDonnell obtained leave to put in the paper a new plan of compromise, but I fear he has done it in a muddled way & that tomorrow there may be fresh trouble. I had a very difficult day in the Chair. Had talks with Capt. Doran & the Ld. Mayor of Dublin from both of whom I hope I may get help. I don't know which side is right on the customs issue. But beyond

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		question the only sane line is to get a Parliament with all the powers which can be given now & reserve the fiscal issue for further discussion.
To Adams, W.G.S. (and telegram)	6 Mar, Wed	The Convention was called for 10.30 A.M. At 10.15 A.M. there came the news that John Redmond had died. I had no time to consult more than a very few. I decided to adjourn for 2 hours & pass the proper resolution – got a committee of the Archbp. of Armagh, the Bp. of Raphoe, Clancy, McCarron, Middleton & Barrie to do this. The resol[utio]n was drafted badly – without distinction – by Crozier & O'Donnell. Then we had the speeches – some 8 or 9 & adjourned till after the funeral. This was the inevitable Irish way. And then I was left to think out a plan for saving the Convention in the new situation. All is chaos – I must find order & I will.
<i>Fr Adams, W.G.S.</i>	7 Mar, Thu	Worked at a letter to the members of the Convention which everybody is advising me not to write or send! I am sure I ought to make a personal appeal & I might save the situation.
	8 Mar, Fri	Spent the whole day writing a letter to My Lords & Gentlemen of the Convention. A bad strain & at night I had a chill. Tomorrow I have to go to John Redmond's funeral in Wexford unless I have a temperature. Capt. Shaw came with me to Kilteragh.
<i>Fr Byrne, James</i>	9 Mar, Sat	<p>Up at 6 AM to finish my letter to the Convention & to catch the 7.15 AM train at Bray. Had a bad time of it, got a fresh chill & went to bed under doctor's orders when I got back at 7.30 P.M.</p> <p>The funeral was impressive enough but was very restricted in the representative character of the attendance owing to the extreme inconvenience of appearance on a Saturday at Wexford at short notice. There was a long service followed by a High Mass & then a procession through every street in this little town – above it and about – which kept us on our feet for 2 hours or more. Then the coffin was placed in the family vault in the St. John's Church yard.</p> <p>The feeling was of genuine sorrow.</p> <p>On the way down I talked with some of the "back benchers" in the Convention. They are poisoned with hatred & distrust of England – mostly by the leaders of their Church! The whole issue is whether we will take what we can get & postpone certain things (& the consideration of other things – without prejudice) or refuse to take anything less than our full demand. The reason for the latter is that we have England now in a tight place & can get anything & that we can't trust any promise or undertaking to be fulfilled once she gets into smooth waters.</p> <p>Col. Pat Cox came for week end.</p>
	10 Mar, Sun	<p>A day in bed. The doctor warned me that I was very low. Blood pressure 116. Heart steady but very irregular last night. How I shall stand this week I don't know. The letter I wrote on Friday to be printed Saturday & read today was a desperate strain & the funeral arrangements were of the usual deadly character. Undertakers always have an eye to future business!</p> <p>I think my letter will have an effect and if I am well I may beat the wreckers. I don't think, as many do, that the R.C. Church are opposed to Home Rule & "playing their usual game" against</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		democracy. They (Dr. O'Donnell at any rate, & the Archbp. of Cashel is simply in his pocket) is [<i>sic</i>] a clever politician who genuinely believes that his method of bluffing John Bull is better than the Convention plan – that is better for Ireland, more likely to get a “generous” settlement.
To Dillon, John To Kavanagh, Walter M. To Morley of Blackburn, Ld. To Oliver, F.S. To Rolleston, T.W. To Shaw, George Bernard To Walter, Karl <i>Fr Cooke, Harold P.</i>	11 Mar, Mon	Up in house today & at telephone. Very unwell & unless my letter of Friday does the work as I hope I may be beaten tomorrow – even if the doctor allows me to face the ordeal of the Chair at a crisis.
To Nash, Vaughan <i>Fr Adams, W.G.S.</i> <i>Fr Waugh, Robert</i>	12 Mar, Tue	<p>A critical – a sad – a most Irish day in the Convention. A storm arose over my letter which undoubtedly had had its effect on the situation. The Bp. of Raphoe & Murphy attacked it rather bitterly & so did the Ulster Unionists. To them I conceded the non publication of the letter in the Records of the Convention! After a rather acrimonious debate we got to a division at 4.15 on a motion testing the possibility of agreement between moderate Nationalists & Southern Unionists. These voted 38 for 34 against. The minority were an unholy combination of 17 Extreme Nat's led by the Bp. of Raphoe & Wm. Murphy and 17 Ulster Unionists! After we adjourned the Bishop called a meeting of the Nat's & excluded all who had not voted with him! At night the Nationalist M.P.s unanimously elected John Dillon Chairman. Devlin had voted with the Bp. of Raphoe. The Nat Party I believe had a debate on the question & it will be interesting to hear what side Dillon took.</p> <p>The Ulster Unionists today decided to put in their proposals which are partition pure & simple. This I think will weaken their position considerably.</p>
To Bernard, John Henry (Archbp. of Dublin) To Cooke, Harold P. (by sec'y) To Frewen, Moreton	13 Mar, Wed	<p>The Bishops hold their political flock well in hand. We made progress today, however, and may yet get somewhere with a middle party report.</p> <p>The Chairmanship is very onerous now. I had Grand Committee 10 to 11, Convention 11 to 1.15 & 2.45 to 5, points of order (& disorder) all the time.</p>
To Byrne, James To Godkin, Lawrence To Waugh, Robert <i>Fr J.P. Mullally [AGR]</i> <i>Fr Plunkett, Paul</i>	14 Mar, Thu	I had a much easier day in the Chair and we made progress. We agreed to some essentials. The Bishop of Raphoe is gradually losing his authority & power.
To Adams, W.G.S. (2) To Lowell, A. Lawrence To Rideing, William <i>Fr Shaw, George Bernard</i>	15 Mar, Fri	Another long day. But much progress & a good friendly spirit. We shall, after all, have a majority report on reasonable lines. The Ulster Unionists will wash their hands of it – & they will want washing – but I think the Bishops won't be able to block me.
To Adams, W.G.S. (and cable) To J.P. Mullally (AGR) To Gill, T.P.	16 Mar, Sat	Half day in Convention office & then Daisy & C. O'Brien came out for week end.
	17 Mar, Sun	A Sunday of rest & quiet though I had to do a little of my Secret

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		<p>History which is just 2 months in arrears.</p> <p>I got a fright in the morning. My excellent housemaid Margaret came in & said “I cannot wake Lady Fingall”. I rushed in & I found Daisy in a deep stupor, which I knew was a cursed sleeping draught she always has beside her. I telephoned for Pim, the nearest local pill, & he found that she had taken 3 doses of a bromide chloral mixture. She woke up all right before he came.</p>
<p>To Monteagle, Ld. To Shaw, George Bernard</p> <p>[<i>pars magna</i> – an important part]</p>	18 Mar, Mon	<p>An Irish Bank Holiday for St. Paddy, but the Convention office had to go ahead full steam. Vernon, anxious to get back to his English work – he has a most promising official career before him – produced a draft report. It was the baldest statement of facts I ever saw – almost algebraic – and certainly would have raised no controversy inside the Convention. But the public would have torn it to shreds & would call for a real report telling the true story of the Convention. I foresee a tough job for my Easter Holidays – if we get so far.</p> <p>Sir Alexander McDowell’s death in the papers today. Death has been hard upon the Convention – Blake, Redmond & McDowell – the last two each in his own way like to have been “<i>pars magna</i>”.</p>
<p>To Adams, W.G.S To Shaw, George Bernard <i>Fr Monteagle, Lord</i> <i>(Fr O’Farrell, Sir Edw.</i> <i>to O’Brien, Cruise)</i></p>	19 Mar, Tue	<p>The Convention was in a good temper but wasted the day on the Defence Committee’s Report. It was the worst debating we have had yet largely owing to Desart’s Derry speeches as Chairman of the Committee.</p> <p>G.A.B. Dewar came to Kilteragh sent over by the Daily Mail to report on the Convention which the Censor won’t let him do!</p>
[Bp. Denis Hallinan]	20 Mar, Wed	<p>A requiem mass for Redmond in the Jesuit Church (where the Clongowes Union were the instigators) prevented the morning sitting of the Convention. This further adjournment has a political significance. The Hierarchy had, out of fear of Sinn Fein, refused to have a mass in the Pro. Cathedral and the new Bp. of Limerick (on whom the mantle of the fiery O’Dwyer was to have fallen) publicly refused to allow the religious obsequies because they would be a political demonstration! His own political utterances leave no doubt as to the real meaning of his objection.</p> <p>We sat from 2 to 6 in the afternoon & set up the Senate & half the lower House.</p>
<p>To French, Mr. (SEL) <i>Fr Delany, Gertrude</i> <i>Fr Irish Language Fund</i> <i>Fr Leslie, Shane</i></p>	21 Mar, Thu	<p>Got ahead well & hope to finish the deliberations tomorrow, except such as the draft Report provokes. Midleton, Gwynn, Bernard & others are urging me to make the narrative part of the report colorless, bald & impervious to criticism. I mean to make it a true history of the Convention. It has to be ready next week & the job won’t be easy.</p>
<p><i>Fr Barlas, A. R.</i> <i>Fr Bryce, James</i> <i>Fr Murray, John Oswald</i></p>	22 Mar, Fri	<p>The deliberations of the Convention concluded today & I was instructed to prepare a report. Ld. Southborough & Vernon & most of the “high brows” in the Convention – Midleton, Bernard, Gwynn, Windle, Barrie (for other reasons) & Dr. O’Donnell – want me to make a merely bald statement of conclusions. I mean to make it a little Chapter of Irish History – if I can in a very few days. The Convention is to meet the 4th of April.</p> <p>The “big German offensive” seems to have begun on the Western front – along some 50 miles of it. The news is scanty but the</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		horrors of the conflict are leaking through. Nerve gases are the latest.
To Adams, W.G.S. Fr Mullally, J.P. (AGR)	23 Mar, Sat	Completely worn out. Spent morning in office of Convention but got through no work. A week end rest will be necessary before I begin the Report seriously. Got Shaw, Callan & C Brien to join Bullock & me at Kilteragh & must try & think out the lines.
	24 Mar, Sun	Hetty & her mother weekended. Poor Hetty is still very "backward" & is I fear not quite normal. She suffers from hysteria which she may or may not outgrow.
To Barlas, A.R. To Barrie, Hugh T. To Middleton, Ld. To Murray, John Oswald (by sec'y) To O'Donnell, Patrick (Bp. of Raphoe) To Slattery, M. (by sec'y) To Windle, Sir Bertram <i>Fr Dillon, John</i> <i>Fr McCarthy, Charles</i>	25 Mar, Mon	Hard at work spiking the guns of the Convention wreckers who want to force me to issue a bald statement of conclusions as the main Report & then to add a political manifesto by way of a Minority Report. I shall in a covering letter to the P.M. enable the readers to see through the device. Young Henry Gibbons, son of my old friends of the Prisons Board called on me evidently suffering from alcoholism & consulted me as to whether he should become a R.C. He had practically made up his fuddled mind & I think it his best hope of redemption. I made an appointment for him to call on Fr. Tom Finlay.
To Bryce, James To Dunraven, Ld. <i>Fr Barrie, Hugh T.</i> <i>Fr Gwynn, Stephen</i> <i>(Fr Mitchell, E.F. to</i> <i>O'Brien, C.)</i>	26 Mar, Tue	Work all day at the Report of the Convention. Callan is doing fine work on it.
To Adams, W.G.S. To Barrie, Hugh T. To Duke, H.E. To Gwynn, Stephen <i>Fr Adams, W.G.S.</i> <i>Fr Middleton, Ld.</i> <i>Fr O'Donnell, Patrick</i> <i>(Bp. of Raphoe)</i> <i>Fr Robinson, Lennox</i> <i>Fr Windle, Sir Bertram</i>	27 Mar, Wed	The same as yesterday.
To Adams, W.G.S. To Middleton, Ld. To Robinson, Lennox To Windle, Sir Bertram <i>Fr Barrie, Hugh T.</i>	28 Mar, Thu	Finished the draft report. It looks better than I had hoped. If it is adopted the Convention certainly won't have failed wholly.
To Law, Hugh L. <i>Fr Adams, W.G.S.</i>	29 Mar, Fri	Hard day at Convention office. The news from the Front is so awful – the biggest battle in the world's history – the biggest by far – is raging only 2 to 3 hours away even from here by aeroplane! It is well to have an absorbing task – insignificant as it is in the perspective of today but as big as the war in my little sphere of duty.
To Adams, W.G.S. To Barrie, Hugh T. To Windle, Sir Bertram To Middleton, Ld. <i>Fr Middleton, Ld.</i> <i>Fr Pinchot, Gifford</i>	30 Mar, Sat	I had the cards printed for a dinner I was to give to the Convention next Thursday. Got a wire from Barrie that he & his friends had another engagement. Had to put off the dinner.

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
<i>Fr Shaw, George Bernard</i>	31 Mar, Sun	<p>A Count Louis Hamon, French-Irish whose property in France has been or is now in German hands, came to lunch. He is a “peat fiend” but I think – as I have often before – that his is a coal fuel. Its chief merit is that it is only half peat – some iron works refuse being a big part. The sample were <u>very satisfactory</u>.</p> <p>Mrs Guthrie Stirling & her soldier boy also lunched. She, poor thing, has a skeleton in her cupboard. She married a soldier (Scots Guards) who she found <u>immediately</u> after the wedding wanted not her but her (greatly exaggerated) wealth. She is sister of Sir J. Leslie & very very nice. Daisy & she are close friends & I hope to see more of her. She knows many people in prominent circles & is full of information about the War. The situation is gravely critical. Hamon knows the country round Amiens well & says that this goal of the present great offensive must fall. The Germans are within 10 miles of it & the intervening country is flat. If it falls Calais & Paris are both much more accessible & the wedge between the British & French forces is driven home.</p> <p>GAB Dewar came again. He is rather dull in conversation but as an old journalist knows a lot. I took him in because he was not well & miserable in a Dublin Hotel.</p>
<i>(Fr Byrne, Helen Macgregor to ?Godkin, L.; date uncertain)</i>	Apr	
To Dunraven, Ld. To Murphy, Wm. M.	1 Apr, Mon	No Bank Holiday in the Regent House, but only did ½ day myself. The Report seems to have provoked no storm so far.
<i>Fr Leslie, Shane (cable)</i> <i>(Fr Spring-Rice, Mary, MON)</i>	2 Apr, Tue	<p>Still no serious amendments to Report. I worked at my letter of transmission, the most difficult literary job I ever had. I cannot give my views but I want people to read the report right. As some others don't they may say I have not acted impartially.</p> <p>Charles Otis B---ies – American agent of Y.M.C.A. in Russia, where he could not land, drifted to Dublin & wanted to know about agric'l organ[isatio]n. A big fine young American seeking a career of usefulness. I had him to Kilteragh.</p>
To Adams, W.G.S. To Monteagle, Ld. <i>Fr Byrne, John</i> <i>Fr Glaspell, Mrs. H.J.</i> <i>Fr Maunsell & Co.</i>	3 Apr, Wed	Chief event of day meeting of Housing Committee & conference with 3 Labour members with whom I discussed their attitude to Convention. I gave them a note which I thought they might add to the report to put themselves on record as having sacrificed all other aims to the getting of an Irish settlement.
To Byrne, John <i>Fr Byrne, Helen MacGregor</i> <i>Fr MacDonnell, Ld.</i> <i>Antony Patrick</i> <i>Fr Robinson, Lennox</i>	4 Apr, Thu	My heaviest day in the Chair. We got through nearly the whole of the Report. There were breezes but never storms. Fortunately Wm. Murphy led the attack on the Chair & I routed him. I was never so near a collapse as at the end of the day.
To Adams, W.G.S. and cable <i>To Freeman's Journal (by sec'y)</i> To MacDonnell, Ld. Antony Patrick To Robinson, Lennox <i>Fr Byrne, Alfred</i> (To Sir Edw. O'Farrell (by sec'y, ADA))	5 Apr, Fri	The final sitting & the Convention was at its worst. The Ulstermen may be neglected, they were bound to act stupidly. But the fight between the Bishops with the extreme Nationalists & the Moderate Nationalists which led to the former voting (even against the adoption of the Narrative Report) together was confusing and humiliating. I had arranged a luncheon at 1 P.M. but it was not “partaken of” as the reporter says, till 2.15 & fortunately trains forbade speeches. In the afternoon minority reports and notes began to come in. The Bishop of Raphoe & his friends put in a document obviously written by Childers of great

