

1922 Diary of Sir Horace Curzon Plunkett (1854–1932)

Transcribed, annotated and indexed by Kate Targett. December 2012

NOTES

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

Horace Plunkett, *Irish Homestead*, 30 July 1910

Conventions

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

1) Common titles (usually with an underscored superscript in the original) have been standardised with full stops: Archbp. (Archbishop), Bp. (Bishop), Capt./Capt’n., Col., Fr. (Father), Gen./Gen’l, Gov./Gov’r (Governor), Hon. (Honourable), Jr., Ld., Mr., Mrs., Mgr. (Monsignor), Dr., Prof./Prof’r., Rev’d.

2) Unclear words for which there is a ‘best guess’ are preceded by a query (e.g. ?battle) in transcription; alternative transcriptions are expressed as ?bond/band.

3) Illegible letters are represented, as nearly as possible, by hyphens (e.g. b----t)

4) Any query (?) that does not *immediately* precede a word appears in the original manuscript unless otherwise indicated.

5) Punctuation (or lack of)

- Commas have been inserted only to reduce ambiguity. ‘Best guess’ additions appear as [,].
- Apostrophes have been inserted in:
 - surnames beginning with O (e.g. O’Hara)
 - negative contractions (e.g. can’t, don’t, won’t, didn’t)
 - possessives, to clarify context (e.g. Adams’ house; Adam’s house). However, Plunkett commonly indicates the plural of surnames ending in ‘s’ by an apostrophe (e.g. Yeats’).
- Initials preceding names reflect the original as nearly as possible (e.g. TP Gill, T.P. Gill, T P Gill, T. P. Gill).
- Plunkett’s symbols for ‘about’, ‘therefore’ and the ‘long (double) s’ have been expanded.

6) Text in parentheses () is Plunkett’s; text in brackets [] is editorial.

7) Capitalisation, particularly of the letter C and common nouns, is inconsistent and has been retained if unambiguous.

8) Words crossed out in the original are usually reproduced in the transcript, as their frequency or content may indicate Plunkett’s thinking at the time.

9) Cd (could), wd (would), wh: (which) and Plunkett’s symbol for ‘about’ and ‘therefore’ have been expanded; the ‘long f’ (J) has been expanded to ‘ss’.

10) Approximate monetary equivalents were derived and adapted from Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, “Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1830 to Present”, and Samuel H. Williamson, “Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to Present”, www.measuringworth.com, 2011. The index used was the Gross Domestic Product Deflator, a measure of average prices covering a ‘bundle’ of all goods and services produced in an economy (making it broader than just the consumer goods in the Retail Price Index). Figures

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

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

Correspondence

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

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

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

Abbreviations

1) Frequently occurring abbreviations and contractions:

Names

Æ	George William Russell	JGB	John George Butcher
AJB	Arthur James Balfour	KW	Karl Walter
EVL	Ernest V. Longworth	Lady B	Lady Elizabeth (Betty) Balfour
F / Fs	Fingall / Fingalls	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^x 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.

1922

Events:

- 7 Jan – Anglo-Irish Treaty ratified by Dáil Éireann
- Feb – Garda Síochána (Civic Guard) established
- 7 Apr – Special Powers Act, Northern Ireland (restrictive measures to curb IRA)
- Apr – Four Courts occupied by anti-treaty IRA
- 23 May – IRA outlawed by government of Northern Ireland
- 31 May – Royal Ulster Constabulary established by Northern Ireland Act
- 16 Jun – General Election for Dáil Éireann – pro-Treaty majority
- 22 Jun – Northern Ireland’s military advisor, Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, assassinated in London
- 28 Jun – Civil War commences
- 30 Jun – Four Courts destroyed by Free State troops
- Jul – IAOS secures grant from Free State administration**
- 12 Aug – Arthur Griffith dies
- 22 Aug – Michael Collins killed, Co. Cork
- Oct – Ulster Agricultural Organisation Society (UAOS) established**
- 25 Oct – Dáil approves Constitution of Irish Free State Bill
- November–May 1923 – Executions of anti-treaty IRA by Free State in Dublin (including Erskine Childers, 24 Nov)
- 5 Dec – Irish Free State Constitution Act (UK) ratifies constitution and Anglo-Irish Treaty
- Dec – Nominated to Irish Free State Senate**

Publications:

- “A Plea for Patience”, *New York Times*, 19 Feb, p. 14
- Address to IAOS Annual General Meeting, *Irish Homestead*, XXIX:14 (8 Apr) pp. 214, 215-8
- Address to Emergency Meeting of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, “To Discuss What the Industrial and Commercial Classes Could Do to Help Towards Restoring Law and Order in Ireland”, 25 Apr (Unpublished Ms., Plunkett papers) 5 pp.
- “The Irish Constitution-Makers”, *Manchester Guardian*, 19 Jun, p. 6
- *Agricultural Co-operation as a Factor in Ireland’s Agricultural Policy* (IAWS, Dublin) 8 pp.
- Address in *Irish Senate, Parliamentary Debates, Official Report*, v. 1, cols. 82-4, 20 Dec
- Address to the Staff of the IAOS (Unpublished Ms., Plunkett papers) 5 pp.

Government:

- President of Dáil Éireann*: Eamon de Valera (Sinn Féin) to 9 Jan (and in opposition, 25 Oct), Arthur Griffith (Sinn Féin) to 12 Aug, William T. Cosgrave (Sinn Féin) 9 Sep to 6 Dec
- Chairmen of Provisional Gov’t*: Michael Collins (Sinn Féin) 14 Jan–22 Aug, William T. Cosgrave (Sinn Féin) 22 Aug–6 Dec
- President of Executive Council*: William T. Cosgrave (Sinn Féin, Pro-Treaty) 6 Dec
- Governor-General*: Timothy M. Healy, 6 Dec
- British Prime Minister*: David Lloyd George (Liberal/Conservative coalition) to 19 Oct, Andrew Bonar Law (Conservative)
- Chief Secretary*: Sir James Hamar Greenwood to 19 Oct, vacant
- Lord Lieutenant*: Viscount FitzAlan to 19 Oct
- Prime Minister of Northern Ireland*: Sir James Craig

Approximate monetary equivalents (2010): £1= £45 ; \$1 = \$11

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
	1 Jan, Sun	Arrived at Battle Creek where I am going to fight the insomnia devil for 2 or 3 weeks. Cannon met me having travelled from Spokane, Washington, and we plunged into my business affairs which I want to untangle so that I can use my wealth for good works.
	2 Jan, Mon	Cannon finished & left. I took stimulants (tea & 1/60th strychnine) to enable me to attend to his talk on my complicated accounts.
	3 Jan, Tue– 6 Jan, Fri	[No entry]

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	7 Jan, Sat	News came that the Anglo Irish Treaty had been ratified by Dail Eireann 64 to 57. A narrow majority & an indication that the Anglo-Irish pact may be followed by a terrible Irish row. Well sufficient for the day I had to give an interview to an Associated Press man.
	8 Jan, Sun	I complete a week today. The insomnia is better. I am living on a perfect – or innocuous diet and am swallowing a new invention of Dr. Kellogg’s – “acidophilus” which is to change the flora in the lower intestines. The nerve trouble will I hope disappear with this.
	9 Jan, Mon	[No entry]
	10 Jan, Tue	[No entry]
	11 Jan, Wed	Disturbed by news that Heard was ill Dec. 30 in my flat in London. Not seriously Walter says. But he is delicate.
	12 Jan, Thu – 15 Jan, Sun	[No entry]
	16 Jan, Mon	So far blank days. Insomnia bad but I hope to leave it at Battle Creek. Hope springs eternal in some old men’s hearts! Heard is I fear worse than I had imagined. I cabled yesterday to Walter & got back reply that he is improving.
	17 Jan, Tue	[No entry]
	18 Jan, Wed	[No entry]
	19 Jan, Thu	The insomnia persists & I confess I am getting rather depressed about it.
	20 Jan, Fri – 24 Jan, Tue	[No entry]
[New York Life Insurance Co.]	25 Jan, Wed	Dr. Oscar Rogers and a very nice wife, Charles C Baldwin & Dr. Gertrude Johnson at my table at the San – all very interesting. The first is chief medical officer of the “N.Y. Life”. He told me the German death rate had gone down since the War 50% – “beyond doubt due to stopping over-eating”. He and I had a long talk with Dr. Kellogg on the bad organisation of the patients with the resultant long waiting “in hot storage” as I put it, for their (mostly unnecessary) daily calls upon their doctors. I also suggested that physicians, dieticians & physical instructors should cooperate in making exercise & temperature a factor in determining the calories to be taken.
	26 Jan, Thu	Left Battle Creek after a real rest and a dieting which greatly improved my general health. Passed through Chicago where I failed to find my old friend Henry Blair & took the Burlington train to Omaha.
	27 Jan, Fri	Omaha after 3 years. Four newspaper men who listened for an hour & reproduced nothing I said. A lunch at which the R.C. Archbishop (Harty) & half a dozen prominent business men – equally divided betw’n “Catholics & non-Catholics” talked pleasantly. Then to inspect the properties. Conrad Young has done well both for himself & me. But I realise I should have sold out at any sacrifice rather than hold on to non dividend paying investment.
	28 Jan, Sat	Lunched with the U.S. National (my) Bank people. Had a talk

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		<p>with 2 Labour leaders and the Secretary of the Business Men's Association.</p> <p>My general conclusion so far is that Capital is in a very strong position in U.S.A. and will be for some years to come. Business troubles and unemployment will hit both sides. But the immense resources of the country in huge excess of the needs of the population preclude the emergence of the intense problems facing old settled & overcrowded countries.</p> <p>Decided to take preference shares for the dividends declared & not paid <u>to me</u> by the Nebraska & Wyoming Investment Co (in which Monteagle, Alston, Walter, Stuart Wortley & Cannon have small holdings upon which they <u>have</u> been paid dividends) and in future to claim my dividends.</p>
	29 Jan, Sun	<p>Thomas L Kennedy Pres't of my bank in Omaha, new Congressman & a really able fellow asked the Youngs & me to lunch in his charming house overlooking Omaha from the West. Had cable from Irishmen & called on some Mahoneys where I met a Father McCarthy from Dublin. People are very friendly to me & imagine I have done great things for Ireland. Left by night for Chicago & New York.</p>
	30 Jan, Mon	<p>Passing through Chicago had long talk with Mrs. Charles McCarthy about the memorial to be erected to her late husband's memory. Edward Fitzpatrick a young lawyer politician Mac helped along was to have met me also at the Congress Hotel. He preferred to way-lay me at my departing train. Each told me "no care for" the other. I fear Fitz wants to make a ladder for himself out of the business. He had elaborated a sort of New Heaven & New Earth scheme. I want to get research in legislation & adm[inistratio]n endowed at Wisconsin University, field work to follow along the lines of the research if funds permit. I fear a fizzle.</p>
	31 Jan, Tue	<p>Back at Jim Byrne's hospitable flat. Day chiefly notable for my very straight talk with Gerald who had come down from his not soft job in the Adirondacks [<i>sic</i>], nominally to get his teeth put right, really to get money & a soft job, or a passage back to Ireland, from me. The boy has dissipated, lied, & stolen by way of "making good" in this country & I told him very plainly what I thought of him. Took Sheila Byrne & a friend of hers – a young married woman – to hear Margot Asquith lecture at a big theatre. She sat & read stories from a diary she will publish later. It was a dismal failure.</p>
	1 Feb, Wed	<p>Gerald again and correspondence all day.</p>
	2 Feb, Thu	<p>Gerald took a big slice of the day. Chief event a long conference with Colonel House who told me his plans for the Democratic party. He told me that neither the Press nor speeches were the things that counted. It was all organisation.</p> <p>We talked also about the state of Europe, the coming labour troubles & many other topics. But he is evidently waiting to re-enter public life and was not as interesting as when he was in the midst of the fray.</p> <p>Francis Hackett lunched with me tête a tête at Byrne's flat & we</p>

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		<p>discussed a weekly such as I had tried to make a factor in the struggle for a settlement. He suggested it should be called The Free Statesman</p> <p>To Washington midnight.</p>
	3 Feb, Fri	<p>Arrived early at the Gifford Pinchots. They were as hospitable as ever – real good friends. I had had a vile night & was comatose. Two abortive attempts to find Henry Wallace Secretary for Agriculture wasted hours. Found Broderick at the Embassy & talked over Irish possibilities (commercial) in U.S.A. on which he is an expert. He had highest hopes of the Irish Free State, but had not realised the difficulties ahead. Thought we should not have direct representatives over here yet as Canada had not. We must cultivate friendly relations with Britain.</p> <p>At dinner Senators Medill McCormick & Lenroot (Wisconsin) were the chief guests to meet me & we had “good discourse” on Ireland & America. They confirmed the opinion I had gained that the Anti-Treaty party over here are negligible.</p> <p>Got a seat for tomorrow’s last Plenary session of the Washington Conference. On all hands Balfour is admitted to have been a brilliant success.</p>
	4 Feb, Sat	<p>Began day with ½ hour interview with Henry Wallace Secretary for Agriculture. He had little to tell me. He agreed that settling labour <u>on</u> the land was very desirable, thought not much was to be hoped for from labour-saving machinery, was totally opposed to price fixing and was alarmed for the American farmer’s future on account of the relatively cheap sea-freights which would bring in S. American corn. Australia had 200 million acres of wheat lands & could produce ⅔rds of the present World’s supply of wheat.</p> <p>Next attended penultimate plenary sitting of the Disarmament & Pacific Conference. Dull. Reading long treaties. Only one speech of importance – & that not very good – Arthur Balfour’s tribute to the delegates & the staff & laudation of the achievement.</p> <p>Called on the Bullards, Wilsons & Hoovers. Only the first “at home” & he in bed. We discussed Ireland & he allayed my fear of Bolshevist activities (which I said were imaginary in the past but might well come now) but saying that the antidote to Bolshevism is Nationalism. Dined with the Fletchers.</p>
	5 Feb, Sun	<p>Lyman first caller. Told me of recent progress of farmers’ organisation in U.S.A. especially in milk business. All too big and ambitious to get ahead quick. At lunch Mark Sullivan, Senator Walsh of Montana, Secretary Wallace and Mrs. Beale were all interesting on Ireland & Agriculture my two immediate interests. At dinner Brandeis and Eugene Meyer discussed labour situation, the former prophesying a long period of reactionary regime. I left by night train for New York having got in my mind, I think, a fairly accurate idea of the main political currents.</p>
	6 Feb, Mon	<p>Found a pile of letters from home and spent the day answering these, calling on Wilberforce and discussing with Gerald his alternative careers!</p>
	7 Feb, Tue	<p>Down at Century Club for rest of stay found lots of people to talk to. It is generally admitted that the Washington Conference was a brilliant success – but say a few it may be bedeviled by the</p>

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		<p>Senate. I doubt this; popular opinion must be strong in its favour.</p> <p>Dined with Fulton Cutting & was the guest of honour at a gathering of business men & lawyers whose names I, as usual, did not catch. Of those I knew Morgenthau the author of The Secret[s] of the Bosphorus & Davis successor to Page as ambassador to England were the most interesting. After dinner they asked me to explain the Irish situation & I told them about the Ulster complex and my fears of a Republican Labour attack upon the Treaty. Then I tried to get them to admit that if the I.Q. had been settled at the beginning of the war peace would have been ante-dated. This they resented. "America came in at the psychological moment" was the plea.</p>
	8 Feb, Wed	<p>Said goodbye to Gerald to whom I gave \$100 in all for his trip to New York – enough for his teeth but not enough for a big spree – & went by night train to Boston.</p> <p>Godkin had Morgan O'Brien, John D Ryan, Doheny, Major Kincaid, Judge Campbell & Woodlock – all of the Irish Relief C'tee – to meet me at dinner at University Club. These men I suppose represent hundreds of million dollars. Their attitude to Ireland was briefly – non-intervention as betw'n Irish factions, sympathy with the Collins Griffith party as they presumably had the majority of the people at their back & readiness to help Ireland financially but no sentiment – strict business. I vainly tried to interest them in a revival of the Irish Statesman.</p>
	9 Feb, Thu	<p>Early at the hospitable Lowells. Lunch brought Wallace Dunham dean of the Business School, to talk on his subject which he made very dull.</p> <p>Charles W Eliot & Lowell both paid a fine tribute to Bryce at a meeting of the Mass[achusetts] Historical Society. At dinner Joseph Redlich, Austrian administrator & professor & Edward Channing the American Historian talked at large. I was too tired to carry away any impressions.</p>
<i>Fr Wilson, Woodrow</i>	10 Feb, Fri	<p>Lunched with Fanny Curtis who had a very good Irishman (Rothwell, formerly Pres of Chamber of Commerce) to meet me and Pres. Emeritus, Eliot now about 87 and as fresh as ever in mind. We talked on Boston government (how terribly corrupt and predominantly Irish), upon the cost of living, housing, education and Ireland. All interesting & leading to the conclusion that America is sharing the world's troubles more than I had realised, that she is thinking less upon Ireland & will think right when roused. Worked at speech for Thursday next & had long talk with Lowell at a tête a tête dinner & after upon government in general & in particular for the New Ireland.</p> <p>During day saw Ferris Greenslet of Houghton Mifflin & Co who is keener than ever for my memoirs!</p> <p>I got Ireland in the New Century today out of the Harvard Library & found that I was a Unionist longer than I had imagined. In 1903 <u>after</u> the Wyndham Act was passed, I wrote "from <u>my</u> Unionist point of view" (p. 84).</p>
	11 Feb, Sat	<p>Professors to lunch & dinner, long talks with Lowell about the best form of government for Ireland, a talk with W F Fitzgerald a wealthy Irish stockbroker, who wants to help Ireland with her finances, when the new Government is established took up the</p>

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		day. Got Lowell to promise that, if he was asked to come to Ireland & advise on the form of government in the summer holidays he would come.
[Isabella Stewart Gardner]	12 Feb, Sun	<p>The most interesting day. In morning had long talk with a Mr. Barron owner of Wall St Journal (!) & other similar Big Business papers who talked Ireland from his “viewpoint”. Then with Fanny Curtis to Mrs. “Jack” Gardiner’s [<i>sic</i>] palace – an amazing place. The court yard of this Italian Palace is redolent with flowers & scented shrubs. The works of art are Italian, Dutch & Spanish. She is a <u>great</u> collector, but see guide books. Then lunch to meet Troy Combs, Lucy Furman’s protégé. At tea with Mrs. Osgood & Mrs. Fiske Warren (mother & sister of “Mollie” Childers) had a sorrowful talk to several Bostonians about the disturbed Irish outlook & the Childersian part in it. Then Jim Byrne to dinner & much talk with Lowell & him.</p> <p>By night to New York.</p>
	13 Feb, Mon	<p>Addressed a “capacity” house at the Town Hall & never spoke nearly as well. Hardly looked at the notes I had been making all the time at Harvard. Morgan O’Brien presided & spoke too long. The audience evidently wanted to hear me. I told the story of the war in Ireland, its purely party significance in England being emphasised. I made patience in criticising the Irish Provisional Government the chief point and I think “put it over”. Heckled afterwards I scored. All the questions – & there were many – I answered quickly & satisfactorily to the audience. I brought down the house once. “What is the difference between Sir Roger Casement & Sir Edward Carson?” [“]Casement was hung, Carson was made a judge.”</p> <p>A dreary lunch followed – and another speech. Then Wilberforce asked a dozen or so notables to meet me at dinner at the Harvard Club – another speech!</p>
	14 Feb, Tue	<p>Dead tired. Reporters invaded the flat & a movie man took me on to the roof to turn my head round, jibbering [<i>sic</i>] & grinning while he got a string of exposures as a caption for the tosh to be written under. Then big post to deal with.</p> <p>Perfect little dinner party by James Byrne at The Brook. Lowell, George N Perkins, Edwin Gay (Ed[ito]r Ev[en]ing Post) Wilberforce & self. I “put over” some Irish ideas.</p>
[1919 Volstead Act - prohibition]	15 Feb, Wed	<p>A terrible day. After a rush of correspondence in the morning went with Francis Hackett to East Orange, N.J. for a dinner by Irishmen (at which Whiskey – Scotch! – & sparkling Burgundy protested against Volkstead [<i>sic</i>] laws) at the Washington Club. Function prefaced by the wearisome & meaningless calls upon locals. We also visited Edison in his laboratory but he was stone deaf & conversation – which he kept to Ireland – was impossible. I think I did good, by my informal “talks” to the cause of the ratifiers.</p>
	16 Feb, Thu	<p>Another hectic day. Dictated the speech I am to deliver (in the Press) at Paul Plunkett’s down town lunch tomorrow. Wrote to Rockefeller about a life of McCarthy of Wisconsin I want Francis Hackett to write. Joseph P. Cotton, a friend of Mac’s & Byrne’s whom I met for the purpose today will act as secretary to the project. Called on the Godkins & the Savinis (she Mrs. K.</p>