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		<p>ability and moderation.</p> <p>I was dead tired and very near a breakdown.</p> <p>I carried away I think the regard of the Convention for my efforts at impartiality in the Chair.</p>
<i>Fr Dunraven, Ld.</i> <i>Fr Flood, W.H. Grattan</i> <i>Fr Kavanagh, Walter M.</i> <i>Fr MacMullen, A.R.</i> <i>Fr Russell, G.W. Erskine</i>	6 Apr, Sat	<p>The aftermath. No less than 7 additions to report from members all to be collated and dealt with in my letter of transmission. The entire document is in such a complete muddle that no one will understand any of it without help from the inside.</p> <p>I am very very tired & feel a bit older. I daresay I shall rejuvenate as much if I get a rest now – <u>If</u>!</p>
To MacMullen, A.R. To Southborough, Ld. <i>Fr Crozier, John Baptist</i> <i>(Archbp. of Armagh)</i>	7 Apr, Sun	<p>Had nearly all the staff of the Convention out to discuss the letter of transmission. Brassey & the Tynan Hinksons came to call which complicated things.</p>
To Dunraven, Ld. To Russell, G.W. Erskine To Shaw, George Bernard	8 Apr, Mon	<p>I hope not to have any more such days. I had to wind up the Convention at the Irish end & cross over to London, taking the Report with me.</p>
<i>Fr 'Freeman's Journal'</i>	9 Apr, Tue	<p>Arrived tired. The morning was spent with Adams at 10 Downing St., the afternoon in the Commons hearing Lloyd George introduce his military service Bill. It conscripts the whole nation from 18 to (in some cases) 55! for war service in various degrees. <u>And</u> it includes Ireland. This of course brought a storm from the Irish Members. Devlin & Gwynn denounced the inclusion from the two Convention Nationalist points of view. Dillon was normally bitter & the small fry were baying to talk on the first reading – i.e. on leave to print & circulate the Bill, in the usual obstructive way. Personally I think it madness to accompany (as L.I.G. did) the promises of legislation on the Report of the Convention with the immediate applic[atio]n of conscription which would be impracticable if the Irish Parliament had been set up.</p>
To Byrne, Alfred (fr sec'y C. O'Brien) <i>(Fr Geoghegan, Wm. G.</i> <i>to Ld. Southborough)</i> <i>Fr O'Brien, Cruise</i> [Astor]	10 Apr, Wed	<p>Saw Ld. Beaverbrook & arranged about publicity of Report in U.S. & Dominions prior to their receipt of the document. My letter of transmission will probably be cabled verbatim and I am to address an assembly of their Journalists.</p> <p>Dined with Mrs. Aster [<i>sic</i>] & met Geoffrey Dawson, Hichens of Round Table, Lionel Curtis home from a 2 year world tour of the B[ritish] Empire, Ld. Kerry & P. Kerr. Good discourse.</p>
<i>Fr Adams, W.G.S</i> <i>Fr O'Brien, Cruise</i>	11 Apr, Thu	<p>Wrote a memorandum to Lloyd George advising him to appeal to Ireland to furnish her quota to the man power urgently needed voluntarily & to exclude that country from the Man Power Bill for the present. I had previously called on Devlin who agreed that it would be a good plan. Thought at night that the appeal ?would better come from rather than to Ireland.</p> <p>Dined with the Bernard Shaws.</p>
To Callan, Walter To Frewen, Moreton (To Geoghan, Wm. G. fr Ld. Southborough (by sec'y))	12 Apr, Fri	<p>Had to meet the American & Dominion Press representatives at the Dept. of Information (Beaverbrook's) at noon, the hour of the public[atio]n of the Report. Gave them a long exposition of its contents. The London evening Press did us proud. My letter of transmission was a great success.</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
<i>Fr Wolff, Henry W.</i>		Again listened to the Debate on Conscription in Ireland. It synchronised with the most awful crisis (so far) of this awful War. Haig tells his men they now have their backs to the wall & must fight to the last man! This is the situation in which England shines. I have some hope that Ireland may yet do her part – if it is not too late!
To Duke, Henry Edward (CAL) To Exchequer & Audit Dept. (CONV) To <i>Freeman's Journal</i> (by sec'y) To Frewen, Moreton To Murray, Oswyn A.R. (CHI) To O'Donnell, Patrick (Bp. of Raphoe) <i>Fr Kemmis, Jasper</i> <i>Fr Macartney Filgate, W.</i> <i>to sec'y C. O'Brien</i> <i>Fr McCarthy, Charles</i> <i>Fr Stephen, Rosamund</i>	13 Apr, Sat	The papers gave my letter of transmission great space. It has I think saved the situation for the Convention – that is has made the public notice that it did good work. Saw Devlin & Gwynn at the House. I think we shall get the Gov't not to attempt conscription now.
	14 Apr, Sun	Spent the day with Adams talking over the Irish Home Rule Bill & conscription. We had a couple of short walks in a bitter North East wind.
To Callan, Walter To Wolff, Henry <i>Fr Kelly, Richard F.</i> <i>Fr O'Brien, Cruise</i> <i>Fr O'Donnell, Patrick</i> (Bp. of Raphoe)	15 Apr, Mon	Callan came over & helped the Parl'y draftsman to draft both the Home Rule and Land Purchase Bill. They are based on the Report of the Convention. Lunched at House of Commons to meet an American Mission. Labor & commercial people, social workers &c. 2½ hours function, but Balfour & Bryce both spoke well.
To Byrne, James (fr HP?; incomplete) <i>Fr Shaw, George Bernard</i>	16 Apr, Tue	The day included a long conference with Asquith, a short one with Lloyd George (who drove me from 10 Downing St. to the House) & two conferences with Devlin. I strove might & main to get all to agree to cooperate for a change in the mad conscription-Home Rule policy for Ireland. Ask Ireland for a definite quota. Let England assert & if necessary exercise her supreme power of compulsory military service in Ireland <u>if necessary</u> , but first appeal to the honour and pride, to the immemorial instincts of this fighting race. I wanted the offer to come from Ireland & if Dillon were not now the leader I believe it would have been made. Asquith said “in forty years of public life I have never known such a disastrous blunder in British policy. But the Government have burned their bridges – there's no going back for them. I think I could have beaten them but in this terrible military situation I decided to protest but not vote against them”. Lloyd George said he would far rather have fewer volunteers than many conscripts. Devlin was altogether satisfactory. Took my view wholly, but he is not leader. Never was such a tragic folly. We shall have bad weather in Ireland. And all this may be of insignificant importance compared with the military situation. The British army is daily falling back & the world is asking “Where are the French reserves?”
To O'Brien, Cruise	17 Apr, Wed	The morning papers showed that the Gov't had stuck to their

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
To Kelly, Richard F. To Shaw, George Bernard To Vernon, R.V. To Wolff, Henry <i>Fr Hecht, J.S.</i> To Norman, Harry F.		guns. The chief feature of the debate was a speech by Carson who strongly supported conscription in Ireland even at the price of Home Rule & denounced the monstrous bargain this dual policy involved. The Irish members were, I think, more sorry than angry. They have to go over to Ireland & join Sinn Fein in the opposition to Conscription. For 8 months I struggled to unite my countrymen so that they inaugurate self government by a big Irish part in the war. The Government in as many days have successfully united them in a determination not to fight England's battles!
<i>Fr O'Brien, Cruise</i> <i>Fr Stephenson, J.K.</i> [conseil de famille – family council]	18 Apr, Thu	Spent the morning going to Motor Transport Reserve Depot to see Gerald Plunkett ("The Gerrum") whose mother was coming over to try & get him into the Flying Corps. The boy was in the O.T.C. at T.C.D. He simply could not learn to spell. I saw his 3 superior officers & we had a sort of conseil de famille over him. His fate is private in infantry Reg[imen]t if he does not get a com'n in the Flying Corps & I fear this is impossible. Worked in afternoon over Irish Bill. Dined with D. Dalziel where Daisy had arrived at night & got a tory M.P.'s views on the prospects of the Irish legislation. They were not hopeful.
To Mahaffy, Sir J.P. To Stephenson, J.K.	19 Apr, Fri	Midleton, Powell & I met a Committee of the Gov't W. Long, A. Chamberlain (today added to the War Cabinet), Sir G Cave Home Secretary & Duke. Harris & Sir F Liddell Parl'y draftsman [?men] also present, to discuss the Irish Government Bill. A very stupid body I thought! They are sticking to the Majority Report but want to give a sop to Ulster. I told them that the state of Ireland made it very doubtful whether any Bill would be looked at in that country. They seemed shocked! Called on Mary who had been educated on Ireland by the Morning Post & spoke so bitterly about my covering letter to the Convention Report that I made up my mind to let her alone for a while!
<i>Fr Stephenson, J.K.</i> [Whitely]	20 Apr, Sat	At 10 Downing St. most of the day. Took McCarron, Whitley [sic] & McKay (labour members of the Committee) to Barnes at 10 A.M. & had long conference on attitude of Labour to Irish settlement. Called on Dunraven, aet 77 & talked over desperate Irish situation.
(To Byrne, Helen Macgregor fr Godkin, Lawrence) <i>Fr Childers, Erskine</i> <i>Fr Law, Hugh L.</i> [Ld. Mayor – Laurence O'Neill]	21 Apr, Sun	Cold sleet in London & when I got to Kingswood where I had planned "a day in the country" with Adams where we might sometimes forget & sometimes consider the awful Irish situation, there were about 2 inches of snow! I borrowed a pair of his boots & tried to walk in them so as to have fairly dry boots for the return journey. No good. We sat over the fire for hours. Read a little Shakespeare & back ever to our Irish muttuns! A plan suddenly came to me. The Ld. Mayor of Dublin is to go to Pres't. Wilson & put the Irish case (for an almost united Ireland) before him. I might forestall him by a cable to House. Wilson <u>could</u> play a great part in this business, but it would require great tact.
<i>Fr Deegan, M. (DAT)</i> <i>Fr Leslie, Shane</i>	22 Apr, Mon	Chief event a conference betw'n the three labour delegates for Irish Convention and the labour M.P.s upon Home Rule. The mutual education was of prospective value – that is all that can be said. The situation in Ireland is simply ghastly. At least 75% of the people are utterly anti British now & determined to resist to the death conscription. Had a talk with HAL Fisher, Minister of Education. Hurried & inadequate.

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		Dined with Paul Cravath who had nothing to tell me.
	23 Apr, Tue	<p>Several times I have been cut by Carson lately – we pass & repass at the Carlton Club – the Blind Asylum – where I generally lunch. P.J. Hannon today told me he is very angry with my letter of transmission. I told Adams this & he said “You were absolutely right. The Ulstermen tried to jockey you with their procedure. You told the truth in spite of them.”</p> <p>Spent the day considering the cypher cable to Col. House. The difficulty is that I can hardly use a Gov’t cypher without appearing to have Government sanction & the thing I want to do to save Ireland & the Empire from the ghastly blunder they have made[,] the Gov’t (A.J.B. for instance) would not or rather could not approve. Fortunately I met at Mrs. Guthrie Stirling’s at dinner Arthur Murray M.P. who has been at Washington 8 months & is in cable communication at the F.O. with Col. House. I hope to arrange with him.</p>
To O’Brien, Cruise To Stephenson, J.K.	24 Apr, Wed	<p>A little business – Pelton S.S. Co. meeting & tomorrow a Bowes meeting!</p> <p>Worked at House letter.</p>
To Law, Hugh L. Fr O’Brien, Cruise	25 Apr, Thu	A Bowes meeting and the rest of the day struggling with the difficult cable to Col. House for the President. At lunch at the Carlton I met Walter Long. He and his fellow stalwarts are reverting to their old extreme Unionist attitude and we seem farther from an Irish settlement than ever. President Wilson may snub the Irish envoy on the question of military service but I fear he will hardly help us to a political settlement.
To House, E.M. (cable) (Fr Byrne, Helen Macgregor to Godkin, Lawrence; BYR) (Fr Geoghegan Wm. G. to Ld. Londonderry)	26 Apr, Fri	Finished & despatched cable to House. Fully explained Irish situation.
(Fr Geoghegan, Wm. G. to Bryce, James)	27 Apr, Sat	<p>A long talk with Nathan. He told me he, Dillon, Clancy & Redmond in 1915 worked out a scheme of Irish Gov’t – 8 ministries, their salaries & functions & that the thing could be put into operation very quickly. The papers are in the Ch: Sec’s office.</p> <p>Lunched with Lady Paget again. She has lots of military gossip – generally incorrect ?happily as it is always pessimistic.</p>
	28 Apr, Sun	A quiet Sunday with Betty & Gerald at Fisher’s Hill.
	29 Apr, Mon	<p>Saw Arthur Balfour & advised him to let the Ld. Mayor of Dublin go to America & put the Irish case before the President. Had a long talk with Dr. Addison, Minister of Reconstruction. A very nice fellow, but not a master mind, which his job required. Of course I was talking to him on my job & this he took in.</p> <p>Wrote at length to House. Had Ray Stannard Baker to lunch. Offered & he accepted a put up at Kilteragh where Walter is to bring him.</p>
Fr Bryce, James (Fr Callan, Walter to O’Brien, Cruise)	30 Apr, Tue	Two Carnegie Trust meetings. Chief event a long talk with General Smuts to whom I explained the Irish situation & my views thereon with great detail. I told him that he might have to

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
<i>(Fr Kirwan, B. to ?C. O'Brien)</i>		<p>use his influence to save the situation. He had a unique position with the loyal Irish because he was supporting, with the disloyal because he had fought against[,] Britain. He seemed to agree with my views as to what ought to be done. He asked me whether a liberal concession of Home Rule now would meet the difficulty. I told him that nothing England could offer would be considered liberal now. Then there was Ulster immensely strengthened in Protestant England by the Roman Pontiff's action in defying the law. (I explained that this was probably done to avert a rebellion.) Smuts thought the best concession to Ulster was to give them a Committee for a while but to limit the power of the Committee to demanding a joint session upon laws to which Ulster objected. I told Smuts I would keep him informed & not hesitate to tell him if & when he could intervene with effect. This I said might be soon but I told him of my hopes of President Wilson.</p> <p>I wrote Page (who was unfortunately out of town) of my hopes in this quarter & sent him copy of my cable to House.</p>
<i>Fr Rolleston, T.W.</i>	1 May, Wed	<p>Safely back & a good sleep on the boat as they gave me the Vice Regal cabin so that if we were torpedoed I knew I could get on deck at any rate.</p> <p>Back in the Plunkett House, the Convention offices being closed at last.</p> <p>The Irish situation is politically &, I fear, morally – hatred of England being the all pervading passion – desperate. There is no government. The military are making their dispositions with a view to conscription which they I do not believe will ever be permitted to carry out.</p> <p>Karl Walter & his wife & Ray Stannard Baker the American journalist came to me by day mail. They are looking over the situation from an American point of view. What on earth can any outsider make of it.</p>
	2 May, Thu	<p>Carson had a letter in the papers calling upon the Southern Unionists to join him in his Die Hard campaign. Tomorrow they are going to meet in force in Dublin. I, therefore, decided to wire a letter to the Times (which will be repeated in the Irish Times) denouncing the Irish policy of the Government & calling upon them to act on the Convention Majority Report. A strong, perhaps rash, step. But it was a case for throwing prudence to the winds.</p>
<p>To Bryce, James To Londonderry, Ld. (7th Marquess) To Osgood, Mrs. To Shaw, RJH <i>Fr Byrne, Helen Macgregor Fr Hetherington, A.L. Fr Murphy, Wm. M.</i></p>	3 May, Fri	<p>My letter to the Times was held over, probably because it was in violent conflict with their leading article clamouring for conscription. The Southern Unionists held their meeting & did nothing. So I thought it better to withdraw my letter. In it I told the Gov't plainly that their "two-fold Irish policy[]" – Conscription & Home Rule was doomed & that the only sane alternative was to set up at once an Irish Gov't on the lines of the Majority Report. It seems they have a makeshift arrangement in contemplation & it is better to see it before pronouncing. Besides it is important not to conflict with the long cable to House of April 26.</p>
<p>To Law, Hugh L. To Murphy, Wm. M. To Plunkett, Paul</p>	4 May, Sat	<p>Decided to send my letter to the Press Assoc'n for publication on Monday. Did this partly because the Northerners are furious with</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
To Shattuck, Henry L.		me for my “partisan” letter of transmission. Ray Stannard Baker went to Ballaghadereen to be with John Dillon & de Valera at a joint meeting tomorrow.
Fr Southborough, Ld.	5 May, Sun	A restful Sunday. Mahaffy to lunch, Mrs. Martin after. Also an American journalist Wh--- of Chicago Tribune & who gave me an interesting account of his own conversion to the Ulster view after 2 weeks in Ireland!
To Glaspell, Mrs. H.J. To Hetherington, A.L. To Leslie, Shane To McCarthy, Charles To Rolleston, T.W. <i>Fr Murphy, Wm. M.</i>	6 May, Mon	A very sick day. Baker came back & I had Joe Devlin to meet him in the afternoon at Kilteragh. Devlin liked my letter. But the country is in an awful state. Sinn Fein[,] said Devlin[,] is not a policy nor even a covenant; it’s an emotion. [Letter to <i>Irish Times</i> , “The Government and Ireland”, pasted in.]
To Kelly, Richard F. To Southborough, Ld. <i>Fr Cunliffe-Owen, Emma</i> <i>Fr Dease, Edmund I.</i> <i>Fr Mackenzie, William</i> <i>Fr Marston, R.B.</i> [“The One Alternative: Sir H. Plunkett on Home Rule”, <i>The Times</i> , p. 4]	7 May, Tue	Moorhead diagnoses broncho pneumonia. I am put to bed, or rather be get there. The excellent nurse Swan who nursed me in 1916 in the hut on the roof came to me. Life becomes a temperature chart.
To Murphy, Wm. M. (<i>Fr Anderson, R.A. to O’Brien, Cruise</i>) (<i>Fr Holland, P.E. to O’Brien, Cruise</i>)	8 May, Wed	A day nurse, a nice Tipperary Burke, trained at Cork & quite competent added as day nurse. I am forbidden guests.
(To Cunliffe-Owen by sec’y) (To Geoghegan, Wm. by sec’y) To Harmsworth, Cecil (by sec’y) To Holland, P.E. To Mackenzie, William To Marston, R.B. (by sec’y O’Brien, Cruise) <i>Fr Bryce, James</i> <i>Fr Kelly, Richard F.</i>	9 May, Thu	Bed.
Fr Harmsworth, Cecil Fr Marston, B. (to O’Brien, Cruise) Fr Roosevelt, Franklin D. Fr Walter, Karl	10 May, Fri	It is running its normal course. Every afternoon punctually at 4 P.M. the temperature rises to about 100°, my normal being about 97°. Daisy & Anderson in house but they are allowed to see little of me.
Fr Walter, Karl	11 May, Sat	Ld. French & Edward Shortt K.C. M.P. were sworn in Ld. L[ieutenant]t. & Ch: Sec’y respectively. I see the papers & read but cannot write letters. 100.4.°
	12 May, Sun	99.4°. I think the zenith of my temperature curve was reached yesterday.
(Fr Harmsworth, Cecil to Anderson, R.A.) Fr Lane, Franklin K. (Fr Walter, Karl to Anderson R.A.)	13 May, Mon	99.8° at 4 P.M. But very weak.