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		<p>Walter's sister) & finally dined with P A O'Farrell to meet John Quinn & Clarence Barron who owns the Wall St Journal & other financial papers. He knows the state of business in every country in the world – and is optimistic!</p> <p>Frank Sturgis, formerly for many years Pres't. of N.Y. Stock Exchange said [“]In my day N.Y. business (Big) men were honest because they wanted to be – now because they <u>have</u> to be![”]</p>
<p>[“A Plea for Patience”, <i>New York Times</i>, 19 Feb, p. 14]</p>	<p>17 Feb, Fri</p>	<p>Paul Plunkett lunched some 50 or 60 Big Business men & Corporation Lawyers – (Doheny, John Quinn, Paul Cravath, Francis M. Wells, 2 Goodbodys, General O’Ryan were good representatives of the class) to hear me on Ireland. I seemed to do well with them & I think interested them in Irish security for investments.</p> <p>Wrote statement for Sunday papers.</p> <p>Had long talk with Col. E.M. House late at night. He made an interesting forecast of English politics. Lloyd George would soon “play sick” & retire for six months. He would place in power all the men he is afraid of – Balfour, Birkenhead, Grey &c. He would watch this flounder in the bog he has created & in 6 mo. he would be recalled as the “deus ex machina”.</p>
	<p>18 Feb, Sat</p>	<p>Rose at 5 A.M. & tried to write a parting message to the Evening Post. Failed to get it off. Went on board Olympic <u>very very</u> tired, but had the same luxurious room with bath they gave me on the way out! I expect a miserable few days in the reaction.</p> <p>Sir Arthur Willert & Sir W Wiseman only people I knew on board till Geo. W Baxter of the far off Wyoming days came up to me & we talked of the old folk – nearly all gone!</p> <p>Evening Standard (London) Feb 18.22</p> <p>[Newspaper item pasted in:]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SIR HORACE PLUNKETT'S HINT TO IRELAND?</p> <p>Sir Horace Plunkett, speaking at a luncheon given in his honour by the Lawyers' Club in New York pointed out that the only external opinion which could possibly affect the course of events in Ireland was that of the United States. If expressed in terms of finances and practical advice upon industrial and commercial developments, it would have perhaps a larger and certainly a more salutary effect than if directed to adding to their political wisdom. – Central News.</p>
	<p>19 Feb, Sun</p>	<p>482 from 1.29 PM yesterday!!</p> <p>Comatose after New York! Reading over letters which arrived in the last few days of my stay, which I had no time to read <u>there</u>, I find this passage from Heard (Feb 2nd). He tells me I am talked of as the first Governor General, that they are working at a Constitution but that the Drafting Committee has as acting Chairman Darrell Figgis & no other known to him (G.H.) except James Douglas. He goes on “I am told some of them have read Constitutional law once, but really – a petites lettres writer & a cash haberdasher as the two principles – England with all its faults could call on a Bryce & never fall below a Birkenhead”.</p>
	<p>20 Feb, Mon</p>	<p>542.</p>
	<p>21 Feb, Tue</p>	<p>520. Sir John Cadman, mining engineer on board. He was entrusted with oil fuel supply for British Navy in the war and came across L.I.G. Confirmed my impressions & experience of the P.M. Never reads documents, acts on impulse – often on the</p>

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		<p>advice of the very inferior tricksters in his entourage. No principle – only expediency.</p> <p>Cadman had been in the U.S. in interests of Big oil ‘combines’ (Anglo-Persian chiefly) and was trying to interest capitalists in projects all over the world. He found American sentiment towards Britain steadily improving during Washington Conference. He had poor op[inio]n of American business men.</p> <p>As a scientist (physics) he was most interesting as he could talk in non-technical terms. The discovery of discoveries – if it comes – will be the harnessing of atoms. So far they have (somehow – this is beyond me) been separated. There in all matter are these myriad bodies with their myriad smaller bodies revolving around them. <u>I</u>f these could be harnessed a new force – energy – light heat may make a new world. But <u>man</u>???</p>
	22 Feb, Wed	521.
	23 Feb, Thu	<p>522. Max Eastman – “parlor Socialist” according to American informant, a handsome, intellectual figure – I introduced myself to him on the deck. He hopes to see Lenin & discuss the working out of that problem. We talked, in this connection, the rural problem of Ireland & I tried to show that the addiction to ownership by the peasant was L.’s difficulty. On socialism in U.S.A. he was not as interesting as I had hoped. He agreed that there was far more democracy & liberty under the monarchies of Britain, Holland & Belgium than under the republic of U.S.A. To my three causes of the backwardness of labor organ[isatio]n (distance, polyglot proletarians & diversion of social energy by material opportunity) he added the belief in Liberty under the Stars & Stripes. I talked about the ostentatious extravagance of the Olympic & his chief objection was its inartistic adornment.</p> <p>He had seen Larkin before he was imprisoned (for his political views) 2½ years ago. He thought him ignorant, impractical but sincere. He doubted whether the Irish wanted him out of gaol. Sing Sing was more brutal than any Russian prison he said.</p>
	24 Feb, Fri	500. 112 to Cherbourg. Course 3199.
	25 Feb, Sat	<p>Got to 105 Mount St. by noon. Mrs. Walter met & kissed me before the shocked Curtain at Waterloo, & told me Karl was very sick & depressed at their cottage in the country. I decided to go there tomorrow.</p> <p>Saw nobody, except Ld. MacDonnell at the Reform. The Irish news looks very bad. All chaos & general unfitness for <u>stable</u> government is the impression left on my mind. To the press men on the Olympic at Southampton I am reported as below.</p> <p>[newspaper item pasted in:]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PLEA FOR PATIENCE</p> <p>Sir Horace Plunkett, who landed at Southampton to-day from the White Star [sic] liner Olympic, on returning from America, said 99 per cent. of American opinion was in favour of the Irish Treaty.</p> <p>People, he said, ought to be patient with the Irish and show as much patience for a few months as the Irish had shown for centuries.</p>
	26 Feb, Sun	<p>Went down to K. Walter’s minute cottage near Gomshall. (The taxi driver who had been there all his life had not heard of Emily Lawless.) K.W. was being “nursed” by his aunt Mrs. Unwin, a lady with a Scottish accent, very like Lady Bryce. He is evidently</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		wrong somehow. Doctors can't say how. Temperature hanging about, washed out appearance, good-for-nothing feeling. His wife is keeping the pot boiling in London. I think a rest in fresh air – a job even in open air – would do all that is necessary. But there is no money. I must help – but again – how? At 10.45 The Freeman's Journal London editor came to Mount St. for an interview!!
	27 Feb, Mon	Lunched Bullock & tried to cheer him up. His wife died suddenly while I was away. Called on V. Nash about the grant to the I.A.O.S. He is favourable but the Treasury may object. Went to the Old Vic to see Twelfth [<i>sic</i>] Night – a fine comedy well acted. Had talk with Wilfrid Walter about Karl.
[Mary - daughter of King George V and Queen Mary to Viscount Lascelles]	28 Feb, Tue	A fine day and vast crowds <u>really</u> enjoying the Royal Marriage. Why? I think the feeling was wholesome altogether. Princess Mary had done much public work & nursed in the war. She is marrying an Englishman & a commoner, a fine soldier. They are both sports <u>men</u> . Wrote many letters and dined with the Pope Hennessys.
	1 Mar, Wed	Spent most of the day with Adams, discussing how to save the I.A.O.S. with the money of the H.P. Foundation. Left by night for Newcastle. A D Hall joined Adams & me for an hour in the afternoon. He agreed that The Foundation should <u>give</u> £5000 to the IAOS on condition that the Society kept its expenditure within its income. Hall thinks we must give up all technical and commercial work and stick to advising on principles.
[B.J.M. Walsh]	2 Mar, Thu	Presided over meeting of John Bowes & Partners, Ltd. . . . Walsh, Major Godfrey [Palmer] & Sir Alfred Palmer & Gardiner the only directors. Left in afternoon for Dunfermline. Put up with Mitchell. He has a wife, nee Cooney, cousin of Loftus Bryan. Struck me as a difficult, discontented woman & I fear they are not happily mated – after 18 years! But I hope this is a wrong impression. We had a useful talk on the Trust.
	3 Mar, Fri	Got to know Mitchell as my host better than I did as my guest. The Carnegie meetings were even duller than usual, but I am glad I came. The Trustees were friendly to me & I took a good deal of trouble to make them feel that I respected them. Left by night train for London.
[E. OE – author Edith OEnone Somerville] [“cut the painter” – sever	4 Mar, Sat	Met Tom Ponsonby & A.D. Hall at Athenaeum, called on Admiral Somerville (where E.OE. was sick with neuritis) and on [to] the Percevals who had ffrench & Grigg, Philip Kerr's successor with Lloyd George to meet me. Am gradually getting the hang of things. By the way Sir Edward Grigg said an interesting thing about the Dominion status. As the result of the war effort of the distant Dominions their status had to be enlarged. Then came Bonar Law's speech on March 29 (or 30) 1920 on the Gov't of Ireland Bill in which, having to say why Dom[inion] status could not be given to Ireland, he said the Dominions had the <u>right</u> to “cut the

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
ties]		painter". I denied next day in The Times that they had any such right, but only the power, owing to their geographical pos[iti]o[n] to do so. In the Imperial conferences the larger status was demanded. But now the tendency is to restrict it because no Dominion can enlarge its status without the agreement of the others!
[P.M.G – James J. Walsh] [Education – Michael Hayes]	5 Mar, Sun	Went to Colchester to see Bryan who takes his battalion to India tomorrow. I urged him to come home as soon as he can. He can only keep his command 2 years at the most. I want him back sooner as the family coal interests demand his taking an interest in the management of Pelton. Mrs. Guthrie, "Olive" of Col. Repington's diary, 'phoned me. She is just back from Glasslough where Leonie Leslie lies very ill. She gives a bad account of the chaos. The P[ost]. M[aster]. G[eneral]. of the Provisional Government was formerly in the British P.O. & was sacked for inefficiency. The Minister of Education is a "drunken and inefficient National Schoolmaster". These accounts are probably highly prejudiced, but I daresay the high officials 'leave to desire', as they say in ?Gaul. Supped with Tom & May. He will I think accept the new regime whatever it is on account of his heavy commitments at Kilcooley.
	6 Mar, Mon	Ordered a Marconi receiving instrument for Kilteragh. When I get it I shall be able to listen to the civilised world. Concerts in Berlin & New York, S.O.S. calls at sea (this when I have learnt Morse) and God knows what other mockeries at Time and Distance. Called on Lionel Curtis at the House & had a brief talk upon the Irish situation. He is drilling for Winston in the Irish Treaty debate. He implored me to whip up the Southern Unionists who might he said hold the balance of power betw'n Collins & de Valera. (But could they – or rather would they – use it?) Went on to Sidney Webbs who are always very friendly to me. They expect 200 to 220 labour seats in the next Parl't. They promised to help me with British Labour if I wanted help.
	7 Mar, Tue	Back by day mail to Kilteragh, where I found Daisy, Fingall and Lennox Robinson waiting to see me.
[pour rire – laughable]	8 Mar, Wed	Rushed round Dublin picking up news & attending to pressing things. At Plunkett House Norman & Rid[d]all (R.A. away), at the Nat Land Bank Smith Gordon, at the Castle Cope and MacMahon and at the Mansion House the Ld. Mayor betw'n them all gave me some impressions. I gathered that the Provisional Gov't is as good as could be expected. Collins bluff, honest, shrewd & strong – not much knowledge. Griffith narrow, bigoted against other classes, but also honest & fairly capable. Walsh, P[ost].M[aster].G[eneral]. & the Minister of Education both pour rire. Hogan, Agriculture, a young solicitor from Galway & quite good. The Castle did not think the situation down South very serious, but a mishandling of things in the North might lead to civil war! At Colchester, Bryan impressed upon me that regular troops would quickly smash the I.R.A. None of the guerilla generals had ever handled large bodies of men, a wholly different thing to small flying columns.

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
<i>Fr Simeon, Ella</i>	9 Mar, Thu	<p>Spent day trying to get to the bottom of the IAOS situation. It is in a very bad state of confusion, financially & every other way.</p> <p>Had a talk with Sir Henry Robinson who is about to resign or retire under the 65 rule. He is hopeless about the new government & half thinks that in 3 years or so the British will be welcomed back!</p>
To Ervine, St. John (extract)	10 Mar, Fri	<p>My labourers threaten to strike – or rather their Union – The Transport & General Workers Union – is ordering them to strike for a continuance of the war wage of 43/- a week of [blank] hours. I am offering 40/- – that is[,] the farmers Union which I have joined is offering this. As I have lost £500 plus the rent on my farming this last year the thing is unreasonable. But as Fingall who is with me points out, there are no police in the country and with some 20 cows to milk I am helpless. They would not even let me sell my cows. We are in a peaceful (for the moment) revolution & it is easy to predict the end of the present social order. But my neighbours do not seem to see it.</p>
	11 Mar, Sat	<p>Went to City Hall to have a talk with Hogan the Provisional Government's Minister of Agriculture. He is a young solicitor from Galway, the secretary of an agric'l Coop. Society, his father being President of another. Hugger mugger – dirty looking clerks & lady typists – cigarettes – but Hogan a bright, nice, sensible, quite ignorant (of his duties) through no fault of his own, young man. He treated me with the deference due to a man twice his age or more. We talked about the I.A.O.S & the rural policy for which it stood. He explained the necessarily conditional nature of any undertaking he might make but promised entire sympathy.</p> <p>The Transport Union did not, as I had expected, present me with an ultimatum. I think they more or less respect me.</p> <p>Tom Ponsonby came up from Kilcooley.</p>
	12 Mar, Sun	<p>Smith Gordon, Tom & "Lynx" made a queer Sunday party! I rested.</p>
	13 Mar, Mon	<p>Worked hard at I.A.O.S. finances. The Society is on its last legs.</p>
	14 Mar, Tue	<p>A very sad day. The Office & Finance C'tee of the I.A.O.S. met to discuss the financial situation. R.A.A. proposed to go ahead with the monstrous expenditure he has run up although the Society is absolutely without funds. It became manifest that he is ill and utterly incapable of decision. I had to put my foot down and get the C'tee to call for a drastic reduction of Expenditure. Smith Gordon on behalf of the H.P. Foundation offered to lend £5000 to tide over the crisis – provided this was done. Meanwhile I shall have to put the whole situation before the Provisional Gov't & try to get them to adopt in principle the subsidising of the I.A.O.S. and then appeal to the Annual General Meeting of the Society on March 29.</p>
	15 Mar, Wed	<p>Spent the day at the I.A.O.S. finances. Also saw Gavan Duffy vice Michael Collins whom I was to have seen but who was unexpectedly (or diplomatically) engaged upon the question of help from America for the forthcoming election. I had offered M.C. to write to my friends in New York &c if he wished & he told his sec'y to make an appointment to see me.</p> <p>The Irish situation is improving except in Ulster where it gets</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		steadily worse. I am afraid we are far from peace.
	16 Mar, Thu	Heard & I had an interview with RAA & concluded that the poor fellow is going steadily down hill. He has wrecked the I.A.O.S. I fear beyond repair.
	17 Mar, Fri	St. Paddy. Worked a good deal on the hopeless I.A.O.S. situation & see no light yet.
	18 Mar, Sat	Painful morning with I.A.O.S. affairs. Fr. Finlay, R.A.A., Norman & Riddall all equally at sea & unhelpful. Wrote a good deal of the IAOS case to be submitted to the Irish Government – if we ever have one!
	19 Mar, Sun	Drove Daisy, Heard & Minnie Fitzgerald, who is week-ending with me to St. Marnocks where Mrs. Willie gave us tea. Father Finlay highly approved the memorandum I am writing for the Irish Gov't on their Irish policy – especially in relation to the I.A.O.S. Hammond dined & told me the news of Dunsany.
	20 Mar, Mon	All day at I.A.O.S. affairs. They are I fear hopeless. It is a sad ending of a Society with great possibilities. Of course the <u>movement</u> won't die altogether & the work done will go on bearing fruit. But oh what might it not have done.
	21 Mar, Tue	Worked very hard again at the I.A.O.S. all day.
	22 Mar, Wed	Wrote letters to the Committee of the IAOS & to the staff on the situation & asked them to discuss it with me next Tuesday. Wrote to Robert Barton trying to get him to reconsider his resignation of the I.A.O.S. Finished the letter by Fr. Finlay & self to Patrick Hogan, Minister of Agriculture of the Provisional Government. Must now get at my speech for the Annual General Meeting.
	23 Mar, Thu	Began my Annual General Meeting (I.A.O.S.) speech. Tom & May came for a dine & sleep en route from London to Kilcooley.
	24 Mar, Fri	Still at I.A.O.S. Robert Barton looked in & I had an hour with him at the Plunkett House. He is a splendid fellow, but intellectually under the Childers influence. I think he is a bit muddled over the constitutional issues over which he is threatening us with civil war.
	25 Mar, Sat	The same. It is a tough job and rather a hopeless one. But I have to go through with it.
	26 Mar, Sun	Hanson, Katherine Tynan & her daughter, a young Hemphill (Ld. H's only son doing well at Oxford) Gogarty & "The Lynx" lunched. A regular Kilteragh Sunday. I shall sell the place if I am offered its worth – but it will leave me homeless.
	27 Mar, Mon	Worked all day at my speech for Wednesday & did not get ahead with it because Anderson won't tackle the financial problem. Monteagle came from London.
	28 Mar, Tue	A meeting of the large staff of the IAOS in the morning & of the Committee in the afternoon. At both I had to fight R.A.A. who stoutly maintained that the huge cost of the I.A.O.S. was justified and that the farmers would pay for it if properly asked!! But I at

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		least got all to realise the situation for the first time. Result that I had to take a typist to Foxrock for the night.
[Address to IAOS AGM in <i>IH</i> , XXIX:14 (8 Apr), pp. 214, 215-18]	29 Mar, Wed	The Annual General Meeting. I began the day by dictating to a typist from the Plunkett Ho[use] the rest – more than half – of my speech. I rushed in to deliver it & did fairly. The meeting was representative but small. We faced the situation as squarely as was possible with Anderson refusing to do so. I brought Fr. Phelan, Bennett, Smith Gordon & Sir John Keane to dine at Kilteragh. They are the economy subcommittee appointed by the Gen[eral] C'tee on Tuesday. They <u>did</u> face the situation & we are that much ahead. Went to bed on the roof too exhausted to keep warm in the frost of the night.
	30 Mar, Thu	The aftermath of the Annual General Meeting. Still trying to finance the I.A.O.S.
	31 Mar, Fri	Lady Geary, Daisy's sister, and Fingall arrived. The I.A.O.S. Economy C'tee met R.A.A. & me & we rushed through a policy which may save the Society. R.A.A., after my speech on Wed[nesda]y wrote me a perfect letter of friendship. He won't I fear keep up the present attitude but it is all for the good.
<i>Fr Bryce, Lady</i>	1 Apr, Sat	A half day at the I.A.O.S. Definitely transferred our bank a/c from the Bank of Ireland to the National Land Bank, simply to get into official touch with the new regime. R.A.A. opposed me in this as he does in everything.
	2 Apr, Sun	A Miss O'Roddy, the new secretary of the United Irishwomen, a Miss Elizabeth Montgomery interested in Carnegie Libraries in Antrim, Hammond with news of Eddie and Dermot O'Brien on IAOS affairs made it not a day of rest. Slept out last night. Thermometer 28° and damp! I sleep out nearly every night & am sure it pays.
	3 Apr, Mon	I.A.O.S.
	4 Apr, Tue	I.A.O.S. A talk with Anderson revealed his wholly abnormal state. I had in my pocket a couple of letters written in response to his suggestion that we should try & remove misunderstandings. He told me he would rather not read the letters yet. He is addicted to alcohol to an extent needing a regular "cure". Failing this I see no hope for the poor fellow.
	5 Apr, Wed	Had a long talk with Hogan Provisional Government's Minister of Agriculture about the IAOS & kindred subjects first & then about the state of the country. We agreed that things would have to be worse before they could be better. The I.R.A. is partly acting under the orders of de Valera and clearly a military dictatorship is threatened. If Collins can't assert his authority quick I fear the worst.
	6 Apr, Thu	Anderson was told by his doctor (Purser) to stay in bed 3 days & see no one. I went to see Purser & he told me there was nothing wrong – except the whiskey. He has got ?me on the brain & has a nervous breakdown, not serious. I had a frank talk with Purser who agrees that a "cure" is indicated, that he has prescribed it, but that A won't undergo it. There is always something which can't