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
	14 May, Tue	Normal – 98.8° at 4 P.M.
[Dark Rosaleen – poetic symbol for Ireland]	15 May, Wed	Subnormal. Moorhead came out for a final consultation. He condemned me to (1) rest of week in bed (2) a month's complete rest. The latter at my age is I am sure a good idea. <u>But</u> ! All depends on the Dark Rosaleen.
	16 May, Thu	Weary idleness in bed all day. They have given me morphia 1/6th gr[ain] for 10 nights running, enough to start a habit. So there's that to break, a very miserable little complication. But it was the lesser evil as I had a hacking cough which nothing else would get out of the way of sleep.
<i>Fr Bryce, James</i> <i>Fr Rolleston, T.W.</i>	17 May, Fri	Another unnecessary day in bed. Very weak. The government, having evidence of a German plot issued this evening a proclamation announcing the fact, accompanied if very weakly with an announcement of "still further steps . . . to facilitate & encourage voluntary enlistment" (the previous steps having been characterised by L.I.G. as stupid & malignant) & arrested the Sinn Fein Leaders quietly & without any opposition all over the country!
(Fr McCarthy, Charles to Smith-Gordon, Lionel)	18 May, Sat	Up & felt my weakness. Not allowed out.
	19 May, Sun	Walked & sat out a bit. Henry Robinson & E[dwar]d O'Farrell called. Neither knew much.
To Leslie, Shane Fr Leslie, Shane Fr Plunkett, Reginald A.R.	20 May, Mon	Loafed. My heart is weak. The pulse very intermittent.
Fr Harmsworth, Cecil	21 May, Tue	Ditto
To Byrne, Helen Macgregor To Ervine, St. John (extract) To Godkin, Lawrence To Rolleston, T.W.	22 May, Wed	S. Gwynn came to see me & we talked over the chaotic situation. I am still very weak my pulse being badly intermittent. I am glad to think I could do little if I were up & about.
To Bullock, Shan To Bryce, James To Plunkett, Reginald A.R.	23 May, Thu	Another dull restful day after two restless nights.
To Adams, W.G.S. To Leslie, Shane To Pinchot, Gifford To Walter, Karl	24 May, Fri	The same.
	25 May, Sat	Hugh Law came for the week end also Daisy & Hetty.
	26 May, Sun	Dr. E J Dillon & wife came to lunch with Dunbar (now Sir Plunkett) Barton. Dr. D. was the Cassandra of the pre-war days. He is gloomy now at the prospect of peace in our time.
<i>Fr Armitage-Smith, S.</i> <i>Fr Bryce, James</i>	27 May, Mon	Wrote lazily at my Secret History of the Convention. I have the last two months of its story still to do.
To Armitage-Smith, S. To Dunraven, Ld. <i>Fr Anderson, R.A.</i> <i>Fr Lowell, A. Lawrence</i>	28 May, Tue	The nurse left me. She had been kept an extra week by the doctors to see that I did not exert myself. A wise precaution I daresay. I am still only 8½ stone [119 lb] naked.

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
<i>Fr Plunkett, Reginald A.R.</i>		
<i>Fr Dunsany, Lady Beatrice</i>	29 May, Wed	Went into Dublin, the first passage through my gate for 24 days. Lunched with Healy & met Mahaffy at University Club. They both agreed that nothing could be done with Home Rule at present – we must drift. Then had a long talk at the Plunkett House with Devlin. He told me he & Dillon (who was bitterly anti Sinn Fein) were disgusted with the Mansion House Conference. They must continue with it until the “Conscription menace” passes. After that they have no plans. I argued that the only possible future for the Constitutional Nationalists (& the Parl’y party) was to be found in getting Home Rule. They ought to accept a Bill on the lines of the Majority Report (with <u>temporary</u> safeguards for Ulster added) on the understanding that an Irish Government should be immediately set up, an Irish Parliament as soon as possible thereafter, that government & Parliament to be given the man power question to deal with.
Fr Addison, Christopher Fr Jameson, Henrietta Fr Nathan, Sir Matthew	30 May, Thu	Weather only to be described by the word Glorious. I got off another Chapter of my Secret History which is now written up to the time I returned from London with the Prime Minister’s letter of Feb. 25th.
To Adams, W.G.S. To Dunsany, Ld. Edward <i>Fr McAndrew, P.J.</i> <i>Fr Pickstone, H.E.V.</i>	31 May, Fri	A morning’s work at Secret Report & came to Kilcooley for a 4 or 5 days complete rest. Shall be glad to look over Tom’s farming operations which are on a large scale & really scientific, technically & commercially.
To Broderick, J. Joyce <i>Fr Adams, W.G.S</i> <i>Fr Long, Walter Hume</i> <i>Fr Lysaght, Edward</i> <i>Fr Walter, Karl</i>	1 Jun, Sat	A talk with my old time friend Campbell the steward (now a pensioner) upon the feeling of the Country, of which he is always closely informed. It is decidedly pro German. Yesterday he was in Urlingford – the people were chuckling over the successive British defeats of the last few days & gloated over the prospect of a complete humiliation of Gt. B[ritai]n in the next few days! Still if the Allies win & if England does not continue her mad mishandling of Ireland the people would rapidly change. Many people told him privately they would be glad to see Conscription & Home Rule both dropped.
To Magill, A.P. (cable; date uncertain; C’OB)	2 Jun, Sun	Edmond Cummins late Chairman of S. Tipp[erary]. Co. C. (an old supporter of mine) came to lunch – a 50 miles drive there & back! – to talk over the Irish situation. He was pessimistic. We discussed 3 alternative policies for the moment – (1) Status quo & drift (2) Drastic martial law & (3) attempt to go through with Convention Majority Report Bill. (1) was C’s choice on first impressions but he admitted (a) its progressive demoralisation & (b) the certainty that it would soon necessitate (2) which would be effective, a great relief to more than would say so, but on the whole & taking the long view undesirable, to say nothing of its implications of discredit to rulers & ruled. So we came to (3) & the whole question was would the moderate men of Ireland, now cowed into silence or even acquiescence on extreme Sinn Feinism, come forward & fight to an orderly constitutional development of Irish government. Cummins, who retired from the Co. C. chairmanship in order to take the office of Coroner, has still great influence Tom tells me. He is old and slow to contemplate any resumption of political activity. But he gave me

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		every reason to believe that he would help in the contemplated situation & what is more important he said he thought many others would as well.
To O'Brien, Cruise <i>Fr Bernard, John Henry</i> (<i>Archbp. of Dublin</i>) (<i>Fr Duncan, Mrs. Ellen</i> to O'Brien, Cruise) (<i>Fr O'Brien, Cruise</i> to Magill, A.P.)	3 Jun, Mon	Did nothing all day but lie on a long chair under a tree & try to read!
To Andrews, E.H. (by sec'y O'Brien, Cruise) (To O'Brien, Cruise fr Magill, A.P.) <i>Fr Anderson, R.A</i> <i>Fr McAndrew, P.J.</i> [Martha – Biblical care- taker]	4 Jun, Tue	Some talk with Tom about his life's work. Here he is conducting great farm operations on a great pleasure estate – attending himself to every detail of management, insisting on a fair day's work for a fair day's wage, getting his men not only to tolerate insistence on efficiency but even to take a growing interest in its results – turning forests into raw material for war & other industries & replanting for the future – his wife all the while looking after the family which is being well raised & the home with Martha-like care in industry. I have tried to get Tom & May too as far as it is within her ken to think of the larger aspects of their great possessions, talents & influence. These are doing exemplary service & yet may all be legislated away. They must be established on the only sure foundation of proved utility to the masses. And this is quite possible but it needs to be constantly borne in mind that more & more institutions & individuals will have to justify themselves by new standards, even if the old formula greatest good to greatest numbers survives. Tom must accept democracy with all its faults & use any superiority of intelligence & opportunity to educate the masters he must live to serve. A hard saying to one whose mind is genuinely scientific – or rather, as he is not grounded in any of the sciences – logical.
<i>Fr Kellogg, Dr. J.H.</i>	5 Jun, Wed	For a dine & sleep at Newtown Anner, Clonmel, a really beautiful spot. The Anner is a tributary of the Suir & here The Duchess of St. Albans has made a glorious garden in favouring natural surroundings. But it was not her garden or her views of distant hills but her views on the present situation I came to explore. She is simply a Bourbon. Met Langhorn the County Inspector at dinner. He gave me the report of the District, nothing I did not know. He too was for firm government & had no ideas of policy. Lady Susan Dawnay (a sister of the late Waterford) was a fellow guest & seemed highly intelligent. But I was too tired to talk to her.
(<i>Fr Andrews, E.H. to</i> <i>O'Brien, Cruise</i>) <i>Fr Gwynn, Stephen</i> (<i>year uncertain</i>) <i>Fr Rimington, Sir</i> <i>Michael & Pickstone,</i> <i>H.E.V.</i> <i>Fr Robinson, Lennox</i>	6 Jun, Thu	The Duchess insisted on playing chess, which she has taken as to drink, all the morning. She plays about 100 moves to the hour. We played a dozen or so games & I could not help winning them all! I was disappointed in a way, I wanted to talk to Lady Susan Dawnay who seemed to understand the country. But we cannot talk before the Duchess whose views are unchangeably die-hard.
(To Cummins, Edward [sic] fr O'Brien, Cruise) To Drummond, Sir Eric (to sec'y) <i>Fr Devlin, Joseph</i>	7 Jun, Fri	Hard day at I.A.O.S. office. Alice came to see me & unloaded her troubles upon me. Her husband is treating her abominably in money matters & the question is whether she has any legal remedy. She is to write me the facts & I shall get her to consult Maurice Healy.

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
<i>Fr Rimington, Sir Michael & Pickstone H.E.V. (cable, 14 pp.)</i>		
To Southborough, Ld. [M.B. – Bachelor of Medicine]	8 Jun, Sat	½ day's work chiefly at Secret Report of Irish Convention. Ruth Balfour & her Major Bill Balfour (staff work in Ireland – training) came for the week-end. She was the only one of the Gerald Balfour 7 who had not visited Kilteragh. She is now a mother & a M.B. licensed to Kill. He is a very good intelligent fellow.
	9 Jun, Sun	Edward Shortt KC MP came to lunch & I had a long talk with him after. He was as ignorant of Ireland as all new Chief Secretaries but much quicker at learning than most. He is a quick business man – looks a horse copper is a good lawyer and politician. Whether a man of affairs remains to be seen. He told me the HR Bill was having a rough time in the Drafting C'tee & he could not predict the outcome. He was surprised that I had not seen the latest drafts, but from what he told me, the reason was clear. Austin [<i>sic</i>] Chamberlain coached by Oliver & possibly through Selborne) has managed to get the Oliver[-]Selborne scheme adopted. This was sent to me to try & get it commended to the Convention. The Grand C'tee would not look at it. The main lines of the proposal are Reservation of Customs Excise & income tax balanced by two huge bribes: a present to Ireland of her agric'l land (i.e. all the unpaid instalments plus a sum to complete land purchase) and a guarantee of an annual subsidy to make up the difference between the cost of Irish government & the Irish revenues thus robbed of the indirect & the chief source of direct taxation. I told Shortt that this would never do – he had only to read the P.M.'s letter of Feb. 25 to see why. Shortt said he thought I ought to go to London, as there was little to be done here, much at Westminster.
<i>Fr McCarron, James</i>	10 Jun, Mon	Wrote to Adams telling him of my interview with Shortt and of my objections to the new H.R. proposal. I said I should myself have to oppose it with all my might.
(To Cummins, Edward [<i>sic</i>] fr O'Brien, Cruise)	11 Jun, Tue	A dreary meeting of the C.D.B. Then a long talk with Shortt to whom I gave my considered objections to the Selborne-Oliver scheme. He urged me more strongly to go to London.
To Southborough, Ld.	12 Jun, Wed	Sent off 9 more long paragraphs of the Secret Report bringing the narrative up to March 12th. Heard from Shane Leslie. He was much exercised over the report in the American papers that I had been arrested as a Sinn Feiner at Whitsuntide. The French were told by the Petit Journal that Mr. Horace Curzon Plunkett, député d'Irlandais de Roscommon had been arrested for blowing up a Gramophone Factory – such is fame.
To Bernard, John Henry (Archbp. of Dublin) [Ld. Lieut. (i.e. French) is Commander of Forces]	13 Jun, Thu	Dined with the Arnott's at Mount Merrion & met the new Commander of the Forces in Ireland. He seemed to me to have small intelligence. Judge Ross was there & spoke the most uncompromising Ulsteria.
To Rimington, Sir Michael <i>Fr Southborough, Ld. Fr Pearson, Col. G.S.H.</i>	14 Jun, Fri	Worked at Secret Report.

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
To McCarthy, Charles	15 Jun, Sat	A letter from Adams making it clear I must go to London, as the H.R. Bill was at a standstill & he wanted to consult me upon the various proposal[s,] as to which he dared not write. A letter also from Southborough, extraordinarily bitter against the Gov't for their "wantonly shameless" attempts to drop the promised Bill. Had a short talk to Donoughmore & gathered that if we had had him instead of Midleton things might have gone differently in the Convention.
	16 Jun, Sun	Starkie & wife spent most of the day at Kilteragh. He had been inspecting schools all over the country & was pessimistic to the n'th. The idea of any kind of Home Rule now was unthinkable! Hammond also called. The military (Irish) are consulting him about voluntary recruiting schemes. He is definitely of opinion that without Home Rule there will be no volunteers! A bad look out.
To Pearson, Col., G.S.H. To Southborough, Ld.	17 Jun, Mon	A long talk with Andrew Jameson upon the Irish situation with object of finding out whether he would join in asserting the Southern Unionist Convention position if Government goes ahead with the Majority settlement. He is sound but inert.
To Kelly, Denis (Bp. of Ross) To Lowell, A. Lawrence	18 Jun, Tue	IAOS office & Finance C'tee. By night mail to England. On boat met Tim Healy & Ld. Mayor of Dublin. The first very amusing & as purely destructive as ever in his criticism of Gov't. The Ld. Mayor was, he told me confidentially, the bearer of the Irish anti Conscription covenant to the American ambassador!
<i>Fr. Kelly, Denis (Bp. of Ross)</i>	19 Jun, Wed	Spent most of the day with Adams discussing the hopeless Irish situation. To record the complications we reviewed would take much time which must be devoted to constructive thought & suggestions. Walk & talk with K. Walter about Anglo-American relations, a subject the study of & work upon which I perhaps would have done better, as things have turned up, to have continued. Dined with Erskine Childers – more than ever doctrinaire, noble & impracticable about Ireland.
<i>(Fr O'Brien, Dermot to O'Brien, Cruise)</i>	20 Jun, Thu	More talk with Adams in the morning. We are agreed upon the mistakes on both sides – or rather on all sides of this many side Irish muddle. We see no light as to the way out though we have eliminated many courses of action. Lunched with Bernard Shaws. He was not helpful. Attended House of Lords debate. Londonderry called attention to the state of Ireland in a characteristically Ulster speech, in however a very different tone. Lonsdale (now Armaghdale!) seconded. Midleton implored the Gov't not to attempt a settlement now where he had failed! Lansdowne attacked the two "limbs" of the Government's Irish policy[,] man power & Home Rule[,] & had no difficulty in showing that both were badly battered. He made the worst of the Convention Report, the most pathetic document in Irish History. He too declared that nothing could be done now. Curzon replied for the Gov't. He justified their double policy & threw all the blame for its breakdown in [<i>sic</i>] Ireland & the Convention. The day's mortification came to a climax in a letter I got at night from Dr. Kelly, the Bp. of Ross who was in despair at the utter demoralisation of Ireland & saw no hope for the future. He said