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		<p>get on without him. I have hopes I may soon get to close quarters with the poor fellow & persuade him to save his valuable life.</p> <p>Had a talk with Cosgrove [<i>sic</i>], Local Government Minister. He thinks the country is steadily coming round to the Free State, but fears desperate action by the armed minority.</p>
	7 Apr, Fri	<p>Still I.A.O.S. R.A.A. being not only unable to help, but ordered by his doctor not to try, I can get ahead with the work. I wrote all day at a letter & memorandum to the Committee on the case for a government grant, without which we collapse.</p>
	8 Apr, Sat	<p>R.A.A. wrote "I have a presentiment I am not going to recover. Frankly I don't think I wish to." Still I went to Dunsany to talk to Eddie about his future in Ireland. I hope I stopped his talking at large in a foolish way.</p> <p>Played Beatrice & Randal two games of chess blindfold & was glad to find it cost me no effort.</p>
	9 Apr, Sun	<p>All day worked at a Memorandum to the Committee of the I.A.O.S. and returned by night to Kilteragh. Heard had walked to Kingstown & saw R.A.A. in a motor car!</p>
	10 Apr, Mon	<p>Worked all day at I.A.O.S.</p>
	11 Apr, Tue	<p>Worked at a Memorandum on "Cooperation as a factor in Ireland's Agricultural Policy". Nearly finished it.</p>
	12 Apr, Wed	<p>Barbour & Adams came for a dine & sleep & I think I converted them to my plan for reviving the I.A.O.S. Mrs. Barbour was sick but wrote a charming letter. I finished my memorandum & got it through the printer. But I am overworked.</p>
	13 Apr, Thu	<p>Anderson came back to Dublin and as I expected forgot about his impending death and his resignation of the Secretaryship of the I.A.O.S. He took back the papers he had given to me from which the Economy sub committee's scheme must be prepared for submission to the General Committee. He told me on the telephone that his doctor (Purser) was trying to get him to undergo a three months cure (for alcohol, though he would have me think it is for other infirmities) and that he knew a fortnight would suffice. Meanwhile I am working to my limit on making a case for the continuance of the grants from public funds.</p>
	14 Apr, Fri	<p>Mrs. J R Green lunched. She told Heard & me that people are nightly shot in Dublin, carried to Hospitals and not reported. Lady Gregory came to stay over the week end – charming as ever. Harold Barbour, who only left for the North yesterday came this evening with Adams to discuss the desperate plight of the I.A.W.S. All day I had been working at a memorandum for the I.A.O.S. – a definite application to the Provisional Government for a grant – or grants.</p> <p>The news came that 400 IRA young men had occupied the Four Courts. The country is in a deplorable state & I begin to feel things must be <u>much</u> worse before the majority get arms & assert themselves.</p>
	15 Apr, Sat	<p>Wrote a long application to the Provisional Government for a grant for the I.A.O.S. Got a letter from R.A.A. with a criticism of the Economy Committee's Report. He condemns the grants from the Gov't, attributes to my use of the clerical staff the failure to</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
[Louis Botha, commander in chief of Boer forces, who worked for reconciliation with England after 1902 peace treaty.]		get money enough from the societies to be independent. He estimates a revenue of £15,000! In Dublin I get no news. But it is clear that we are drifting to disaster – to political chaos, social conflict & economic disaster. Oh for a Botha – or even a Napoleon!
Fr Dunsany, Lady Beatrice	16 Apr, Sun	John Dillon came to lunch & was really interesting with his political reminiscences. He had no hope of the present troubles passing soon. Authority political, social, religious & parental had perished for Ireland! Lloyd George he had known very intimately & described admirably. Courage, resource, amazing skill in dialectics – greatest politician of all time – but <u>false</u> . The papers were seized & burned at Harcourt St. so no news today!!
	17 Apr, Mon	Worked at IAOS practically all day. Shall I save it, I wonder.
	18 Apr, Tue	Lady Gregory left. All day again at I.A.O.S. The Economy sub-Committee met R.A.A. & me & we got a little nearer to facts. Monteagle & Keane dined & slept. Bennett dined. We had a good discussion on the future of the I.A.O.S.
	19 Apr, Wed	A long, fairly well attended, Exec C'tee meeting of the I.A.O.S. I went over the whole story of the Movement & the I.A.O.S. largely for the benefit of Blythe (Minister of Economic Affairs) a new member of the C'tee. R.A.A. was as sulky as ever. Harrison had written me a long letter (typewritten by Miss Curwen) saying R.A.A. was not drinking, that I had listened to malicious gossip & so forth. I replied curtly. After the meeting I sent a very frank letter I had written Ap[ril] 3rd to R.A. But the Committee sided entirely with me and what will happen God knows.
	20 Apr, Thu	As I expected a letter comes from Anderson resigning the Secretaryship of the I.A.O.S. Had hard IAOS work all day and am heading down again. Attended a meeting of the I.A. <u>W</u> .S. at Barbour's request. It is very badly on the rocks.
	21 Apr, Fri	Went with Keane by morning mail to Waterford & back alone by afternoon mail. Fr. Phelan presided over a representative agric'l coop meeting which I addressed with great earnestness at too great length and too subtly. I was very tired. I hope I did good.
	22 Apr, Sat	An emergency meeting of the Council of the Chamber of Commerce to decide what (if any) action should be taken to protest against the militarism threatening the country's very existence as a self supporting one. On Monday a general strike, ordained by the Sovietists, as a protest against militarism looks to the bourgeoisie a remedy worse than the disease. On Wed[nesda]y the Dail is to meet and decide whether, & if <u>yes</u> where, an election is to be held. I found the Council discussing platitudinous resolutions to be debated by the whole Chamber 10 days hence, the earliest consistently with the rules. I proposed scrapping the rules and holding the meeting <u>Tuesday</u> . I spoke with some warmth (& effect) & carried my point. <u>But</u> I shall have to speak! & may have my house burned.
	23 Apr, Sun	Spent the day discussing with the Fingalls the problem of Gerald and writing a short speech for Tuesdays meeting of the Chamber of Commerce.

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
	24 Apr, Mon	All day working with the Fingalls over the Gerald problem and at the speech on the state of the city for tomorrow. It was a one day strike as a protest against Militarism. No postal or railway work of any kind, no papers, no services other than milking. Even the owners of motors could not safely drive them themselves! Direct Action.
	25 Apr, Tue	The speech (less than 10 minutes) to the Chamber of Commerce was well received. It was far the best made, tho that's not saying much. I came out strongly for the Provisional Government. Father Finlay then came to Kilteragh & I delegated to him my I.A.O.S. functions. R.A.A. knowing that I was crossing to England tonight absented himself at Greystones so as to try and run the IAOS independently of me. The young Militarists are, I heard today, determined to carry things with a high hand, to out-Cromwell Cromwell.
	26 Apr, Wed	Meeting of the Pelton Colliery & Steamship Co. Lunched Walter at Reform Club where we met A.G. Gardiner. He is the most brilliant journalist, many think, of the day. He is bitterly opposed to Lloyd George. ∴ He cannot get a job! Worked most of the day writing to Gill, V. Nash, Gregan & Riddall, all about the I.A.O.S. To the last two about their salaries. They say they can't stand the reductions. Alas they are necessary.
[guinea pig – obsolete term for part-time or freelance professional charging in guineas (coin then worth 21 shillings)]	27 Apr, Thu	Bowes & Stella Gill – guinea pigging. Again! Hart Synnot lunched with me. Wrote again to Norman about I.A.O.S., to Heard about sundry matters, talked to A.D. Hall, dined with Mrs. Perceval. She told me a good deal about R.A.A.s alcoholic condition when staying with her last year.
	28 Apr, Fri	Wrote a very straight letter to R.A.A. who puts off & off answering the letters I write him on his management of the IAOS & himself (see Ap[ril] 4 & 20). Lunched Bullock & K Walter at Reform. Called on Tuohy of the N.Y. World, just back from Sicily. He tells me America is as sick of Ireland as is England. Supped with Olive Guthrie. Shane Leslie called in after dinner – as unstable as ever.
	29 Apr, Sat	At 4 A.M. woke in great pain in left lung. Could not get out of bed. When Curtain came sent for Dr. Morcom who ordered me to keep bed – I couldn't help it – & engaged day & night nurse. Temp 101.8. I was to have gone to Oxford with D. O'Brien, Smith Gordon & AD Hall for a meeting of the H.P. Foundation Trustees. Greatly disappointed. Pulse 96 Resp[irations] 24
	30 Apr, Sun	Great pain & discomfort. Curtain had wired Heard and he crossed last night – good luck. 100.4° Pulse 84, Resp 26. “Boss” Croker the Sunday papers report has died. Strange career.
	1 May, Mon	100.4° Still very poorly. But Smith Gordon & Dermot O'Brien both looked in & told me of the meeting at Oxford which seems to have been harmonious and fruitful.

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		Much worried still by Anderson who is scheming with Harrison, George O'Brien, his solicitor (one Cox whom I don't know) & a host of others to discredit my doubts as to his competence to run the I.A.O.S.!! He asks me to meet him with his solicitor & doctor.
	2 May, Tue	Doctor said I must not leave bed till I have been 48 hours normal temperature. Today I have been normal since 6 A.M.
	3 May, Wed	Doctor says I may get up at tea time tomorrow if my temperature remains, as now, normal. At 6 P.M. it went to 99.4°.
	4 May, Thu	Everything fairly good but a little blood in sputum – up 2 hours in bed room.
	5 May, Fri	Same as yesterday – up 7 hours in sitting Room. Daisy travelled by day from Ireland. Wrote to Fr. Finlay, Smith Gordon & Æ about R.A.s behaviour which is now mad & vicious. Also to James Byrne & Stuart Wortley about Gerald. Heard did most of the writing, I only signing.
	6 May, Sat	Very weak & unable to get out, though Heard, Daisy, Mrs. Willie & Tom all told of summer weather.
	7 May, Sun	Killeen came to town & I told him all about Gerald, in hopes that, when the latter comes home, there will be one more powerful influence trying to get him to undergo treatment in an institution for such cases. I suppose the chances of Gerald's being psysyologically [<i>sic</i>] immoral <u>and</u> curable are remote. But the boy must be redeemed if it be possible.
	8 May, Mon	Much better. Wrote several I.A.O.S. letters.
	9 May, Tue	A talk with Massingham at lunch (Reform Club) on Ireland. He is disgusted with the Irish & will I hope lead a British friends of Ireland protest against the anarchists. I subscribed through him £500 to the Russian famine relief – anonymously.
[probable reference to Isaiah 21:6-13]	10 May, Wed	Terrific rush and off to Royal Victoria Hotel, St. Leonards-on-Sea to recuperate – if possible to give up sleeping drugs. Daisy & the equally faithful Heard followed me to the train. James Murphy, stolid as ever, was at the Hotel. "The Aunts" Minnie & Henrietta were here, the former at the Convent, the latter in lodgings – not yet seen. It will be dull enough for sleep in the day – but what of the night, oh dreary watchman.
	11 May, Thu	A terribly depressing day. I must steadily get down on drugs & hope for my working strength back again.
	12 May, Fri	Bob Gradwell came back from Ireland & could tell me nothing. The country's downward drift continues.
	13 May, Sat	Frank Anderton turned up at the Hotel for the week-end. He is Chairman of the London County Council. His understanding of the problems of that vast municipality is of the haziest!
	14 May, Sun	Dull day with the Stonors, Gradwells, Frank Anderton, James Murphy & Minnie.
	15 May, Mon	Getting stronger. Wrote Fr. Finlay & Norman on I.A.O.S. affairs.
	16 May, Tue	Daisy came down to see me about Gerald. She had seen Maurice Craig – specialist in these cases – & he gave little hope. He