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		he would have stuck to his guns & have voted against the Bishop of Raphoe. Had he not fallen ill the whole Convention atmosphere would have been changed.
	21 Jun, Fri	The papers today interpret Curzon's speech in the Lords yesterday as the dropping of Home Rule & Conscription! Cravath came to see me about the bad effect dropping Conscription would have in America – probably a Wall St. view as he puts it.
To O'Brien, Cruise (2) To Shaw, RJH	22 Jun, Sat	Saw St. J. Ervine in hospital minus a leg. To Adams in Surrey for week end.
<i>Fr Canby, Henry S.</i>	23 Jun, Sun	Long walks & talks with Adams – always helpful. He told me he had refused a knighthood & asked me if I should like a Peerage! From which I gathered that I could get one if I wanted it. On Thursday last I should have liked to be in the Lords. I should hate the dignity but it might possibly be turned to account. I cannot ever go back to the Commons & may want a platform.
To Kavanagh, Walter M.	24 Jun, Mon	Struggled all day with a letter to the Times which never came! I wanted it badly for tomorrow's debate.
<i>Fr Channing of Wellingborough</i>	25 Jun, Tue	Sat through a debate in the House of Commons (Distinguished Strangers Gallery) on Irish Conscription & Home Rule. Shortt made a speech good in form upon a hopeless case. Conscription is postponed at any rate till Oct. 1st & then we shall see what we shall see. Meanwhile voluntary recruiting is to be handled by an Irish Committee. Carson went through the story of his own generosity in trying to settle the Irish Question during the War. Lloyd George was as shifty as ever. Asquith had "a practical suggestion" – that the Imperial Conference now sitting in London should be asked to settle the Irish Question! After this I left in disgust. The Irish M.P.s were absent & the whole thing was a disgusting farce. On Thursday the Lords will return to the subject. I fear there's no hope there.
To Canby, Henry S. To Monteagle, Ld. Fr Southborough, Ld.	26 Jun, Wed	Saw Fisher Minister of Education, Sir Wm. Tyrrell, Ld. Eustace Percy, Tom Spring Rice, Ray Stannard Baker & General Smuts during the day. It was a long talk on the Irish situation & I think will have effect. Things stand thus. Nothing can be done at present at Westminster. Ireland must speak with a clear sane voice and I must try to get her to do so. The only hope is to reform the Moderate party which was born in the Convention & was killed by the Government's insane torpedoing the Convention ship with Conscription. I believe if I had the health & strength I could do it.
	27 Jun, Thu	Wrote Donoughmore asking him to take part in Lords Debate (adjourned from last Thursday) & to indicate that the S[outhern].U[nionist]. delegates in Convention should stick to their guns. He did not rise. Two Colliery meetings – Pelton & Meiros. A talk with Addison, only asking him to stick to Home Rule now. Philip Kerr to lunch. His "down" on the R.C. Church (left for Xian Science) makes him a bad adviser in the Irish situation. Attended H. of L. debate. Very poor. Left by night mail for Ireland.
To Adams, W.G.S.	28 Jun, Fri	A heavy day at Plunkett House. Visited Gwynn & Hammond at the Recruiting Council. A 'fort' I fear. Major 'Bill' & Ruth Balfour were awaiting me at Kilteragh (with

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		a baby down with German measles!) where I am housing the family while the drains are getting rectified in the house they have taken.
To Adams, W.G.S. To MacDonnell, Ld. Antony Patrick (cable) <i>Fr Maguire & Gatchell</i>	29 Jun, Sat	K. Leys, Mod[ern] Hist[ory] tutor at Univ[ersity College], great friend of Alan Anderson & liked & consulted by Adams, in hospital at Monkstown, military hospital, came to Kilteragh in the afternoon. He went through his O.T.C. & was drafted into the Royal Garrison artillery for home services. He is doing his bit at Queenstown & obviously is wasting his time. He is very delicate & the shiest creature I ever met. But he has brains & I am going to try to get him to give me literary assistance during his convalescence.
	30 Jun, Sun	Went to Head Quarters & got K Leys released from Hospital. Brought him to Kilteragh. Col. Blackburn & wife lunched & we had a talk over the Irish situation, chiefly in its military aspects.
Fr Brassey, T.A. (2nd Earl) Fr MacDonnell, Ld. Antony Patrick	1 Jul, Mon	Worked at a pronouncement on the Irish situation.
Fr Adams, W.G.S. Fr Barrie, Hugh T.	2 Jul, Tue	Same as yesterday.
Fr Dunsany, Ld. Edward Fr Watt, S. [Cumann na mBan]	3 Jul, Wed	Got out a good letter to the Press. When I took it to Healy he told me that the Gov't had proclaimed Sinn Fein, the woman's side thereof (I forget the Gaelic name) & the Gaelic League. Are they quite mad? I held back my letter to see the situation develop.
To Adams, W.G.S. (Fr Power, Thomas to O'Brien, C.)	4 Jul, Thu	Thinking over the situation & whether to intervene with a protest against doing nothing – except coercion!
	5 Jul, Fri	Got off half my letter to the Press & it read well. The other half I had to take on my three days holiday to Greenore where Anderson has had a month of complete rest. There a Hotel (L & NWR & so orderly & good) & a moderate golf links are shut off from the outer world – the Holyhead boat coming only twice a week and 1 post each way per day. The papers don't come till 1 P.M.!
		Today the Southern Unionists are meeting. I met their leaders – Die Hard & Middletonian at the K.S. Club. Donoughmore offers the best hope of a leader which they badly want.
To Watt, S. <i>Fr League of Nations</i> <i>Soc'y (W.H. Dickinson)</i>	6 Jul, Sat	A bad fit of nerves. I golfed 3 hours in hope of inducing sleep. But I had to face a restless night.
	7 Jul, Sun	A miserable day & another sleepless night – only 3½ hours with drugs but no opium from which I fear the sleeplessness comes. I am passing a good deal of blood in the urine – an inflamed prostate.
Fr Devlin, Joseph	8 Jul, Mon	Boats to Kilteragh – very tired & in some danger of a break down if I don't take a pull. But I am desperately worried over the Irish outlook & I can not rest till I have had my say.
	9 Jul, Tue	Got off second letter on Irish situation – quite good I think. “Bill” Balfour who was going tomorrow with wife & child

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		developed Spanish Influenza!
To Brassey, T.A. (2nd Earl) To McCarthy, Charles	10 Jul, Wed	Wrestled with the third letter but had to have a second day for it. I think the second letter has done good.
	11 Jul, Thu	Tried, without success, to finish my third letter. I hope public appetite will not be lost by the delay.
	12 Jul, Fri	Got off the third letter while on Ulster platforms its futility was being proclaimed. Carson is the one man that counts!!
To Shortt, Edward <i>Fr Brassey, T.A. (2nd Earl) (year uncertain)</i>	13 Jul, Sat	Decided to revise my three entirely & republish them as a pamphlet for British & American consumption.
<i>(Fr Burke, W.L. to Anderson, R.A.)</i>	14 Jul, Sun	Worked. Gogarty, Fingall & Hammond came to lunch.
Fr Callan, Walter (year uncertain) Fr Dublin Port & Docks Fr Shortt, Edward	15 Jul, Mon	Finished the revision of the pamphlet for the Press & it took the whole day.
(To Burke, W.L. fr Anderson, R.A.) [Undersecretary – James Macmahon]	16 Jul, Tue	Meeting of IAOS General C'tee & Congested Districts Board. At latter met new Under Secretary – a miserable job – or rather a cloak on balance for other jobs. He is a 2nd Div[isio]n Clerk – nothing more. Few minutes talk with Shortt. He said things are hopeless unless this Govt breaks down & we get another and “Carson should be shot”. And yet I am a Home Ruler! Tom & May with their eldest boy came for couple of days' stay.
Fr Seton, Sir Malcolm	17 Jul, Wed	Finished the revision of my entries for pamphlet. Decided not to attack the Ulstermen as I had intended for their (especially Carson's) 12th of July speeches attacking the Convention.
	18 Jul, Thu	In bed all day with a slight bronchial attack. My right lung is still a bit affected by the pneumonia & I have to be careful.
To Scott, C.P.	19 Jul, Fri	Another day in bed with a horrible hacking cough.
To Haig, Douglas.	20 Jul, Sat	Seedy. Did nothing.
	21 Jul, Sun	Hugh Martin of the Daily News came out & talked. I was still very poorly & fear I shall not be equal to the struggle I see ahead of me.
To Shortt, Edward [<i>obsta principiis</i> – “nip it in the bud”]	22 Jul, Mon	The bronchial attack hangs on. The loss of recuperative power is so obvious that I must lie up the moment any trouble of the kind threatens. <i>Obsta principiis</i> must be my motto – or better my rule.
Fr Haig, Douglas	23 Jul, Tue	Went to Dublin & wrote to Barnes, Bowerman, Adams, Waldorf Aster [<i>sic</i>] & others about my pamphlet.
To Kelly, Denis (Bp. of Ross)	24 Jul, Wed	A very tiring day. Began with a confidential talk with Johnson, one of the Labour members of the Mansion House conference. Told him (1) I thought Ireland should be in the war, no matter what political grievance she might have (2) that she was being badly demoralised by profiteering & not either fighting or working & (3) that she ought to back my settlement plan. He said he would not obstruct it if I could bring it off though he would have to protest. I then went to see M[a]cMahon the new Under Secretary. He agreed with my view strongly & I gathered from him that Shortt did also but that Ld. French took the opposite view. He is, I

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		<p>should say, a man of little education or intellect but of sound sense & character. He struck me as an ordinary 2nd division clerk.</p> <p>Wrote to Barnes, S. Webb, Bowerman & a host of others enclosing my pamphlet.</p> <p>Left by night mail for London where I am going to try & upset Carson's settlement. He has ordained that Parliament shall adjourn leaving Conscription to be automatically imposed before it reassembles!</p>
<p>To Harty, Dr. J.M. (Archbp. of Cashel)</p> <p>[Ld. Reading – Lord Chief Justice]</p> <p>[Relations]</p>	25 Jul, Thu	<p>Met Charles McCarthy who had come over with Hoover under whom he has been doing fine work organising food production, distribution & conservation in U.S. The Irish Question first of course & he was very depressing. He took my view absolutely as to the urgency of Home Rule but the current of opinion both here where Carson had out-generalled us and in America was at the moment bitterly anti-Irish. He will come to Ireland later & help me if I have anything moving. On American part in the war he was thrillingly interesting. They were slow at first but now they were in with a whoop! 300,000 a month coming over & this will go on up to 10 millions : Germany must be beaten & beaten means compelled to set up democratic government. There were only three chances for Germany (1) A new submarine invention "this will be met["] (2) Break up of Allies – Americans won't allow this and (3) Japan – trouble in the East. He had had a Jap pupil at Madison who was now at the embassy at Washington. From him he learned that since America had developed such power at sea the Japs, formerly very aggressive had recognised that America was now top dog & they were quietly buying up coal & iron mines in China & for the near future at any rate they would work economically. McCarthy had a poor opinion of Wilson except as a writer. His lack of decision would have ruined everything but for other men who don't appear. Hoover was also weak & Brandeis was the real man now. This Jew with the large Eastern outlook was the man behind the throne & would work with Reading.</p> <p>In the political life of U.S.A. there had been a shifting of power from the South (which on account of its overwhelming Democratic party control at the beginning of the war was dominant) to the Northern states & Middle West which were asserting themselves. The Germans being down the Irish & Jews were up. These two & the Federation of Labour were the real forces now.</p> <p>Talking of the immense power of the executive in war he said an illuminating thing. "Take the Foreign Relations Committee. What does it know of foreign relations? If you had mentioned Bulgaria to Gumshoe Bill (the late Senator Stone of M[iss]o[uri], Chairman of the F.O. [sic] C'tee) he would have thought it was some new cocktail."</p> <p>There had been a talk of suppressing the foreign (enemy) press in the U.S. McCarthy hit on the brilliant idea of keeping it alive (under censorship) & forcing it to publish the Lichnowsky correspondence diary. This had revolutionised opinion upon the causes of the war.</p>
To Brandeis, Louis	26 Jul, Fri	Carnegie Trustees Exec C'tee. more McCarthy. Dined with

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
<i>Fr Windle, Sir Bertram</i>		Sidney Webbs. Began to get hopeless again about an Irish settlement now. Carson's power is great & there are too few true men behind the truth.
<i>To Johnston, W.J.</i> <i>To O'Brien, Cruise</i> <i>Fr Chambers, J. -</i> Fr Frewen, Moreton	27 Jul, Sat	Began day with a talk with John Dillon. Told him that his speech on Monday in order to do good & reinstate his party must not be anti war and must be constructive. More talk with Adams & McCarthy. Lunched with Mark Sykes and coached him for a good anti Carson speech. Rolleston dined with me & I knocked some sense into his literary head. Long talk with Devlin. Visited St. J. Ervine – suffering much pain in his stump. He seemed to have in his mind journalistic work in Ireland & revived the idea of a sane constructive weekly organ. He would make a good Editor I think.
<i>Fr Bryce, James</i> <i>Fr Johnston, W.J.</i> <i>Fr Scott, C.P.</i> <i>Fr Wolff, Henry</i>	28 Jul, Sun	Took McCarthy to Adams at Kingswood for the day. They talked. I – slept!
<i>Fr Harty, Dr. J.M.</i> <i>(Archbp. of Cashel)</i> <i>Fr Murphy, John</i> <i>(Dublin)</i>	29 Jul, Mon	Sat through nearly the whole of the Irish Debate in Distinguished Strangers Gallery betw'n McCarthy & President Schurman of Cornell University. It was a bitter disappointment. Dillon, whom I had seen in the morning & to whom I had suggested a constructive proposal wearied the House with a long speech with nothing new except one point I gave him (the importance of getting a question settled which bars thinking out reconstruction problems which is going on everywhere else) but his only proposal for action was the intervention of President Wilson! This Mark Sykes later in an excellent speech ridiculed & Asquith rejected in favor of his little better proposal of getting the Imperial Premiers to advise. Shortt made a thoroughly bad speech showing that he was on the make politically. Devlin attacked him intemperately. Sir George Reid ex premier of N.S. Wales spoke in favor of a federal settlement & utterly damned the idea of a Dominion status. Herbert Samuel spoke in favor of Home Rule but Bonar Law winding up the debate 'wiped the floor' with him. Business done Home Rule indefinitely postponed.
To Dillon, John (SOU)	30 Jul, Tue	A Meiros Colliery meeting – how I hate private business – occupied the morning. In afternoon after a lunch to Sydney Brooks & R. Hart Synnot more talk with McCarthy. He strongly favors American regiments recruiting in Ireland. At House of Commons saw Hugh Law about publicity in Ireland for the War Aims Committee. May act on a such Committee in Dublin. Saw Shortt about the situation. Told him what I thought of his speech yesterday which was not perhaps wise – but then I'm 'built that way'. Saw Hayden & Devlin. Urged even at this late hour an official declaration of the party in favor of a practicable settlement.
To Ervine, St. John (extract) To Frewen, Moreton To Southborough, Ld. Fr Dillon, John	31 Jul, Wed	A long talk with Winston Churchill about Ulster & the I.Q. Devlin had told me W.C. was disgusted with Monday's debate. To me he was frankly hopeless of doing anything at present. The Government or party had been for coercing Ulster & the attitude of the Irish R.C. clergy had made Ulster more resolute than ever. He admitted that Ulster's loyalty was as 'conditional' as the Southern disloyalty, and that ultimately H.R. must come. But he was convinced the best avenue now was via partition, which would not work. I then talked of Carson's latest political activity

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
[Caroline]		<p>as leader of the reactionaries who are preparing economic war after the War. W.C. said Germany won't be in the League of peace for some years & therefore some such policy may have to be tolerated. 'True' I said 'but we must have America in the League at once'. He saw the point. My admiration for his political insight grows every time I meet him (i.e. about once in 3 years!).</p> <p>Had a talk with Miss Clarence [<i>sic</i>] King Cumming who I was told by Mrs. E. Childers & Adams is an excellent political-literary 'devil'. I engaged her for 3 months for a fee of £50.</p> <p>More talk with Hugh Law & Devlin. Impressed on both that the future of the Constitutionalist party – if it had any future – was dependent on what it did at Westminster. Sinn Fein will out distance them in regard to what can be done in Ireland.</p>
To Canby, Henry S.	1 Aug, Thu	<p>Back to Kilteragh where I was all alone, Leys having returned to the hospital for a minor operation. Had T.P. Gill out to tea & supper & he was hopeless about the future of Ireland – failing a newspaper of which he would be editor. Not as absurd as it seems by any means. That is his job.</p> <p>My domestics are all at war, the cook (a 'treasure') Anderson tells me has recently had a baby without my noticing any interruption of my domestic affairs! Had she not hurled a saucepan at my excellent Margaret's head I would not have known of this interesting event.</p> <p>P.S. I hear it was while I was in America, so I may not be so blind as I thought.</p>
To Dillon, John <i>Fr Cumming, Caroline King</i>	2 Aug, Fri	After a day's work in Dublin went to St. Marnocks (where Mrs. Willie Jameson is staying with the widower J.J. Daisy & Mamie also there – a funny party) for tea & dinner. Mrs. Willie told me her sad story & I may be able to help by telling it to Douglas Haig her brother when I go to the Front.
To Brassey, T.A. (2nd Earl)	3 Aug, Sat	<p>Cruise O'Brien off for fortnight's holiday, & Miss Sullivan's holiday due and my Secret History still to finish while I badly want a holiday. My nerves in a bad state.</p> <p>K Leys came to Kilteragh again from the hospital & Tom & May came for 3 days.</p>
To Cumming, Caroline King	4 Aug, Sun	Very unwell. Nervous irritation extreme. Happily no work to do – though many letters.
Fr Dillon, John	5 Aug, Mon	Nervous & depressed. Fussed & accomplished nothing. My difficulties are great. I feel that the Irish ought to be in the war to their last man – grievance or no grievance. I have said so mildly in my pamphlet Home Rule & Conscription. Ought I to say it angrily[?] If I were in Khaki yes. But as I am, which way will my influence have the best chance? Oh for a leader!
	6 Aug, Tue	Took a strange course. Got a letter from Ld. Stuart of Wortley (the Stuart Wortley M.P. of my Parl'y days) to whom I had given my Home Rule & Conscription. He expressed his surprise at my