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		further said that “deportation” would bar the boy from other countries – e.g. Australia. So I cabled Byrne to this effect. The poor mother, she shows wonderful pluck in her troubles. K. Walter came on a visit.
	17 May, Wed	Walter a comfort. The I.A.O.S. troubles pursue me.
	18 May, Thu	Another quiet day with my dear friend Walter. But worried terribly by I.A.O.S.
	19 May, Fri	Walter left & I had a fit of the blues. The state of Ireland gets steadily worse. It will take a <u>very</u> big man to save the situation – and he is not in sight.
	20 May, Sat	Shan Bullock came to week-end.
	21 May, Sun	My big toe threatens again to become septic. Went with Bullock to a dull lecture on auto suggestion to which I hobbled in a boot and slipper as it was on the Pier opposite the Hotel.
	22 May, Mon	Had to go to a surgeon and have a very painful treatment for my ingrowing toe nail. Glorious weather & I am crippled.
	23 May, Tue	The surgeon today told me he would likely have to remove the big toe nail to save the toe. It will be exceedingly painful if he does. Ernest James called. He & Emily are ‘located’, for the remainder of their days, I should say, at Bexhill.
	24 May, Wed	A day in my room. The surgeon cannot yet say whether he will have to remove the toe nail.
	25 May, Thu	The surgeon decided that I must have the toe nail pulled out. It certainly gets no less painful and something had to be done. I decided to go into a Nursing Home – not on the sea front unhappily – I could only get a bed inland. Wrote many letters to intimates & went to the Sister Silverside’s (!) home. The usual nurses’ talk had to be endured.
	26 May, Fri	Under gas the surgeon tore the right toe nail out of the highly inflamed and septic toe. When I came to I realised that unlike the extraction of a tooth no nerve is killed but several are excruciated (too sick to get the right word). Walter came in the afternoon & was a great comfort.
	27 May, Sat	Painful still but subsiding. Dear Walter sat 3 or 4 hours with me.
	28 May, Sun	Pain still but the toe looks healthier. Ernest James called again. A delightful talker, but rather a blatant atheist! It is hard to believe that he is 77, but he is. The nurses guessed him 60.
	29 May, Mon	A bad night & the doctor said “frankly, I am disappointed” when he saw the toe inflamed and swollen more than yesterday. I began to fear losing the toe – another operation. Walter had to leave me.
[Horatio Bottomley, MP – perpetrator of a massive post-war ‘Victory Bond’ scam.]	30 May, Tue	Much better & I think the toe will mend all right. All day alone & rather depressed. Bottomley yesterday sentenced to 7 years penal servitude. His folly in robbing thousands of poor people when his abilities made it easy to get far more money than he could spend amazes me. It

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		can hardly be kleptomania – but what[?]
[<i>Tarda senectus</i> – slowly advancing old age]	31 May, Wed	<p>“<i>Tarda senectus</i>”. The toe still exuding pus, but also bleeding.</p> <p>Ernest James came & talked for a couple of hours. Queer, interesting creature.</p> <p>Winston Churchill told Parl’t (on the motion for adjournment for Whitsuntide) (1) that the Gov’t would adhere to the Anglo-Irish treaty (2) that if the Irish did not (which of course they won’t) we should see what we should see. That in substance was all he said in a long speech. The outlook is bad.</p>
[<i>anno-dominitis</i> – “inflammation of years”; old age]	1 Jun, Thu	<p>The doctor (who was at the Derby yesterday) came today. He said my toe was in the condition it should have reached 4 days ago. I suppose that is partly the pleurisy & still more the <i>anno-dominitis</i>.</p> <p>Walter came at night to help me to move to the Hotel tomorrow. Life in a nursing home – though this is a very good one – is a weariness of the flesh.</p>
	2 Jun, Fri	<p>Left the Nursing Home – quite the nicest I have been in – and returned to the Victoria Hotel. The toe at last can be put to the ground without pain.</p> <p>Walter went to Bexhill to see if I could be a paying guest at Ernest James’ house. But he reported that it would be very unrestful.</p>
[Normyl treatment – a liquid plant derivative intended to suppress dependence in 24 days.]	3 Jun, Sat	<p>Able to walk a little today. Ernest James called again. Walter left early. The doctor advised me to try the “Normyl” cure for morphia & I am going to give it a try beginning tomorrow. He did not think the amount I was taking would do me any harm – <u>but</u> it would lose its effect.</p>
	4 Jun, Sun	<p>A lonesome day. Began the “Normyl” cure for my morphia habit. The difficulty is that while I don’t take enough to hurt me, my health breaks down when I stop my small dosage. This cure is a herb tonic which you have to take <u>every</u> hour of the waking day!</p>
	5 Jun, Mon	<p>The nephew Tom came (chauffeured by May) to visit me. He has become sensible about Ireland, but has despaired of life being socially tolerable at Kilcooley. So he is enjoying himself in England – from a small house near Sloane Square & with a motor. The Boys are at school at Rottingdean.</p> <p>My toe is less painful & will now I hope gradually heal.</p>
	6 Jun, Tue	<p>A hard day at I.A.O.S. Wrote a letter of instructions to Norman and asked Fr. Finlay to see them carried out. N. is doing his best, but R.A.A. is of course over him.</p> <p>The toe troubles still. The doctor came and said it was much better looking. But it still expresses pus & gives lots of pain if I walk too much.</p>
	7 Jun, Wed	<p>Lonely & depressed. Asked Walter to come.</p>
	8 Jun, Thu	<p>Heard writes enclosing a threatening letter – probably from a servant or chauffeur he has sacked. It looks meant to scare. He laughs at it and so should I in ordinary times. But with every schoolboy armed with “automatics”, I am nervous. The</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		accusation is that he is an Englishman.
	9 Jun, Fri	Sixth day of my “Normyl” cure & I am pretty sick. Walter came to cheer me up.
	10 Jun, Sat	Painful boil on face. Blood all wrong.
	11 Jun, Sun	The James’ called. Rest of day in air mostly with Walter.
	12 Jun, Mon	Walter left me in a miserably depressed state after a bad night’s sleep. The boil on my face won’t heal – a mere symptom. Worse for the sleep is shy.
	13 Jun, Tue	Lunched & spent the afternoon with the James’ at Bexhill. A pleasant change.
	14 Jun, Wed	The doctor gave me my discharge for tomorrow. I asked him whether he thought I ought to give up my morphia if I can keep the dose down to 1 gr[ain] per diem. He said his experience was that <u>when</u> people restricted themselves to this <u>amount</u> , (which they seldom did) it did them no harm. I told him I was much better when I took this dosage and he advised me not to give it up unless I could also give up work, i.e. live an invalid life till the habit disappeared.
	15 Jun, Thu	Came to London. Arriving lunch time, went to Athenaeum & found Monteagle. After wrote to Smith Gordon sending him £3000 to pay off my guarantee of the I.A.O.S. overdraft. Supped with the Walters.
	16 Jun, Fri	Saw the “Dictaphone” and decided to buy one if I settle down in Ireland. Called on the Secretary of the Normyl Association (Run by Rev’d. Hugh B Chapman, Dean of the Chapel Royal) and she advised me to see Sir Maurice Anderson a physician (78 Portland Place W). Did so. He told me Normyl was no good for my small drug taking!! Advised me to undergo treatment under him for 3 weeks. He says mild substitute injections can get comfortably over the Morphia! He agreed that my dosage was too small for harm, but said it would inevitably cease to serve.
	17 Jun, Sat	Monteagle, Dorothy called early. Saw AD Hall who is (rather quickly) engaged to a Miss Beaver whom he met in Geneva where I think she was doing some of the League of Nations Committee’s staff work. Lunched with the Pope Hennessys. Adams came up later afternoon from Oxford & we had a good talk on Foundation and IAOS matters.
[“The Irish Constitution-Makers”, <i>Manchester Guardian</i> , 19 Jun, p. 6]	18 Jun, Sun	Sir Maurice Anderson (see 16th) explained to me his treatment for my morphia addiction. It seems rational. It is 3 weeks gradual reduction (in a <u>Hampstead</u> House) with “other injections”, probably strychnine. No bed period – reading & writing as I like & feel fit for & so forth. A continuance for a further 3 weeks of the substitute injections. Visited Eddie & Beatrice at Dunstall and “wrote an interview”(!) for the Manchester Guardian on the Irish Constitution. The situation as between England & Ireland seems to have improved, but the situation in Ireland after the British withdrawal (people will of course say because of it) is bound to be very critical for some time to come.
	19 Jun, Mon	By day mail to Kilteragh. Daisy came to sleep 2 nights en route to

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		London. Norman came too. Glad to get home. Slept on roof.
[Jeffries]	20 Jun, Tue	The Office & Finance C'tee for which I came over. Fr. F[inlay], Fr. Phelan, Smith Gordon, D. O'Brien self & the staff present. R.A. obstinate & disagreeable. But we stuck to the Economy Committee's report. Later a meeting of the Irish Homestead Ltd. Bankrupt of course! Dr. Gogarty came to call & Daisy & I went to dine with him to meet Jeffreys [<i>sic</i>] of the Daily Mail. Rashad an Egyptian and Monteagle dined at Kilteragh & we had to rush back. A hectic day.
	21 Jun, Wed	Lunched with Fingall to meet P A O'Farrell & wife (whom I had to ask for week end on acc't of his kindness to Gerald). A long talk with Moorhead on the Morphia. He strongly advises keeping it – <u>if</u> I can keep to 1 gr[ain] per diem. He disbelieves in Sir Maurice Anderson and wants me to try Cecil P. Smyly M.D. who practices hypnosis! I consented.
	22 Jun, Thu	Wrote a lot of letters & went in to the hypnosis man. But all night I had temperature (100.6°) the highest & in the day shivering. At dinner time I was put to bed by Pim acting at end of telephone for Moorhead. The apex of the left lung is stuck again & is very painful. News of the assassination of Sir Henry Wilson by two Irish Republicans in London came while I was attending a White Cross meeting at the Mansion House – to which came a deputation from the Belfast R.C.s. I don't think I have been shocked by Irish horrors nearly as much since the Phoenix Park murders.
[Omnopon – proprietary morphine analgesic]	23 Jun, Fri	Excellent night nurse saw me through a painful night. Temp 102.5 was the highest and there was a lot of pain. An Omnopon at 2 AM gave me some sleep. Letter from Lady Courtney approving highly my Manchester Guardian interview.
	24 Jun, Sat	Definitely diagnosed pneumonia at apex of left lung. Very annoying this new weakness – 4 lung attacks in two years. Two nurses to keep me in bed, I suppose.
	25 Jun, Sun	Still in bed.
	26 Jun, Mon	In bed.
	27 Jun, Tue	Up in study. Kit Robinson called. Professor Houston & Sir J Keane dined & we discussed future of I.A.O.S. Agreed that Æ's taking R.A.s place was the chance, if there was a chance, of salvation.
	28 Jun, Wed	Not at all as well as I had hoped today. Terribly depressed. The news from Dublin is bad. The Provisional Government are at last taking action to assert their authority. That's good. But the relative strength and military capacity of the <u>armed</u> people is unknown. Rory O'Connor is being besieged in the Four Courts today. Telephones out and news scanty.
	29 Jun, Thu	[No entry]
	30 Jun, Fri	The Four Courts capitulated this afternoon. Rory O'Connor has made a poor showing apparently. Probably the gunmen will keep

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		<p>at their damnable work a while longer, but I fancy the next trouble will be maladministration of an acute kind.</p> <p>De Valera has not been active as far as we know of late.</p> <p>News came that the Provisional Government had offered £5000 to the IAOS to be spent in the 26 counties. Nor must we spend sums, voluntarily subscribed in the 26 counties, in Northern Ireland. That is difficult, it looks like partition <u>in</u> the movement.</p>
	1 Jul, Sat	<p>The Republicans this morning burned the barracks & other houses in Cabinteely, the barracks & Coast Guard station in Bray. Went in to Dublin to look for Æ again. All quiet but preparations for a fight in the afternoon! Hope it will lead to the capture of de Valera who has taken over the command from Rory O'Connor now in gaol.</p> <p>Lady Leslie (Mrs. Jack that was) called looking very ill. She is convalescing at Monkstown. Invited her to Kilteragh & she will probably come in four days. She is tired of life & would but for her family "go out" she says.</p>
	2 Jul, Sun	<p>A very clever girl Dora Greene came to lunch, also Æ and Susan Mitchell. Miss Greene told us a lot of the fighting which is going on in Dublin. Nobody knowing that it is really all about – factions – passions (old, mostly) utter carelessness of onlookers. Women most extreme, children with the blood lust and so forth. She heard one woman cursing Rory O'Connor and wishing "the Blessed Virgin would take him to Hell with her". News came that Collins offered to let the irregulars give up their arms & occupied houses & go Scot free. But the fighting was going on later at night.</p>
	3 Jul, Mon	<p>Went again into Dublin. Searched three times at barricades.</p> <p>Wire from Mrs. Willie Jameson that Daisy had been operated on for "acute appendicitis", successfully. She is very healthy and strong – of amazing courage and please God she will be all the better for the operation. But a more awful tragedy to me than her predeceasing me I cannot conceive. I wired I would go over any time if wanted. Sent the news by wire to Fingall – no posts or telegraphs likely to be working in Meath – went to Kingstown & met Daisy & Mrs. Willie.</p> <p>When I left Dublin the machine guns were active. The papers (all censored & the English papers are forbidden to circulate in Ireland) say the conflict is near its end. I doubt it, except in Dublin.</p>
	4 Jul, Tue	<p>Had a talk with the Ld. Mayor & P Hogan Minister of Agriculture. The former was in the depths of despair about the future. Collins (whom he does not like) he thinks has good points – pluck & something more. Griffiths [<i>sic</i>] no good. Not a man in the new Dail worth anything.</p> <p>To Hogan (& Kevin O'Higgins who was with him) I expounded my agric'l policy. I think he will adopt it. Anyhow the Ministry of Agriculture have given the I.A.O.S. £5,000 in response to an application based entirely on my policy.</p> <p>Saw Leonie Leslie again. She was hopeless because all the young men in the country were simply marking time and not attempting</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		to do or learn anything. A gloomy day except for the talk with Hogan.
	5 Jul, Wed	In Dublin the burning goes on. The Free State Government has control of all publicity so that I hear read only one side. The discipline on both sides is so bad that anything may happen in the way of irresponsible action. I begin to fear a long drawn out guerilla war. Got Miss Skipworth out & did a bit of work for the I.A.O.S.
	6 Jul, Thu	Another very hard day at the I.A.O.S. Wrote a letter to the staff & another to the C'tee. Fr. Finlay blessed both. Saw R.A.A. who was very sulky.
	7 Jul, Fri	The situation has improved. The Free Staters are enrolling volunteers with the result that there will be far more gunmen for the Treaty than against it. I saw Fr. Finlay today and agreed with him about the whole policy of the I.A.O.S. I have sent quite a good letter to all the staff & gave a copy of it to Hogan. The agric'l policy of the Three Bidders will I think win out after all.
	8 Jul, Sat	R.A. objected to my letter to his staff. I left it with Fr. Finlay & if he approves I shall circulate it. It is one of the best cooperative homilies I have given to the Movement. The Smith Gordons came for the week end, glad to sleep in the country where the bullets snipers don't disturb the night.
	9 Jul, Sun	Gogarty & wife, Jack Leslie & Leonie, an American journalist, Lennox Robinson & Fr. Finlay and the Smith Gordons made an old time Kilteragh Sunday.
	10 Jul, Mon	At last settled the draft of the homily to the IAOS staff & ditto to the Committee. Attended meeting of Chamber of Commerce. Saw Sackville St. & Four Courts devastation. Subscribed anonymously (through Thomas Johnson in whose honesty I believe) £250 to the Dublin unemployed. Early in the morning 6 rebels came & "borrowed" my Minerva motor car, stole about £30 worth of tools &c and made the servants give them breakfast. I saw a Free State Commandant & suggested some attention to the Foxrock area which the Republicans loot at pleasure.
	11 Jul, Tue	A very hard day at I.A.O.S. Father Duffy (Padre in the Trenches of the Fighting 69th, Irish Regiment of New York) lunched with me in Dublin & came out to Kilteragh. By night mail to London.
	12 Jul, Wed	After rather a bad night did a big days work. Pelton Board, lunch with Walter, speech (impromptu) to Annual General Meeting of the A.O.S., long talk with Daisy who was cheery & plucky as ever after her operation for appendicitis. P.A. O'Farrell next for an hour, then supper with Hart Synnot at Athenaeum. Many letters.
[Wee Frees – anti-Lloyd George "Independent Liberals"]	13 Jul, Thu	Addressed the Wee Frees at a lunch at the House of Commons upon the state of Ireland. Was not optimistic – explained the plight of the young gunmen with no occupation but their guns, attributed the trouble to party use of the Irish Question by Unionists, Liberals (This Birrell took exception to) and Coalition. Advised them to leave Ireland alone except in Ulster where the

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		Gov't was substituting a neutral zone and an army of occupation for the Boundary Commission. The Wee Frees should oppose this.
	14 Jul, Fri	<p>Two Carnegie meetings at which I got Lennox Robinson and recommendations adopted & otherwise slept.</p> <p>Lunched with Dr. E J Dillon at Savoy. He was most interesting (& depressing) about the state of Europe. His knowledge of the dramatis personae is marvellous. Rothermere he says is a calamitous loss. He fears Russia will attack either Poland or Roumania & from either event a big war might come. His estimate of Lloyd George's is mine! The Treaty of Versailles L.G. admitted, & told the French, was unworkable.</p>
	15 Jul, Sat	<p>A talk with Londonderry about the IAOS in Northern Ireland. Think I persuaded him that the grant should be given. Discussed the general situation & he admitted that Irish unity must come somehow. The present state of Ulster Northern is evidently little better than that of Southern Ireland. Dined with Lady Courtney to meet the Sidney Webbs. Mrs. S.W. was sick & he was uncommunicative. He asked me to lunch tomorrow which I can't do. But I must see him as he is now Chairman of the Labour party.</p> <p>Consulted Hugh Wingfield, nerve specialist & great friend of Gerald Heard's about my morphine. He went thoroughly into the case & advised me to continue as long as I could keep down to 1 gr[ain] per diem of Heroin which he prefers to morphine.</p>
	16 Jul, Sun	<p>To Oxford in the morning. Hart Synnot & Mrs. Adams met me at the station & we went to Powder Hill where A L Smith & Prof'r. Merriman (whom I had met at Harvard) were waiting for us. I was clear on the Irish situation & interested them. Then Miss Hadow came & in the afternoon Gilbert Murray, Bridges (Poet Laureate) & John Masefield called to see me. It was all very refreshing. I think I helped forward the rural life work in my discussions with Adams & Miss Hadow.</p>
	17 Jul, Mon	<p>Early to London. Worked at IAOS affairs. Dined with AD Hall to meet his fiancée. She is not very attractive & I fear they may not get on. She is the modern woman in her views of matrimony & its obligations I should say. Hall saddened me by forecasting disastrous results for Adams' farming on Boers Hill.</p> <p>Gerald has returned from U.S.A. & wants to seek "fresh fields and pastures new". He talks (so his father tells me) of Australia.</p>
	18 Jul, Tue	<p>Jim Byrne and Gerald Plunkett turned up. The former very interesting on American & world affairs, the latter full of fairy tales about his exploits in America.</p> <p>Dictated a letter to Wedgwood Benn in the Nat Liberal Fed[eratio]n offices for circulation among the Wee Frees about Ireland.</p> <p>Dined with Lady Johnstone, Gifford Pinchot's brother sister.</p> <p>[large ink blot on page] Why can't they invent a fountain pen which does not suffer alternatively from constipation and diarrhoea?!</p>
	19 Jul, Wed	Work all day at Irish situation & I.A.O.S.