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
<i>[persona gratissima - a most welcome person]</i>		<p>explanation of the Bishops' anti-conscription attitude but accepted it. M[a]cMahon the new Under Secretary is persona gratissima to Maynooth. It struck me that he might get Cardinal Logue to act independently & give authoritative denial to the chief charges against the Bishops – that they were pro German & Sinn Fein! So I went to M[a]cM & asked him whether if I wrote to Card. Logue, whom I had met, he would send the letter to him & get an answer – if possible in time to reach the Cabinet before Parl't adjourns this week! He offered to take the letter if Ld. French would give him leave of absence & if not to send a trusty messenger. He got leave and went by a 7.30 P.M. train with my letter (which it took a killing effort to write in time) to Carlingford where his Eminence was taking a holiday. He is to be back at 11 A.M. next day. I sent copy of letter to Adams so that I can, if I get the reply, wire it over the Irish office wire.</p> <p>In the letter I appealed to the Bishop Cardinal to avert the moral consequences of Ireland's keeping out of the war.</p>
	7 Aug, Wed	<p>The Cardinal was not at Carlingford. M[a]cMahon heard this on his way to the train last night & instead of going himself sent this morning a trusty messenger to await the arrival of His Eminence. This kept us at the end of the wire all day, but nothing came until night when M[a]cMahon & I were both at the St. George's Yacht Club dining & seeing off the members of the Committee on the Navy from Washington. They had gone to Queenstown & Wexford & had been indoctrinated. There was a Riordan, a close friend of Devoy's & Cohalan's, who had completely changed his view upon the Irish Question since he had been to the South of Ireland! General Byrne, head of the R.I.C. was immensely impressed by this fact – he read the mind of America & could even deal with the Irish situation with the Great Republic behind him!!</p>
<i>Fr Rolleston, T.W.</i>	8 Aug, Thu	<p>Still no reply from the Cardinal. It was worth trying for & even if I failed to get him to say the right thing it may be well that he should know what moderate people think about the attitude of his Church to the war.</p>
<p>To Cumming, Caroline King <i>Fr Baker, Ray Stannard</i></p> <p>[Wm. Martin Murphy]</p>	9 Aug, Fri	<p>Harry Ponsonby, now Colonel D[istinguished]. S[service]. O[rder]. M[ilitary]. C[ross].!! arrived with his mother. His service had been mostly in Macedonia from the Salonica base. A fine young fellow – a really serious soldier.</p> <p>James O'Connor, now Ld. Justice of Appeal, called with A.G. Gardiner of the Daily News. O'C left me a scheme for the settlement of the Irish Question which was simply the Bp. of Raphoe & W M Martin's [<i>sic</i>]. He is an ass.</p>
<p>To Baker, Ray Stannard To Dillon, John (by sec'y) To Rolleston, T.W.</p>	10 Aug, Sat	<p>Harry & his mother left. I was engaged to week end with the Oranmore's but felt too seedy for a 5 hours journey by rail on a rather hot day. My nerves will have a bad break down if I don't get a rest.</p>
<i>Fr Pope-Hennessy, Gen.</i>	11 Aug, Sun	<p>Complete rest of body & mind.</p>
	12 Aug, Mon	<p>Three interviews – Devlin, Dillon, Shortt, the last (which I sought) came first. I wanted to know if S. had any plans for H.R. He has but he is powerless to carry them out & wanted me to help him. Could I get Dillon or Devlin to meet Carson & Craig & discuss alternative Bills which he & Adams thought they could</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		<p>get out of the Drafting Committee? I could give Shortt little hope of Dillon and told him (as proved to be the case) that Devlin would not act independently.</p> <p>Dillon I found at 2 North Gt. George's St. gloomier than ever – no longer suspicious of me but of every other politician not of his own flock (of some of whom e.g. Gwynn & H. Law he was not too sure) and afraid of his own shadow politically. He was convinced that the great mass of the Irish people were dominated by an intense hatred of Britain so cleverly supplemented by German propaganda that they are actually pro-German – “yes, pro German”. They are also convinced that Germany is going to win. “Would it not make a big difference if Germany were demonstrably beaten[?]” “It would”, he said “and it looked as if Germany might be beaten now. But the prospect of an early victory for the Allies had been immensely seriously ?dampened by the Allied commitments to Poland & the Czecho Slovaks. Do you realise that their Governments are committed to a smash up of the Austrian Empire?”</p> <p>On his attitude towards an Irish settlement he was much what I expected. He wanted one or there was no prospect for his party otherwise & very little anyhow. He was for Ireland taking a part in the war & for a reasonable settlement: but he could not honestly say that he could under any circ[umstance]s deliver the goods – in man-power or acceptance of Home Rule. “The mass of the people don't want Home Rule now” and Dillon clearly feared it under existing conditions.</p>
To Adams, W.G.S. [<i>ex cathedra</i> – lit. from the chair; “with authority”]	13 Aug, Tue	<p>A reply from Cardinal Logue, very friendly and not unsatisfactory, but carefully avoiding any utterance <i>ex cathedra</i>.</p> <p>Another talk with Shortt. He hopes he may be able to get some Home Rule Bill which both sides may accept. Why? How? When?</p> <p>Hugh Law came over with a very vague scheme of propaganda in Ireland which he wants me to help!</p>
	14 Aug, Wed	<p>Hugh Law unfolded his scheme of publicity and I, rashly perhaps, undertook to run it. It may be a means of educating the people about the war. Fortunately Dillon won't let Law run it himself, he has no initiative or vigor – so it is as well. But God knows I want a rest. I have only kept going with the help of morphia which I have taken almost daily for the last three weeks. I must face giving it up after I get this job started. Charles McCarthy (of Wisconsin) arrived & I am going to get his resourceful American-second-generation-Irish mind turned on to my Irish difficulties.</p>
To Pope-Hennessy, Gen.	15 Aug, Thu	<p>McCarthy all day trying to get the hang of the situation. His remedy is the enlistment of Irishmen in American Irish regiments under the Stars & Stripes. If he had the civil side of the job all would be well.</p> <p>I sketched out a plan of work for the Irish War Aims Committee.</p> <p>Harold Barbour came up & I discussed IAOS & IAWS affairs with him. He thinks R.A.A. should be pensioned on his full salary & Smith Gordon made Secretary.</p>
To Mahon, Sir Bryan	16 Aug, Fri	<p>Got Starkie, Dunbar Barton, R. Donovan, Capt. Doran, R.A.A. to join my War Aims Committee. Discussed with McCarthy a plan</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
[Voluntary Aid Detachment]		of his for getting Irish women to act as V.A.D.s in the American army in France.
To Adams, W.G.S. Fr Walsh, Edmond	17 Aug, Sat	McCarthy developed his idea for Irish women's help to the Americans in French hospitals & saw Dillon about it. Dillon jumped at it and would support it if the Cardinal approved. But he is breast high for Irish enlistment in American army. It would mean another division betw'n N. & S., a demonstration to the world of England's incapacity to placate the mere Irish & might make trouble either betw'n America & Ireland or America & England to say nothing of endless difficulties about pay &c.
[WAAC – Women's Army Auxiliary Corps] [Osbourne Beauclerk]	18 Aug, Sun	McCarthy, Law, Herbert Shaw, Fingall, Daisy, Mamie & I discussed the two American-Irish schemes (Irish enlistment in American army & a V.A.D. or W.A.A.C. contingent from Ireland for American hospitals in France). In the ev[enin]g dined at Mount Merrion where Lady Waterford was staying for her marriage tomorrow with Ld. Osborne Beauclerc. He seems to me to be a bit flighty. I am putting him up & his best man Capt. Loder. Sir Harold & Lady Nutting came to tea. They are very wealthy neighbours & I want to interest him in Irish work.
To Dunsany, Ld. Edward To Walsh, Edmond	19 Aug, Mon	Cruise O'Brien turned up having "scented the battle from afar" i.e. being a competitor for the Secretaryship of the War Aims C'tee. He cut his holiday in two & I rewarded him with the post. Worked with him a bit but the day was disturbed by many events. Had to get the bridegroom & best man to the wedding. Could not attend because I had a deputation from my workers & the Larkin (Transport & General Workers) Union about wages & terms of employment at Kilteragh. Conceded most of their demands which were in substance reasonable (excepting that my men don't work!) though in form (as Arthur Hamilton pointed out) absurd. Miss Cumming arrived in the evening. She is devilling for me in London and is a little bundle of American nerves.
To Cumming, Caroline King <i>Fr Dunsany, Ld. Edward</i> <i>Fr Mahon, Sir Bryan</i>	20 Aug, Tue	Congested Districts Board at which I presided for 1½ hours & then left to see Dillon again. An hour with him. It was piteous to hear him on the break down – the utter futility – of the Irish party's 40 years of effort. McCarthy interviewed the Liberty Hall people. He foresees a very bad time of trouble with Irish labour for the next few years. And he has great in- & fore sight.
	21 Aug, Wed	First meeting of Irish War Aims C'tee. Present Barton, R.A.A., Doran, Kavanagh & Starkie. Absent Donovan. Decided to co-opt McClelland (Nat. University) Hanna K.C. (to represent Ulster) Windle and Alton (TCD). Appointed Cruise O'Brien Secretary. Talks with Shortt & M[a]cMahon. The latter will arrange a private talk for me with French.
To Dunsany, Ld. Edward	22 Aug, Thu	Worked away at War Aims C'tee. Hugh Law sent over a Miss Legge (governess to his daughter) to act as assistant secretary! I had to send her back which was painful. Father Logan, a priest in France with American Red Cross visited me. He turned out to be a son of old Logan of Smithstown whom I used to meet in the far off Meath Hunting days. He will be useful in McCarthy's project of sending Irish women to help in

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		American Hospitals in France.
<i>Fr Kemmis, Jasper</i>	23 Aug, Fri	<p>Had talk with Ld. French. Very unintellectual & not very intelligent. I must find out who is making his rather clever speeches for him.</p> <p>He told me there was no scheme afoot, as was rumoured, for allowing American troops to enlist Irishmen in Ireland. But that day "in council" they had talked much of "getting a lot of American R.C. Priests to come & talk to the Irish[?]."</p> <p>A very nice General G.M. Franks called on a letter introduction from Mrs. Seton, en route to Kingstown. He struck me as a large hearted Irishman & I greatly regretted he was not employed in Ireland getting recruits.</p>
<i>Fr Cumming, Caroline King</i>	24 Aug, Sat	<p>Took McCarthy to French & then (for lunch) to Shortt. To both he said he would do all he could in U.S.A. towards a better understanding over the Irish Question.</p> <p>Mrs. St. Clair Stobart came for week end with her husband Judge Stobart Greenhalgh. She is going to lecture in Ireland & may help the War Aims C'tee.</p>
	25 Aug, Sun	<p>Arranged with Mrs. Stobart to lecture (if War Aims C'tee approve) on Serbia.</p> <p>Talked at length to McCarthy.</p>
(To Hugh ?L Law fr National War Aims C'tee)	26 Aug, Mon	<p>War Aims Committee all day. Arranged with Mrs. Stobart to lecture with J.C. Percy to help as advance agent to this & other lectures, with Brinsley Fitzgerald to get the proper American authority in London (where he goes tomorrow) to ask for Irish women to help in American hospitals in France and had a conference with the Recruiting Council on our respective propagandist efforts.</p> <p>The war news in the Western Front looks very good.</p>
	27 Aug, Tue	Worked at War Aims C'tee. Routine.
To Dunsany, Ld. Edward <i>Fr Brandeis, Louis</i>	28 Aug, Wed	Buried my excellent Manager at Kilteragh Michael Costello. He was very loyal to me, charming in manner, weak with his underlings and I fear a little loose in business matters. But being a devout Catholic, he furnished the Parish Priest with all the fruit flowers & vegetables he required & I daresay got absolution when he made less forgivable inroads into my estate. But I liked him & must see what I can do for his nice wife and five delicate children!
<i>Fr Seton, Sir Malcolm C.</i>	29 Aug, Thu	Mary came. Hard office day.
	30 Aug, Fri	Irish War Aims C'tee met. Starkie, Barton, Hanna K.C., Alton, R.A.A., Doran, Donovan present, Windle McClelland & Kavanagh absent. We coopted 2 labour men, McCarron & J. Murphy of the Convention. The last named had called on me in the morning & we had an interesting talk on the Irish labour situation. He was in despair at the intransigence of every section of the democracy & saw no rest or peace anywhere. In the evening all the Hotel servants struck and Mrs. Stephen Spring Rice & Hanna who had arrived at the Shelbourne telephoned asking me to put them up which of course I did. Rather inconvenient as I was to go to London Sunday.

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
	31 Aug, Sat	Rec[eive]d letter from Major Sassoon, Douglas Haig's private secretary saying I could come out any time I liked & they would make the arrangements for me, but I should have to go to the guests' house as D.H. was on the road all the time directing the big events we are reading of. Worked a long morning & ½ afternoon trying to get things ship shape before leaving home for a short but indefinite period.
	1 Sep, Sun	K. Leys & Anderson came for the day & Cruise O'Brien & I did a good deal of the I[rish].W[ar].A[ims].C[ommittee]. work with them. Lady Betty Balfour had come over to see Ruth through an operation & I brought her out for tea. We had a short rushed talk on old times, the war situation & so forth. I had to leave by night mail for London.
	2 Sep, Mon	Spent a tired day with Adams on the I.Q. He says that Federalism for <u>this</u> Parliament has missed the tide (if there was one) & that there is a growing opinion throughout Democracy that settlements must be by <u>consent</u> . This strengthens Ulster's pos[iti]on. He feels that the Gov't must have an Irish policy & that temporary exclusion in some shape is necessary.
	3 Sep, Tue	Saw Buchan, Walter, Major(!) Evelyn Wrench, Col. Thornton (Milner's Secretary) ?Cohol--y Fisher & ?Gr--- Harmsworth & P. Kerr, Hugh Law, R.V. Vernon (with whom & his wife I supped in The Vale of Heath Hampstead!). All this in connection with the War Aims Committee work. Law is hopelessly limp & I think utterly lacking in constructiveness. He only impedes me. Walter splendid. Found I could not take anyone with me if I go to the Front as I shall be Douglas Haig's guest. I wanted to take Gogarty & Walter. My Women's (Irish) aid to American Hospitals &c is in train. Col. Brinsley Fitzgerald has seen the American authorities in London & has put it up to them. But he is a muddler & I fear may have messed it.
	4 Sep, Wed	Shan Bullock's daughter phoned me that her father was down with flu & could not go to Ireland again. Fussed round with Law to the Ministry of Information – saw Buchan, Nair, Denis Gwynn, Professor Dixon Benjamin & other persons all of whom will help. Lunched T.P. O'Connor at Club & told him my views about the Parl'y Party, the blunder of the Progressives in the Convention & the Irish situation in general. I urged him to work with the Labor party to put pressure on Lloyd George. Dined with the Cecil Harmsworths. I liked his wife & family as much as I like him. He was very interesting on Lloyd George whom he knows intimately. "An amazing mixture of shrewdness & childishness – a marvellous flare for popular opinion".
	5 Sep, Thu	An old Washington friend Durand lunched with me & we called at the Embassy on Joseph P. Cotton of their Food Administration who is a N.Y. lawyer of the Root calibre. McCarthy told me to cultivate him & he told me a lot of most interesting things about the American War effort. It is these men brought into National

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		<p>affairs <u>ad hoc</u> who stand out. They are immeasurably superior to the professional politician: one of Wilson's weaknesses in adherence to his own appointees for fear of casting doubts on their appointment. In K. Walter's office I met Lieut. Charles Merz one of the New Republic Group who is over here in some undefined capacity. But he is associated with that clever German Jew – that counterpart of Moritz Bonn – Walter Lippman[n] & I suspect they are the eyes & ears of House & Wilson with eyes to the future & ears for the present.</p> <p>Jim Byrne (Red Cross Major) and Cutcheon (Lt. Colonel of some sort!) turned up in town & I had a brief interview.</p>
	6 Sep, Fri	<p>“Colonel” Cutcheon of the Purchase Department with spurs (said by the scoffer to prevent the feet sliding off the desk) took me to another N.Y lawyer “Major” Lloyd Griscom, representative of General Biddle C[ommander]. in C[harge]. of the troops in London. There I met army chaplains, generals & colonels galore and advanced my mission.</p> <p>Lunched with James Byrne & had more talk over Irish situation in America. Nothing to be done now. Later I (& probably no one else) might perhaps explain things to the Americans. He was interesting – & as was Cutcheon – about the political situation in America. Wilson dictator but by grace of Labour to which he is absolutely subservient.</p>
[BHQ – Battalion Headquarters] [Harry Lauder – music hall performer]	7 Sep, Sat	<p>After a talk with James Byrne & Walter, writing many letters at 10 Downing St. &c went to the 12.25 Char[ing] X [Cross] Staff train for Folkestone. Almost the only civilian on it – the rest Khaki & nurses. On boat met Waldorf Astor going to a brother in France who has lost a leg. He had a deck cabin in which I got a sleep. Channel crowded with all sorts of craft, camouflaged (which did not seem to me to lessen their visibility).</p> <p>At Boulogne I was met by an A.D.C. from the Visitors' Chateau. He was deaf on the same side as I was & not very intelligent, Lieut. Haig[-]Bovey Winchester Reg[imen]t. He had the job of showing round visitors to the B.H.Q. We went by motor – closed but a veritable temple of the winds as Harry Lauder, the latest guest had carried his piano in it & broken nearly all the windows. From Boulogne to Montreuil first where Douglas Haig's chateau & the H.Q. of the British armies in France. There Major Lee Intelligence officer had to be seen and the precise object of my visit explained. Roughly to see Irish troops & the war realities as far as possible for the purposes of the War Aims Committee & the getting of Irish women into the American service at the Front.</p> <p>The country we motored through to the chateau at Tramecourt – a fine old rather dilapidated baronial mansion near both to Agincourt & Crecy – oh the whirligig of time – was marvellously well farmed – all I am told by old men, women & children.</p> <p>Capt. Scott at the Visitors' Chateau was a tired bored man but very kindly. He had just sent off a mob of Colonial journalists.</p> <p>I was given the best room “where the King slept[?]”. The visitors' book contained among other celebrities at the upper & lower levels of interest Harry Lauder & H.P. & and in between George R[ex].</p>
	8 Sep, Sun	No Sunday in the war area. Programme today a visit to the

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
<p>[Cappel]</p> <p>[?St. Sylvestre-Cappel]</p>		<p>Second Army which contains the 36th (Ulster) Div[isio]n. It poured & poured all day. Through Wizernes to Cassel where we called at H.Q. of 2nd Army comfortably housed. A Col. Fitzgerald (son of Robert F. of K S Club) received me for General Plumer the C.O.C. of 2nd Army. Then on to 36th Div[isio]n just coming back from the front & quartered at St. Jans Cappelle [sic]. Roads almost impassable & choked with motor lorries – the winners of the war, one officer said. At Silvestre saw first signs of actual fighting – few houses demolished. But Meteren a nice little village we passed through was absolutely demolished. Not one stone (or rather brick) on another. Then Bailleul an awful sight. Not a roof but a shell had gone through it & I should have said Pompeii and Herculaneum would have been as safe for human life! On to St. Jans Cappel [sic]. Trees stripped along the road as by a cyclone. The Red Hand of Ulster was everywhere – on lorries, uniforms, sign boards &c.</p> <p>General Brock in temporary command lunched me with some of his staff – Col. Hodges & Col. ?Lewis very kindly also in giving some information. Talked to some of the men but very reserved in presence of officers. The billet in the ruined village with much deep mud & the rain pouring through the roofs was wretched. Happily not cold. The Ulster Division is now mostly English & Scotch. They are filling up no better than the “rebel” Irish.</p> <p>At eventide got to Douglas Haig’s Chateau at G.H.Q. He came back from the front just before dinner. I sat next to him & on the other side General Lawrence. Home politics the chief topic. The utter contempt for the politicians the feature of the talk. Military shop would have bored them & I had to restrain my curiosity. To bed tired; in great comfort.</p>
<p>[VAD – Voluntary Aid Detachment]</p>	<p>9 Sep, Mon</p>	<p>Douglas Haig most kind. He had to rush off early but gave me an interview in which I told him of my reason for coming out. He invited me to stay at his chateau in my [sic] absence if it suited (it didn’t) & to get all the help I wanted from any one.</p> <p>“Colonel” Robert Bacon formerly Amer’n ambassador to Paris & chief of Amer’n Mission at B.H.Q. was a lucky find. He had thought (& suffered) as much as I had over the Anglo American misunderstanding which kept America out of the War from Aug. 1914 to Ap[ril]. 1917. He took up warmly my Irishwomen’s Aid to America scheme & persuaded me to go on to Paris and at the A.H.Q. there make out my trip for this part of my inquiry. I shall have to go to Paris & arrange all about the scheme from there.</p> <p>Saw Col. Rawlinson (R.C.) principal chaplain at B.H.Q. Showed him my correspondence with Cardinal Logue & let him make copy. Got some useful hints from him. Went to General Fowke (A[djutant].G[eneral].) & he after listening to my plans & schemes. He got for me Mrs. Gavan Vaughan head of the W[omen’s].A[rmy].C[orps].s in France. She gave me some excellent advice about my scheme. In afternoon went over two of the hospitals at Étaples near Montreuil. The D[eputy]D[irector] M[edical]-S[ervices] Col. Barefoot put me in charge of Miss ?Stomach chief Matron. Saw some V.A.D.s & learned more. Went over the Harvard Hospital, started in 1915 and under British control. Colonel Cabot cousin of Lawrence Lowell’s told me all about it & also discussed my scheme with me.</p> <p>Next to “H.Q. of R.A.F. at St. André (Royal Air Force) in France</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
[Bosche – generic slang for ‘Germans’]		where Colonel Sir John Simon received me & was exceedingly kind. We had a great political talk but what interested me more was all he told me about the air work of the British & the Bosche. At mess met many very nice officers, especially General G---e – General Salmon the O[fficer].C[ommanding]. was away. Back late to Tramecourt very very tired.
[OC – Officer in Charge]	10 Sep, Tue	<p>Went early via St. Pol & Bruay to Ruitz H.Q. of 16th Div[isio]n, the other Irish div’n which started so well but was not kept up. The O.C. General Ritchie sent me off to Col. Johnson commanding the 5th Irish Fusiliers. He told me most of his men were Northerners – R.C.s from Monaghan, Cavan & some from Derry. He had a few Tipp[erary]. & other southern counties men & a few Ulster Orangemen. The quarrels betw’n the Prot & R.C.s had never troubled since the first months of the war. The Ulstermen when home on leave were disgruntled by finding the huge wages the shirkers were getting while <u>they</u> were receiving the tommies’ pittance. Then to lunch with Gen. Ritchie & his staff at Ruitz & much talk over recruiting in Ireland. There is a general contempt in the army for the Irish just now & this must be turned to account.</p> <p>The General, asked for the best proof that the Germans were really much worse off now than formerly in a military sense[,] said the calling up (against the promise of the Kaiser) of the 1920 class and the large supplies left behind showing another upsetting of their calculations satisfied him.</p> <p>After lunch Haig[-] Bovey & I motored through Barlin, Hersin & the Bois de Bouvigny to the famous Vimy Ridge. We had a grand view of the plain of Flanders. Behind us to the right & left, concealed in woods, our artillery were blazing over the front British line into the German trenches. We could see the explosion of the shells as they landed. Now & again the Germans fired high explosive shells into the air which burst into a huge black cloud. It was the first sight of actual fighting in war I had had – except the Irish Rebellion. We looked down over Lens which seemed badly battered.</p> <p>On return journey passed American troops. They looked a fine, very intelligent lot of young people. Much more refined than the average Tommy.</p>
[McKinney] [IWAAC - Irish Women’s American Aid]	11 Sep, Wed	<p>By motor through Amiens to Paris where we arrived at night fall. Lieut. Haig Bovey & I. En route called at British Press Chateau Rollencourt about 5 miles from Tramecourt. Met Beach Thomas & Robinson of the Times & explained my mission. Time too short to get information from them, but they were clear as to the hopefulness of the situation. Prisoners showed lowering quality of man power. But Germany will go on as long as the Machine stands.</p> <p>Through Doullens where American troops to Beauval where 27th division U.S.A. H.Q. General Read in command, lunched us with his staff & I had a good American talk. He had served in old Fort McKinny [sic] & Fort Laramie which brought us together.</p> <p>The chief medical officer (D[eputy].D[irector].M[edical]. S[ervices].) of 2nd Army Corps General Collins discussed my IWAAC scheme. He approved entirely.</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
Corps]		<p>At Amiens stopped to see the cathedral. It was virtually intact. But the stained glass (a little of which had broken) had mostly been removed before the bombardment & all the important monuments & decoration were protected by sand bags. We could see only the general architecture which is noble, barring the thin spire.</p> <p>Paris very much in the dark & I like a lost sheep with my ignorance of French. Went to Hotel Crillon. Prices awful & no comfort. Light restricted, no hot water allowed. Tangle of rules & regulations. But I hope to get my information here & go home. I am not standing the racketing about.</p>
	12 Sep, Thu	<p>The American organisation at Paris seems chaotic & never did I find it so difficult to get to business. It took 2½ hours to connect with a Col. Logan at their Paris H.Q. to whom I was specially directed by Col. Bacon. He undertook to find out from Tours (centre of their Army Medical Service) whether the Irish offer was going to be turned down. I went to the Amer'n Red X (where all I wanted to see were away) & found a Col. Murphy. He telephoned while I waited to General Ireland's next in command who said the proposal had been turned down. But Hugh Gibson, a very bright fellow, at the Amer'n embassy & Arthur H. Frazier, Counsellor, told me Baker Secretary of State for War was going to London on Sunday. So I shall have another try. Later Col. Logan called on me & said he thought my proposal had probably not been properly considered. He telephoned from my bedroom to Martin Egan a close friend of Gen. Pershing's & asked him to come & see me. M.E. said he knew my work well & would call on me on the morrow.</p> <p>Neville Lytton (Major) in charge of Press censorship met me in the Hotel & I told him my War Aims Committee's needs in the way of anti-German propaganda. He will help to supply them.</p>
<i>Fr Murray, John Oswald</i>	13 Sep, Fri	<p>James Byrne arrived last night & is to spend a week at Paris. I told him the situation and he will go on working at it.</p> <p>Left by motor 10 A.M., dined at Press Chateau Rollencourt & slept at Tramecourt. Passed through St. Denis, Beauvais & Abbeville. The British occupation of this part of France is very interesting. Barring extravagance I should say the whole A[rmy].S[ervice].C[orps]. work is most efficient & the general consideration of the natives exemplary. Saw many groups of German prisoners working on the roads. Mostly happy & genial looking only a few sour faces. Agriculture going on very well. Old men & women chiefly. Farm horses very fat.</p> <p>On the job did a few things. Martin Egan (J.P. Morgan's rep in Paris) called on me. He has a wife who is very Irish I believe & is a connection of Maurice F. Egan (of whose health he gave me a gloomy account). He is going to do his best with Pershing & Gen. Ireland if circumstances permit when he goes in a few days to the Amer'n front to resuscitate my project.</p> <p>Called at Embassy upon Hugh Gibson again & he will do his best to interest Baker. Called on Rev. Vincent Logan & missed him. Most interesting talks at Press Chateau. Talked over telephone to Capt. Morton A.D.C. to D. Haig about my probable interview with Baker & the military aspects (I know the political) of Americans & British fighting together.</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
<p>[query in original]</p> <p>[Archbp. Mannix (anti) had defeated Hughes on a 1916 conscription plebiscite.]</p> <p>[blank in original]</p>	14 Sep, Sat	<p>Beach Thomas came with me for a day on the Somme battle field & was of enormous help in getting the picture of it all in my mind. We went first through Amiens (where he showed me the German bombing all concentrated on the Railway station which was quite right, and a big tent of Hun captured guns – 250 from 5.9 field guns to trench mortars. There was a 15 inch gun we had no time to go & see, there were anti air craft guns, Howitzers &c &c) to Bertangles where General Rawlinson, a stiff genial soul had his H.Q. of 4th Army. He had just got the news of the American offensive which opened at 5 A.M. yesterday. They had now 25,000 prisoners. Enemy retreating towards Metz in confusion. Leaving there for Australian division H.Q. Assevillers we soon got into the ground furiously fought over. At Villers Bretonneux where the Bosche was stopped en route for Amiens the devastation was awful. The roads were so crowded we got on slowly [so] that we were late at the Australian H.Q. & only had a few minutes with the General commanding Monash a Jew and Hughes (the P.M. of the Commonwealth). The former told me they were not going to attack the Hindenburg line at the moment; not till they were fully ready. “No use running up against their guns & losing a lot of men. Hughes tackled me on not keeping Archbp. Mannix in Ireland. I said as he was there educating all our priests I thought he was better in Australia. Perhaps so: but better still in Hell” replied the P.M.! He said he would like to see me in London. I was not impressed with him. Peronne & Albert were visited next. Both would make better sites for the new towns if there had never been any town there. It is awful.</p> <p>Saw Chinamen & German prisoners galore at work. The former apparently very happy, the latter content. Back very tired to Tramecourt. Found 5 S. African journalists. Interesting talk on Irish situation. S.A. analogy only partly relevant. I said the I.Q. & the German colonies were the two great interferences with the Anglo-American entente plan of settlement.</p> <p>P.S. One Bean an Australian journalist was very interesting on the I.Q. & all my way of thinking. Ld. Burnham & ____ editor of Daily Mail were at Australian H.Q.</p> <p>We lunched in a short comfortable hut left by the Germans.</p>
<p>[sjambok – traditional South African whip]</p>	15 Sep, Sun	<p>A gloriously fine day. Back with the S. African journalists. The people were in their Sunday best & I noticed a large proportion of women in mourning attire. Lunched at Boulogne. It is more English than French now. We were convoyed by 2 destroyers.</p> <p>Got a good deal of light on the S. African situation. There seems to be a still bitter antagonism betw’n the Dutch & British & I gathered that the former will only tolerate the Imperial connection on either strategic or economic grounds or both. There is no love lost because none has been gained. The Boers are a narrow, bigoted, priest ridden people. They have no outlook beyond their farms their sjamboks & their bibles. There is among the English speaking section a considerable cosmopolitan element – capitalists largely with not a few Germans. The community is small and scattered & their political problems are all to solve. The dominant faction is strongly anti British & the genuinely pro British faction is too small to be effective.</p> <p>The S.A. & Australian journalists who have both been toured round the front are warned against Ireland. I shall try & get them</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		<p>both there.</p> <p>My trip has been absorbingly interesting. The disappointment of it was that I could not get in touch with the Americans at their front & therefore my woman scheme was 'turned down'. But on the other War Aims I made great mental progress. I realise, as never before, the awful destructiveness of the war & shall have a sounder view of the problems of peace. We <u>have</u> destroyed our social order & perhaps it is as well. The training in destruction must now be used in construction. I think the war must end soon.</p>
	16 Sep, Mon	<p>Early to 10 Downing St. where, Adams being away, little progress could be made with my terrible two days of work upon arrears. Saw Walter & Bye of the Reciprocal News Service, Shortt, to lunch with me, on the Irish situation. He was very unsatisfactory in his attitude towards his responsibilities. I told him plainly what I thought of his agreeing to French's Ulsterism.</p> <p>Saw General Biddle about my Irishwomen's scheme & later Newton D. Baker, U.S. Secretary of War. To him & his secretary Jos. C. Hostetter I tried to explain the Irish situation. Baker is a small man & I fear of the Wilson administration type. It is one of the President's weaknesses that he gets his work <u>done</u> by the best men but directed by 3rd rate men: then the authority remains in his sole hands.</p> <p>George T. Bye, Walter's chief aide, supped with me & I liked him greatly. The Reciprocal News Service is a really good piece of international work.</p>
(To Pinchot, Gifford fr Creasy, Wm. T.)	17 Sep, Tue	<p>Had Tuohy (J.M.) formerly London correspondent of Freeman's Journal, now of N.Y. World to lunch. He liked my Irishwomen's American Aid Corps greatly and will back it "to the limit" if the chance comes. Long talk with Bullock whom I am trying to get for the Irish War Aims C'tee. His official chief objects.</p> <p>Shortt tells me he & Ld. French are going to get the Ulstermen to give up their arms & then to appeal to the rest of Ireland to bring in theirs. A belated right act. Saw Buchan, Sir Campbell Stuart and a host of other people & took night mail to Ireland.</p>
<i>Fr Pinchot, Gifford</i>	18 Sep, Wed	<p>Vertigo on arrival at Kilteragh. Struggled into the offices of the War Aims Committee & found Cruise O'Brien & Leys doing well.</p> <p>Capt. Guest, Chairman of National War Aims C'tee wrote me an official letter treating our C'tee as a sub-committee of theirs. I replied making it quite clear that we must have complete independence in matters of policy. This may make trouble but it is obviously essential that I should not take my orders from any one remotely connected with the Gov't which wrecked the Convention!</p> <p>Johnnie Holroyd Smyth perched at Kilteragh on his way to school at Malvern. A nice bright cheery boy.</p>
	19 Sep, Thu	Not at all well but had to work all day.
	20 Sep, Fri	Meeting of the Irish War Aims Committee. Only half attended & perhaps on that account we got through a good deal of work.
To Godkin, Lawrence	21 Sep, Sat	Worked hard at my Secret History & at I.W.A.C. matters. Healy (J.E.) came to tea & supper & told me the Ulster people thought I

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		<p>was out for coercing them. I said in “Home Rule & Conscription” I had shown I was not. But in referring to the pamphlet I found certain passages justified the suspicion. We agreed that I must make my position clear, which is that the Gov’t have only to favour the Majority Report of the Convention & public opinion will enforce it upon Ulster!</p> <p>H.A.L. Fisher is to visit me tomorrow. Got the Smith Gordons to come for the week-end to meet them.</p>
	22 Sep, Sun	<p>Partial rest, but oh the mental strain! HAL Fisher & wife – a very nice rather academic pair – arrived by day mail. I had the Starkies to meet them at supper & we had a good discourse. During the day Judge Ross called & blathered to Daisy Fingall & with him Sir Theodore Chambers a dry stick of an official, the chief executive officer of the huge War Savings operation – the 15/6 which becomes £1 in 5 years plan.</p>
	23 Sep, Mon	<p>G.C.[sic] Chesterton & wife added to the party. In the Plunkett House a flutter. They are all scared of Conscription & want me to start a round robin against it. Here is my difficulty – I am against conscription by the British, for it by an Irish Parliament. My 3 propositions for the moment are (1) England must not conscript (2) England must give Home Rule (3) Ireland must fight. I don’t want to pronounce on (1) without (2) & (3)! The hot heads are saying “there are only two kinds of people in Ireland – you must be with one set or the other – those who are for & those who are against Conscription.[”] I shall take my time & strike when I see my way clear.</p> <p>Chesterton is a huge, shy delightful personality. A philistine like myself might describe him as the Nebraska farmer described Taft as a man of great personal magnitude.</p>
To Adams, W.G.S.	24 Sep, Tue	<p>Chesterton worked at Kilteragh, Fisher went to Clongowes & Maynooth with Starkie, I worked at the War Aims Committee & ran away from the New Zealand & Australian journalists who were on my trail all day. Brought James Davenport Whelpley (American journalist who had cowboied in Wyo & Montana in my day & had a career like McCarthy’s) serving in the U.S.A. Information Service at Liverpool came to see me. He was investigating the Irish situation in its most important aspects – its bearing upon the Anglo-Amer’n entente. He was strongly against having Amer’n regiments in Ireland. The 99% chance of benefit wasn’t worth the 1% of risk.</p> <p>I worked hard on him Chesterton & Fisher & hope we shall have a public in Eng’d & America to appeal to when we tackle the I.Q. in war time from Ireland.</p>
[Tir-Na-Nogue – Land of	25 Sep, Wed	<p>A lunch to the Dominion Pressmen by the War Aims Committee to which I took Fisher & Chesterton. I proposed the guests, a very good S.A. journalist (Pollock) responded & proposed success to the Allied cause to which Fisher & Chesterton answered, the former from the general, the latter, brilliantly, & amusingly from the Irish point of view. In the evening I had W.B. Yeats, Anderson, James MacNeill (the I[ndian].C[ivil].S[ervice]. brother of the Sinn Fein leader) and L. Robinson to dinner. The talk was at times brilliant, the two poets (for G.K.C. sings!) fooled up in the air a bit but Fisher generally brought them down because it was not Tir-Na-Nogue but Ireland in war time we were</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
eternal youth; a mythical Celtic Valhalla in legend of Oisín.]		discussing. In my speech at the luncheon I came out for (1) Ireland's full participation in the war (2) Home Rule & pending H.R. a provisional <u>Irish</u> Government (3) no conscription & (4) no coercion of Ulster.
<i>Fr Bullock, Shan</i> [fluttered some doves – ruffled some feathers; Shakespeare- <i>Coriolanus</i> : "Like an eagle in a dove-cote, I Flutter'd your Volscians in Corioli."]	26 Sep, Thu	A rather dull meeting of the War Aims C'tee with whose work it is exceedingly hard to make a start. My speech yesterday fluttered some doves but Dunbar (now Sir Plunket) Barton did not bolt which is a good weather sign. The United Arts Club entertained Chesterton & I had to go there. I got an ovation & a headache, but I spoke some good sense & politics I think. G.K.C. was brilliant but not much else. The Fishers left early for a school inspection tour.
	27 Sep, Fri	The day was largely wasted owing to my having to preside at the Theatre Royal for Chesterton lecturing on Poetry & Property for the Red Cross Nation's Tribute to Nurses fund. I think I was well received & seem to have the respect of my countrymen, though they certainly don't regard me as a 'leader'. The lecture was too literary but the audience was very attentive.
	28 Sep, Sat	The Fishers came back. Alison Phillips lunched & Fr. Finlay supped. K Leys came for weekend with his wife & baby. The I.Q. was pretty thoroughly discussed & I think the English, American, French as well as the Irish aspects of a settlement now were exhausted. In the morning had a conference with Shortt upon the impossibility of his & French's positions both being preserved. He told me he agreed and is going to London tomorrow night to get a clear understanding. I have not made up my mind about him but he will now be put to the test. Got a nasty sore throat with suggestion of 'flu'. I hope I am not in for another bout. The times are too critical.
	29 Sep, Sun	John Dillon darkened the door of Kilteragh for the first time – he lunched. He was as gloomy as ever and as purely destructive. The only difference I notice was that I had been relegated to a back place in his suspicions. Fisher, Chesterton & he had a good talk. He went & Bernard came. Leys & his wife, the two Fishers, the two Chestertons & I had much discussion, the chief feature of which was Fisher's attempt to square his personal & political consciences. Every time he got into a tangle he said "that's the vice of a Coalition Government"!
To Bullock, Shan	30 Sep, Mon	Sick & in house all day. The Chestertons went to Cork, he doing a lunch & speech at the Rotary Club in Dublin en route & the Fishers to London. Minnie & Wilfrid Fitzgerald came to me, a queer shifting of guests. To make the transition from grave to gay not too abrupt I kept Leys wife & child another night. In the afternoon came the news that Bulgaria has gone out of the war on the Allies' terms. Turkey will almost surely follow suit. Austria Hungary will be helpless and the democratic forces in Germany will at last begin to be born! The war should come to an early conclusion & then as AE says peace will set in with unusual severity.

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
To Wells, H.G.	1 Oct, Tue	Another wretched [<i>sic</i>] day. Clement Shorter called. He speaks with a Cockney accent. His late wife Dora Sigerson made him “right Irish” & he is over fanning the anti-English flame. Nothing the English do is right or that the Irish do is wrong. He gloated over the coming bloody resistance to conscription. Among the passive resistance plans is the destruction of food supplies in Ireland – “We’ll starve before we’ll fight”. Lord Justice O’Connor is his prophet – I fear the man is an ass.
(To Lyman, Charles A. fr Hampton, Samuel)	2 Oct, Wed	Still short of health & got little work done, but finally engaged a new housekeeper cook and let my lodge to RA Anderson.
	3 Oct, Thu	Still sick & useless but went into Dublin & worked.
	4 Oct, Fri	In bed all day with a bad sore throat & some fever.
	5 Oct, Sat	Same as yesterday. Daisy left & Nurse Swan came to take care of me.
	6 Oct, Sun	Temperature 101° in afternoon. Nobody called.
	7 Oct, Mon	In bed still all day. Weak & wretched & burning throat. T.P. Gill called.
Fr Ervine, St. John	8 Oct, Tue	Wrote half a letter to Lloyd George on the Irish situation – a sick effort.
	9 Oct, Wed	Finished my letter to Lloyd George. Lady Waterford & Lady Susan Dawnay came on an old engagement. Kept Mamie to do hostess for them.
	10 Oct, Thu	Went into town & worked at my letter to Lloyd George. Saw Shortt about the situation. He told me frankly that nothing was arranged that “blind hate” was as likely as any other motive to decide the momentous decision upon Irish Conscription & Home Rule which must be taken next week. While I was with him I heard that the Mail Boat Leinster, with nearly 700 on board, outward bound had been torpedoed this morning! Only some 200 saved. Lady Phyllis Hamilton, Col. Blackburn of the H.Q. staff in Dublin & Capt. Birch the skipper among the lost known by & respected by me. At time of writing this evening I have no further particulars. Lady Waterford, Lady Susan Dawnay & Daisy (who replaced Mamie today) all deeply affected.
To Ervine, St. John To Lloyd George, David	11 Oct, Fri	A very hard day at the letter to Lloyd George & did not finish it! I have to telegraph the end of it tomorrow so that Lloyd George may have it for the week end. The news of the Mail Boat disaster gets worse & worse. Poor Lady Susan Dawnay spent the day examining the bloated & maimed corpses at the morgues looking for Lady Phyllis Hamilton! Asked to lunch with the Arnotts to meet King Manuel of Portugal – and refused at the last moment. Tell it not in Rathmines!
	12 Oct, Sat	Wired the last 3 paragraphs of my letter to Lloyd George to Adams & hope he may get it to the P.M. in the week end. The Great War seems near its end. Turkey is bound to sue for

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		<p>peace now that Bulgaria is cut off from her. Austria Hungary's situation then becomes desperate & I should think Vienna & Buda Pesht would have to back away from Berlin. On the Western Front the retreat of the Germans is still orderly & I fear their machine guns are inflicting terrible harm on the prisoners. But the German people must very soon know that the issue is decided & that the postponement of the surrender will but make the terms the more humiliating. We know little of the internal condition of Germany but the prisoners tell of declining food rations.</p> <p>A peace now would make the future of Ireland more problematical than ever. Of course we shall have to govern ourselves. But there will be some loss of self respect over our performance in the war and that is the worst possible foundation for Home Rule. Peace the world over will set in soon, in Æ's phrase, "with unusual severity", & will bring to Ireland a long winter of discontent.</p>
	13 Oct, Sun	<p>Sir Charles Russell, Hugh Law & Lady Leslie lunched. Ireland! Ireland! Ireland! & nothing ever comes of it! But the War is coming to an end. Germany is on her last legs.</p> <p>In evening went to Abbey Theatre to hear Chesterton argue with Liberty Hall's champion Johnson the proposition that private prosperity is necessary for the national welfare. Bernard Shaw also spoke, but the whole debate was chaotic.</p>
Fr Lyman, Charles	14 Oct, Mon	<p>Long talk with Chesterton who will support my policy, I think, with his pen in England. Also with Herbert Shaw who now sees that the Union becomes a farce when the Sinn Feiners control the representation to the Imperial Parliament & won't be represented there!</p> <p>I bet General Stanley £3 to £1 that Conscription would not be applied <u>and enforced</u>.</p>
Fr National Board of Farm Organisations	15 Oct, Tue	<p>Wilson's reply to Germany's request for an armistice came out. It was splendid. He writes to The Government not the Imperial Government. He emphasises the distinction by saying that he will write separately to the Royal & Imperial Gov't of Austria! The armistice is a question for the military commanders who will see that the military supremacy of the U.S. & its Allies is not in any way prejudiced. In other words unconditional surrender! This looks like the end!</p> <p>Quarterly meeting of I.A.O.S. Gen. C'tee, interrupted to attend the funeral service of one of its members, T.L. Esmonde who was a Leinster victim.</p>
	16 Oct, Wed	<p>Meeting of War Aims Committee. Good attendance & did some good work. Decided not to take any political actions as pressed to do by Anderson & Windle (by letter – he has not attended yet).</p> <p>The Hinksons came to supper. He is awful & she kindly but oh such a Dubliny brogue.</p> <p>My health is very bad & I am keeping up with drugs!</p>
	17 Oct, Thu	<p>Had to go to Green to have my bladder explored. He says the prostate is large, there are small growths.</p>
	18 Oct, Fri	<p>R. Prior Wandesforde of Castlecomer & (still more of Yorkshire) supped with me. He has lost a son in the war and spoke very</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		bitterly against the Irish. I mention it here because I fear there is no hope for this country in my lifetime unless the Government have the courage to tackle the Irish Question at once – before the war ends. Mrs. R Martin also came to see me. She hears lots of talk and tells me the feeling against the R.C. Church was never so bitter – nor the fear of Sinn Fein so general.
	19 Oct, Sat	Another electric cautery of the small growths in the bladder. The Bernard Shaws came to stay at Kilteragh.
Fr Godkin, Lawrence	20 Oct, Sun	Bernard Shaw lectured on Equality at The Abbey Theatre. I presided & he talked all the time, answering questions the last hour & left me nothing to do for which I was grateful. His thesis was the impossibility of any social reform in a large way except on the basis of equality of income – which means to all except the very poor the abolition of private property. He was vague & weak on the modus operandi of the reform but very good in his destructive criticism of the status quo.
	21 Oct, Mon	Another meeting of the War Aims Committee. Not at all well and <u>must</u> have a complete rest for a week to a fortnight very soon. Have to go to London first because I cannot discover what the Government is going to do about Ireland. The German answer to Wilson came out. Peace has receded again!
	22 Oct, Tue	A rushed morning in Dublin & then left by boat at 2.30 for London. A two hours wait at Holyhead. I was too sick to eat & am always shy at sitting in a hostelry where I don't pay my footing. One can't pay for a chair by a fire which is all I could enjoy. I did a Picture Palace! But I had a sleeping compartment to London. Can lie in it till 8 A.M. Took Curtain but left the Bernard Shaws in possession.
	23 Oct, Wed	A meeting of the Pelton Colliery & S.S. Co. in the afternoon. There also was a deal over the Burns Colliery in which the Pelton owners had a controlling (£67,000) interest. This we sold to a couple of Jews at 100% premium which shows that some people think capital in coal is safe! I wish I were out of all my colliery interests – it would simplify my will which begins to trouble me. Spent as much of the day as I could with Adams who told me the Gov't had no Irish policy except drift. Saw Shortt who said the same but has shadowy plans for getting something through when the opportunity comes. Both say they must have a policy before the General Election. Walter as informing as ever about America. He warned me of the discomforts of Atlantic travel & advised me to think twice before crossing. Dined with the Childers. He is as doctrinaire as ever but begins to see that his theories won't be realised in his day.
	24 Oct, Thu	<u>My 64th Birthday.</u> Meeting of the Bowes Board. After that ----- the Library sub committee of the Carnegie Trustees. Then Adams with whom Leys who had come over to help me. Decided to stay till Monday as postal communications being bad & people in Government confidence being afraid to put pen to paper one has to get into

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		<p>personal touch with those who know.</p> <p>Major David Davies M.P. had a meeting at the House of M.P.s belonging to the two Leagues of Nations which are about to amalgamate. There is another League in Ireland & I'm over about what the Irish War Aims C'tee can do with any or all of these Leagues.</p> <p>Ld. Reading gave me a long interview on the Irish Question. He is shortly going back to American and says he will at once be asked "What about Ireland"? He quite agreed with me as to the urgency of a settlement from an Anglo-American point of view. I gave him a copy of my letter of Oct. 11 to Lloyd George. I advised him to consult McCarthy about Irish-American situation & to consult Brandeis about him.</p> <p>President W.O. Thompson of the Ohio State University (Columbus, O) 'phoned that he was over on an agricultural commission appointed by Houston. I lunched him & met him later with A.D. Hall at Dinner. The latter is disgusted with the selfishness of the American point of view in the Anglo-American cooperation. I learned incidentally that the hard staff work of the Americans is largely defeating Foch's strategy.</p>
<p><i>Fr Campbell, Edward</i> <i>Fr Meiros Collieries Ltd.</i></p> <p>[Chetwynd-Stapylton - nephew by marriage]</p>	25 Oct, Fri	<p>Had Gilbert Murray & Adams to lunch & a good talk on the Irish situation in its British & American bearings.</p> <p>My nephew Bryan turned up. He was not the worse outwardly for his 4 years imprisonment in Germany. He had no time to tell me his story.</p> <p>Carnegie Trustees Executive meeting.</p>
To House, E.M.	26 Oct, Sat	<p>Wrote a letter to Col. House (which Reading will take) on the Irish Question situation & enclosed my letter of Oct. 11th to Lloyd George.</p> <p>Went to Cheam (close to the school of not very happy memory half a century ago)! to see my gloomy friend Bullock.</p> <p>The influenza is a terrible scourge and is sweeping away its tens of thousands the world over. I have little doubt the serious cause of this calamity is the lowered vitality of humanity through the war.</p>
	27 Oct, Sun	<p>Not at all well. I feel I am wasting my time in London. I was to have had a day with Adams in the Country but his wife & child are down with 'flu'. Called on Conny & supped with R.V. Vernon to discuss my Secret Report ending.</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
	28 Oct, Mon	Had interviews with Barnes of the War Cabinet & Walter Long. The former <u>very</u> friendly & all my way of thinking about Ireland, the latter rather stuffy & stupid. Neither hopeful or helpful. It looks as if the war might be quite over in a week! & there is no room for Ireland in anybody's thoughts. Yet all I have seen & talked to, Gilbert Murray, Fisher, Adams, Harmsworth, Ld. Reading, Barnes, Shortt, Long & Barnes [<i>sic</i>] & many lesser fry agree with my view as to the urgency of a settlement. I had a long talk with Adams about my intention to leave some money to Ireland & Oxford for rural social development, he & Smith Gordon being my trustees. Supped with Mrs. W. Watson who wanted to talk to me about her & Beau's boy & left by night train for Ireland.
	29 Oct, Tue	Arrived at Kingstown 10 A.M. We waited at Holyhead till daylight for though the newspapers have a rumour that the U Boats have gone home nobody believes it. The Bernard Shaws had been a week without me at Kilteragh & had had mild 'flu'. I tried to commit him to serious work for Ireland. I am not sure that he takes Ireland any more seriously than the world takes him. I believe he has a heart but his pose is puzzling.
	30 Oct, Wed	Work at War Aims C'tee, Secret Report &c.
	31 Oct, Thu	Notice came that the Privy Council was to have seven notables added to it next Tuesday – Londonderry, Granard, Dunbar Barton, Sir W. Byrne (why?) Tom Stafford, Frank Brooke & Sir Stanley Harrington. I had an interview with Shortt who tells me that this is French's Cabinet! Evidently that stupid soldier has been got at by the reactionaries. I fear Shortt is powerless.
	1 Nov, Fri	Struggled with my Secret Report & sent Adams draft of concluding paragraphs. Some gaps to be filled up yet. Got Smith Gordon to come out for a few days & shall discuss with him my testamentary arrangements for subsidising my work in Ireland & at Oxford, in respect of which I am going to make him & Adams trustees.
	2 Nov, Sat	A wild wet & stormy day & I worked hard at my Secret Report. I think I did more than half of what yet remains to be done.
	3 Nov, Sun	Fingall, Killeen, Mamie & Daisy came out. A quiet Sunday.
[<i>Cui bono</i> – who benefits? what's the point?]	4 Nov, Mon	A hard day at the Secret Report. Hope to finish it in two days. <i>Cui bono</i> ? Well we shall see. Walter Callan dined & slept & helped me with the work.
	5 Nov, Tue	Secret Report all day. It is taking good shape.
	6 Nov, Wed	Worked all day at Secret report – not finished yet!
	7 Nov, Thu	Same as yesterday.
<i>Fr House, E.M.</i>	8 Nov, Fri	Lunched with Healy of Irish Times. He is very unsatisfactory as a political ally! No independence whatever.
	9 Nov, Sat	Still failed to finish my Secret Report! Dined with Decies to meet a lot of American editors (not very distinguished) a very dull

Correspondence [Notes]	1918	Diary Entry
		function which I made worse by a very dull speech.
[Gerald]	10 Nov, Sun	Killeen & Mamie came to tea & supper. I told K. I intended to help him & his family financially in my will. His father & he are considering breaking the Entail which would be wise but he hesitated to do a possible unfairness to Gerrald [<i>sic</i>]. I said I meant to be some protection against this myself.
[<i>Sic transit</i> – thus passes (blank in original)] [Mafficking – frenzied celebration]	11 Nov, Mon	Germany accepted the terms of armistice at 5 AM and at 11 AM the last shot was fired. It was complete capitulation. The Kaiser & the Crown Prince have abdicated & flown to Holland. <i>Sic transit</i> ____ ! Mafficking in Dublin in which Sinn Feiners caught the infection!
	12 Nov, Tue	Sent off all the Secret Report except the last two paragraphs.
	13 Nov, Wed	The last two paragraphs proved a crux. How to end the long story – what moral – what policy?? Had to sleep over it again.
	14 Nov, Thu	Worked at War Aims office.
(To Gwynn, Stephen fr Irish Recruiting Council) [<i>sine die</i> – without future date being set]	15 Nov, Fri	A General Election announced for December. Meeting of War Aims Committee & adjourned it <i>sine die</i> .
	16 Nov, Sat	Did the 201st & 202nd paragraph of my Secret Report & 203 still to do!! Had painful bladder cautery by Greene. Callan came for week end.
Fr Gwynn, Stephen	17 Nov, Sun	A quiet Sunday with Callan & Daisy. Hard thinking, though, on the Irish situation.
	18 Nov, Mon	All things come to an end & today I sent off the last paragraph of my Secret History. It only remains to correct the proof of this last instalment, to go over the whole document, have an index made & table of contents and write an introduction & then bury it in the archives! Today had a talk with my immediate circle R.A.A., AE, Smith Gordon, Cruise O'Brien, Dermot O'Brien, L Robinson & Norman about the political situation. It looks like chaos.
	19 Nov, Tue	I.A.O.S. office & finance meeting. Lunched with Healy of Irish Times who approves my plans for a Reconstruction Committee – Recess C'tee lines.
	20 Nov, Wed	Began a letter to the Press on the Irish situation.
	21 Nov, Thu	Still at letter to Irish Press. Almost impossible condensation.
	22 Nov, Fri	Finished the letter to the Press only just in time to get it into Saturday's papers. It was a big strain – but I think worth doing.
To Godkin, Lawrence [“Partition and Reconstruction”, <i>Irish Times</i> , p. 7]	23 Nov, Sat	Very tired. The letter was well received by those who had read it I think & Freemans Journal praised it, Express abused it & Independent & Irish Times silent. All gave it prominence & published it all. The Hannays & Bill & Ruth Balfour for week end.
	24 Nov, Sun	A quiet Sunday. The Manchester Guardian wired for permission to publish my letter as to them!
	25 Nov, Mon	Meeting of Council of Chamber of Commerce at which I

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		<p>explained my Irish Reconstruction Assoc'n scheme. Well received. Shall get lots of support there.</p> <p>Lunched at Kildare St. Club & found the aristocrats very 'distant'. They like me not.</p>
To Leslie, Shane	26 Nov, Tue	<p>Letters poured in from all parts of Ireland showing that my appeal has "caught on". The aristocrats are very angry, the middle & independent lower class – if these beastly distinctions must be preserved – are evidently with me. Had a long talk with Shortt who told me that he was delighted with my letter & quite agreed with my views about Lloyd George's Irish policy – ("But what can I DO?") He told me the disgraceful behaviour over the Ulster army was due to the Military clique round Ld. French. He had no fear of the Irish in his Constituency (Newcastle upon Tyne) because Labour was furious with the Irish shirkers for taking their jobs. But he admitted his constituents were Home Rulers. He asked me whether I thought Lord Cowdray would be a good Ld. Lt. if French resigned, the idea being that Ld. C. would be a great 'Reconstructor'. I preferred Shaftesbury.</p> <p>MacMahon Under Sec'y told me Card[ina]l Logue was very pleased with my letter.</p> <p>Lunched with Healy (Irish Times) & saw Ld. MacDonnell who is friendly but has other views as to what ought to be done with which I don't agree.</p> <p>General G.M. Franks, Inspector General of artillery in the U.K. dined & slept. He is a moderate Irishman who has inherited an estate in Co. Limerick & means to help when he is back in civil life. He will I think back the IAOS at once. A very nice, not brilliant soldier.</p>
	27 Nov, Wed	<p>Hard at work preparing for a meeting of the Irish Reconstruction Assoc'n supporters tomorrow. Saw Bernard, Wm. M. Murphy & wrote to Ld. Mayor of Dublin & Devlin.</p>
To Childers, Erskine	28 Nov, Thu	<p>Well attended meeting of my Irish Reconstruction Assoc'n. Bert Andrews (Pres. Chamber of Commerce) & Sir Wm. Fry had been 'got at' by the Die Hard Unionists and made it evident that I must come out as a pronounced Home Ruler and shed these snobs. The question is – will the others I want back me?</p> <p>I spoke well I think, but I had a hard audience to manage. The country is in a state of chaos & despair.</p>
	29 Nov, Fri	<p>Half recovered from the strain of yesterday. The Castle & Kildare St. Club are bitterly against me. Will the bourgeoisie save the situation.[?] I will have my letter of Nov. 22nd circulated very widely. I think it will have its effect.</p> <p>Leys who spent the first days of this week in London tells me Adams highly approved of my letter.</p>
	30 Nov, Sat	<p>Better again today. I am determined to go through with my Irish Reconstruction Association. It will mean a break with most of my own class in Ireland, but possibly their salvation. Letters still pour in & show that the best thought of the Country is with me.</p> <p>Tom Ponsonby came for week end.</p>

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	1 Dec, Sun	James McNeill brother of the Sinn Fein leader & ex Indian civil servant joined Cruise O'Brien, R.A.A. & me in talk on Reconstruction Assoc'n. We got the moderate Sinn Fein view. The Irish Republic is clearly only a road to some settlement. They believe in extreme <u>demands</u> .
	2 Dec, Mon	The adjourned preliminary meeting of the Irish Reconstruction Assoc'n was as big a success as the original meeting was a failure. It was much better attended & the spirit was strongly with me. The few opponents were badly received & in the end I was made President & given a free hand to enrol members, get office & staff & go ahead full steam with the work pending a meeting of subscribers after the General Election. I spoke, I think well, but too long. The sense of the meeting was that the proposal was sound, of real national importance & ought to be supported. Several prophesied a very big movement & I think they are right. But I am tired out & badly need a rest. How to get it is the insoluble problem.
<i>Fr O'Donnell, Patrick (Bp. of Raphoe)</i>	3 Dec, Tue	A bad physical & mental reaction from the effort of yesterday. If I had failed I should be very miserable. As it succeeded I try to be philosophical. But I feel that my vitality is getting lower too rapidly.
	4 Dec, Wed	Another bad listless day. Waiting to get the circulars out for my Irish Reconstruction C'tee.
	5 Dec, Thu	Still seedy & taking drugs to enable me to cope with work of National importance.
<i>[Post equitem sedet atra cura - Black care sits behind the rich man on horseback; riches and high position bring cares.]</i>	6 Dec, Fri	Long talk with Donoughmore who seems to agree with my views about Ireland. He sees what is coming. But I doubt whether he will help. Saw also WM Murphy who was friendly & MacMahon the Under Secretary. He told me that Dillon would probably be beaten & then the Irish Parliamentary Party will be done & out! Fr. Finlay told me of a good schoolboy mistranslation. Post equitem sedet atra cura – After horse riding the dark lady has to sit with care.
<i>Fr Douglas, James G.</i>	7 Dec, Sat	Wrote very many letters to might be subscribers to the I.R.A. (I hope these initials will get known – but in case it dies Irish Reconstruction Association is the child) Had the Smith Gordons & Mamie to Kilteragh for week-end.
	8 Dec, Sun	Interesting talk with Smith Gordon. A Commander Kochler U.S. Navy called & I had an interesting talk with him.
To Irish Reconstruction Ass'n (fr sec'y)	9 Dec, Mon	A disappointing day – only two subscriptions £5 & £5.5/ from Gerald O'Donovan and Miss Cunningham. A Vice Regal Reconstruction C'tee was announced & I had to write to explain that this rather increased the need for my Association.
To Douglas, James G. <i>(Fr O'Dwyer, E. to Governor, Durham Prison)</i>	10 Dec, Tue	My letter in morning papers read well but no money is coming in. Windle from Cork came for a couple of days & tells me my proposal is well thought of down there. I am sure it is about the best hope for the south of Ireland & I must force it through. Resigned my Congested Districts Board Commissionership which I had held for 27 years. I was the sole surviving original member. But it was a poor institution.

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	11 Dec, Wed	Working away at the I[rish].R[econstruction].Assoc'n. I can get it through I think.
<i>Fr O'Dwyer, E.</i>	12 Dec, Thu	Writing to enquirers about the Irish Reconstruction Assoc'n.
	13 Dec, Fri	Ditto.
	14 Dec, Sat	Major Burney (on the staff at G.H.Q.) dined & slept. Interesting soldier & of liberal views. He was very pessimistic about the views of the General Staff in Dublin. He was in the House of Commons when Lloyd George (on Ap 9) wrecked the Convention by applying Conscription to Ireland in advance of Home Rule.
	15 Dec, Sun	James McCann, rich stockbroker lunched & Daisy tried to snare him for the I[rish].R[econstruction].A[ssoc'n]. Had a considerable gathering of Plunkett House folk & rather a tiring day.
Fr Plunkett, Reginald A.R.	16 Dec, Mon	Travelled by day. A small borrowed steamer – fortunately a smooth passage. Poor food along the railway, overcrowding delays. But what luxury considering the times!
	17 Dec, Tue	Day spent chiefly with Adams, & Philip Kerr & Walter. Decided to go to America & possibly first to France to see House to help in the Anglo American relations as affected by the Irish Question.
	18 Dec, Wed	<p>Again most of day with Adams. Saw also Sir Wm. Tyrrell & Sir Eric Drummond (English R.C. reactionary – p[ri]vate. sec to A.J.B. at F.O.) about the Irish situation in its Anglo-American relations aspect. Tyrrell was altogether with me. Drummond's attitude was "The Sinn Fein & Episcopal performances will change American sentiment and strengthen French's hand"!! There's the trouble.</p> <p>Called on Mrs. Willie Jameson whose sad life will be brightened tomorrow by Douglas Haig's reception. Supped with the Walters. Got home to find belated Irish post.</p>
To House, E.M.	19 Dec, Thu	<p>Meeting of Pelton owners, of Carnegie Library Sub C'tee (which chiefly affects Ireland) & of Exec[utive] C'tee. A deadly dull body of citizens – no imagination – only matter of interest their attitude to Ireland. Scottish advocates of H.R. for Ireland no longer support it if these men (largely Dunfermline shopkeepers) are typical.</p> <p>Douglas Haig came home & had a great popular reception.</p> <p>It was announced that Wilson is coming next week to England. Tyrrell who had undertaken to get a letter of mine to House in Paris sent it back to me giving two reasons, the real one being that the Gov't were against my interference with their exposition of the Irish situation to the American Government. So I wrote a short line to House by ordinary post saying I wanted to see him.</p> <p>A long talk with Shortt. His position is anomalous – even for an Irish Ch: Sec. Nominally political chief of the Irish Gov't the Vice-roy being titular chief, he finds himself regarded as the puppet of Ld. French who consults the Kildare St. Club on every act of Government! If he is beaten at the Election I fear a bad outbreak in Ireland; if he survives he or French will have to go.</p> <p>The Walters took me informally to dine with Lady Low – a</p>

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		wonderfully informed person. I was worn out & went to sleep!
	20 Dec, Fri	<p>A long talk with Arthur Balfour on the Irish situation. He is tired of the world of big affairs – told me he was always in a minority of one & I gathered that he wants to get out of public life as quickly as possible. He is sunk in a wretched pessimism. On Ireland he was worse than useless. I never heard such a hopelessly reactionary creed expressed outside the Carlton or Kildare St. Clubs.</p> <p>Dined with Haldane who told at great length the story of his dealings with the Irish University Question which I had heard before. He was interesting on the early days of war air service but it was a stupid dinner. Met & liked Gen'l. Sir Alfred Keogh, lately chief of the R[oyal].A[rmy].M[edical].C[orps].</p>
	21 Dec, Sat	<p>Most of the day with Adams. Agreed to make him & A.D. Hall trustees of my Rural Reconstruction bequest & donation. I meditate starting the thing during my life, centring it at Oxford & the Plunkett House Dublin & making a donation possibly of £10,000.</p> <p>Saw Campbell Stuart of the British War Mission & asked him to interest Northcliffe in the I[rish]. R[econstruction]. A[ssoc'n]. I am determined to make a success of that at all costs. To Ireland by night.</p>
	22 Dec, Sun	Quiet Sunday at Kilteragh. Warre B Wells & George O'Brien were brought out by Cruise O'B to discuss the work of the I[rish].R[econstruction].A[ssoc'n].
To Plunkett, Reginald A.R.	23 Dec, Mon	<p>A talk with Shortt who thinks I could do more good in Ireland – and in London – than in America. He is still optimistic about his chances of election & I hope he is right.</p> <p>Hanson & his wife came for Xmas.</p>
Fr House, E.M.	24 Dec, Tue	Had to do half a day at the Plunkett House to help the I[rish].R[econstruction].A[ssoc'n]. get biking. Other half with Hanson & wife & Daisy at Kilteragh.
	25 Dec, Wed	The Hansons, Anderson & son, Fingall, Daisy & Mamie, Mrs. Smith Gordon & a very fine Y.M.C.A. American from Nebraska University eat an early Xmas dinner. I felt ill & depressed but how much worse the outlook might have been.
	26 Dec, Thu	A quiet day. George O'Brien spent most of it with me & I think he will be an excellent assistant for my Irish work.
	27 Dec, Fri	<p>A day in town. Saw MacMahon who told me that Shortt's chances in Newcastle were doubtful & that if he was beaten hard times were in store. He is very sympathetic with the I[rish].R[econstruction].A[ssoc'n] & will help me in every possible way. He says the R.C. Church – the older members at any rate – are with me.</p> <p>Wilson is today at 10 Downing St. & much depends upon the extent to which he has been talked over to Lloyd George upon Ireland.</p> <p>Henry Harrison came out to tea & supper & we discussed the political situation. His brains are not first class but he is a fine type of simple straight solidier.</p>

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	28 Dec, Sat	<p>The Election returns showed sweeping victory for the Coalition in Britain and Sinn Fein in Ireland.</p> <p>I decided to start a Trust to deal with the Rural Life problem with Adams & Hall (A.D.) as Trustees.</p>
	29 Dec, Sun	<p>Warre B. Wells, George O'Brien & Cruise O'Brien buzzed around & are all thinking well upon the problems of Reconstruction. The full election returns are out. Asquith & Dillon disappear – each I think because of incapacity to move with the times.</p>
	30 Dec, Mon	<p>Final meeting of War Aims C'tee only Dunbar Barton & R.A.A. attended which was measure of the interest that moribund body retains!</p> <p>Hanson & wife left me. He will help the I[rish]. R[econstruction]. A[ssoc'n]. & will try to work it into his scheme of official life. His wife wants him to come back to Erin & I hope he will, as Commissioner of the Board of Works he would be an excellent link with the British Gov't.</p>
	31 Dec, Tue	<p>A talk with Shortt just back from Newcastle which returned him by a 6000 majority. I told him he must have it out with French. I advised the release at once of the Sinn Fein prisoners who are quite illegally retained in gaol & the backing of my Irish Reconstruction Association. A poor programme at such a crisis but until Lloyd George has time to give some attention to Ireland I know no better!</p>
	Year-end Summary	<p style="text-align: center;">1918</p> <p>The War ended – & what else matters?</p> <p>My story is simple. In the first quarter I completed my work at the Irish Convention and I think I squeezed as much agreement out of it as any other Chairman could have done. Ever since I have been trying to get the British Government to build an Irish settlement upon the foundations the Convention laid. Lloyd George – the greatest political opportunist of modern times – missed that opportunity but seized many others. He ended his year with a triumph in every department of national and international affairs with the solitary exception of Ireland.</p> <p>After the Convention my two chief acts were opposition to Conscription by the British Parliament and the formation of the Irish Reconstruction Assoc'n – an attempt to unite Irishmen outside party for the dual purpose of opposing the partition of Ireland (Lloyd George's policy) and safeguarding Irish interests through the reconstruction period. The year closes with this latest development of my Irish policy not yet over its initial difficulties.</p>