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
	20 Jul, Thu	Inspecting collieries all day. Very tired. I think I shall be able, when I give up this work, to be happy about one small part of it. I have always voted (and as Chairman of 2 companies used my influence) for good treatment of the workers.
	21 Jul, Fri	Chill & violent diarrhoea. Had to leave in the middle of the inspection of collieries.
	22 Jul, Sat	Still unwell but had to unveil a cenotaph & open a park, memorials of the Pelton Fell people who died in the war. With the help of Brandy & coffee I was able to address a thousand or so in the open air. They say I spoke well – the standard was not very high. Got away by 4.20 express to London.
	23 Jul, Sun	Very tired. Saw a good bit of Jim Byrne, Daisy, Fingall, Dalziel & lunched RS Gardiner & Gerald G. my godson.
	24 Jul, Mon	Wrote inviting Col. House to Kilteragh. Lunched Capablanca & Walter at Club & took former to see Daisy. With her I met Angelica Keenan's husband, who was a man of extraordinary commercial & industrial experience & knowledge. He worked at Munitions during the war & had 1,000,000 workers under him. Jim Barnett his name. Invited him to lunch tomorrow & asked Walter & RS Gardiner to meet him. In afternoon called on Harry Dooley & wife (daughter of Senator Hitchcock) introduced of course by Conrad Young. Asked them also to Kilteragh – if safe when they can come.
	25 Jul, Tue	Decided that I must go back to Ireland this week. The I.A.O.S. situation in Ulster is critical. If we don't get a proportionate grant from the Northern Gov't the Ulster end of the movement will die. R. Wilberforce turned up from New York. I wrote to Mamie about Gerald & hope all will go well for a while. Saw Delbos also who knew of none of Gerald's bad steals.
	26 Jul, Wed	Very sick night and starved through the day. Called on Ella Simeon one of my very few relative contemporaries. Saw Jim Byrne off to France at Waterloo.
	27 Jul, Thu	Wrote Lowell, Godkin, Monteagle (who won't get my letter) and some others. Left for Ireland by night mail. Crowded as in normal times (with holiday makers?!).
	28 Jul, Fri	Busy day. Did not see R.A.A. but learned from Norman, Fr. F[inlay], J Adams, Æ & others of his worsening (mental) condition. All looks very black.
	29 Jul, Sat	Saw R.A. & he as sulkier than ever. Had Norman out for supper. The I.A.O.S. is in terrible difficulties. Shortly after midnight I was awakened by a volley of "automatic" shots fired round the house. I had gone to sleep with my light burning and before I had collected my senses Heard came up with the news. He had heard some one working on the library window below his room. He came down & a shot was fired through the window as he opened the Library door. He went to the drawing room door to the veranda & saw one or more (he is not clear as to the number) figures running. He fired his automatic & that was the chief firing that was done. It was pure looting I think.

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
	30 Jul, Sun	<p>Senator Phelan (with 3 fellow travellers) & J.S. Cullinan (with wife & 3 daughters) for lunch & afternoon. P. is an influential Californian Irish American. I talked at great length upon the Irish situation & the right American-Irish attitude thereto. Emphasised need for accurate knowledge & commented on total ignorance of the Ulster difficulty and of the Dominion alternative to Republican solution. Took great trouble – opened Champagne, delighted the girls & the senator with my garden golf course – and I think left a good impression, besides doing not a little education. Gogarty looked in for tea and helped not a little. What I want some rich American to do is to supply capital enough to re-start the Irish Statesman.</p>
	31 Jul, Mon	<p>The I.A.O.S. – a good working day on. Agreed to supply £250 to keep the IAOS Laboratory (under Prof'r. Houston) alive. Heard from Barbour that he was going to give up the I.A.W.S. as hopeless & wrote hoping he would stick to the I.A.O.S.</p>
	1 Aug, Tue	<p>More work at I.A.O.S. I think I have done all that is possible to save it from R.A.'s disastrous scheming to save his personal position.</p> <p>Senator Phelan entertained Fr. F[inlay] & Æ (both of whom I suggested) Prof'r. Magennis T.D., Gogarty, P.A. O'Farrell, 2 Priests and a few miscellaneous people including a McCarthy [<i>sic</i>] (correspondent of The Times) at a dinner at Shelbourne. From cocktails to liqueurs (all done as a millionaire Senator who had voted for prohibition alone could do it), the innumerable speeches, each preceded by a banality from the host & so forth. I sweated over my remarks. I spoke first & concentrated on Ulster & Unity. All agreed. But Magennis who (like the good wine in the parable) was kept till last & resented it, denied that there was an Ulster question.</p> <p>On way in badly injured my Morris Oxford (brought out to take me in) trying to avoid a collision with a car which I was going to "overtake" when it crossed my bows to go down the Booterstown Ave without warning. A passing car took me in. Got a motor lorry to fetch the car & was in time for the dinner. Gogarty drove me back after midnight.</p>
<p>[Staines – soon to be first Commissioner of Civil Guard, <i>An Garda Síochána</i>] [Duggan – Minister of Home Affairs]</p>	2 Aug, Wed	<p>Went to tea with Gogarty to meet again the Californian Senator. Saw one Michael Staines who is in some military position. Advised him to have a guard at Foxrock & Carrickmines Stations. He liked the idea. O'Farrell and his crowd were there. Was introduced to Duggan, a Cabinet Minister, who looked a tenth rate Tammany politician. Tired after yesterday.</p>
	3 Aug, Thu	<p>The Fingalls arrived with Gerald! Spent the day at I.A.O.S. The task of saving it gets more & more difficult.</p>
	4 Aug, Fri	<p>Worked at I.A.O.S. hard. Then took my small car to Foxrock, conveying George Berkeley for a dine & sleep. He has a longing to help in solving the Irish difficulty poor fellow. I played garden golf & chess with him & found him better at both than at politics.</p> <p>The Republicans heard that my car was at home & spent an hour trying to start it. My chauffeur had cleverly put it out of action. He had to explain how I managed an hour before to drive it from Dublin & why it took sick so suddenly in the garage. To satisfy</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		the armed chauffeurs he erected a sort of pagoda of lies – tier above tier – so complicated that it is hard to remember. I hope I shall stand cross examination on the story if called upon.
[Patrick Walsh]	5 Aug, Sat	<p>Packed off the Fingalls in a taxi, which hauled my “broken down” car into the Dublin garage. Went to see Commandant Staines in the H.Q. in Henry St. He was away. His deputy Welsh [<i>sic</i>] received me with friendliness and I told him of the car incident. Also that the charwoman, who comes in on Sat[urda]ly morning, had brought the report that my house was to be burned tonight. Urged again the occupation of Foxrock & Carrickmines stations. Lunched at Kildare St Club where Robinson told me he had been visited & asked for his car with a revolver pointed at his forehead. He put his hand in his (empty) pocket & refused to give the car. The raiders thereupon said they did not want it!</p> <p>J. Clerc Sheridan came for week-end. He is an Irishman from South Africa & bears a letter from Smuts advising Irishmen to listen to his words of wisdom on Dominionism. He seems very nice & well informed.</p>
	6 Aug, Sun	A peaceful Sunday with Sheridan who is very interesting on Constitutional matters.
	7 Aug, Mon	Bank holiday – cold N.E. wind – not a gleam of sunshine. Went into Dublin with Heard & Sheridan & the people were as cheery as they always are when there is any excuse. Today it was a holiday from unemployment (for that’s all it is for most of the population). Only one shot heard in Dublin – the day is not over at Foxrock yet.
	8 Aug, Tue	James Adams came from Belfast for the night. Had Æ & Norman to meet him & we had a pow-wow over the I.A.O.S. and the Ulster Government’s relations with the I.A.O.S.
	9 Aug, Wed	Wrote a long letter to Barbour on the I.A.W.S. Instructed Sheridan on my agricultural policy. A good day’s work though little to show for it.
	10 Aug, Thu	I.A.O.S. various. Delightful letter from G.B.S. which I have put into the autobiographic pile.
	11 Aug, Fri	Still the IAOS is my daily round. R.A.A. now sees that he is beaten in his policy vs mine and is concentrating on the I.A.W.S. There he may do something as all concerned (its own & the other Banks) are anxious to save it from a smash.
	12 Aug, Sat	I.A.O.S. & half holiday. Arthur Griffiths [<i>sic</i>] died this morning. A terrible loss as he was not a gunman.
[Oliver – Ld. Killeen]	13 Aug, Sun	<p>Miss Stewart, daughter of a (supposedly) wealthy Canadian R.C. came with Oliver for the Horse Show. Sent taxi for them. The blackguards who tried to get my car immediately came & “borrowed” it. Smith Gordon came to lunch & we had a heart to heart talk with him. He is disgusted with all things Irish – especially the character!! I begged him not to go without giving me notice.</p> <p>Heard decided to take a holiday in London & I lent him the flat. He is tired and awkward as it is to be without his help just now – tonight the gunmen are hiding in my young plantations – I was glad to get him a real rest from a rather worrying job.</p>

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	14 Aug, Mon	<p>The party went to Leopardstown Races. I looked in but could not stand it. With Arthur Griffith lying in state in the Mansion House, pseudo-military operations in the South and very real chaos and brigandage everywhere, with Europe reacting to the unprincipled cleverness of Lloyd George – I have no heart for these frivolities.</p> <p>I miss my admirable secretary already.</p>
	15 Aug, Tue	<p>Horse Show which I did not attend. Heard at Gogarty's that some fools had mentioned me to succeed Griffiths [<i>sic</i>]. I had better die some other way – e.g. working at the problem “how to make a country dependent upon agriculture prosper with a people who are not farmers” – or shall I amend it & say “not cooperators”?</p>
	16 Aug, Wed	<p>Went with Fingall to the Pro Cathedral for Griffith's funeral service. How do the clergy justify the enormous distinction betw'n the poor and unknown Christian and the rich or high placed?? The Requiem Mass and the funeral procession were both done with marvellous efficiency & dignity. The Irish were seen at their best.</p> <p>R.A.A. had the Senior Organisers up for a conference. He evidently did not want me to attend it but I did for a short time.</p>
	17 Aug, Thu	<p>A rush into Dublin to do the Horse Show and a bit of IAOS work. Then brought John Dillon out to Kilteragh for lunch. I had asked him to give me the reply to two questions (1) Did he & Redmond advise the Gov't not to lay Carson by the heels in 1912–14[?] (Answer yes. No jury, unless packed with Nationalists would have convicted him) and (2) What was the truth about Lloyd George's 1916 attempted Irish settlement[?] Did he promise Carson that partition should be permanent & Redmond that it should be temporary? J.D., of course, only knew what L.I.G. said to Redmond & him. Dillon was asked by Redmond to go with him to L.I.G. (then Minister of Munitions) when the proposal was first made. He (D) made two cond[itio]ns that L.I.G. accepted – (1) The Partition settlement was to be for the period of the war only, after which Ireland was to be in the position she occupied under the 1914 Act. (2) Full representation of Ireland in Commons to be retained till after war settlement. L.I.G. pledged his personal honour to this & said he would resign if the Gov't went back on it. When Lansdowne objected to retention of Irish members & the Gov't yielded[,] L.I.G. (then Minister of War) & Herbert Samuel sent for Redmond & Dillon & told them the Gov't had decided to alter the terms in accordance with Lansdowne's protest & they must obey!! Later Carson asked Asquith a supplementary question – Will it require an Act of Parliament to bring Ulster into an All Ireland Parl't[?] Asquith answered “Yes”.</p>
	18 Aug, Fri	<p>The Kirks went to England, the Fingalls to Killeen, taking Oliver, Gerald & Miss Stewart.</p> <p>I presided over I.A.O.S. Committee meeting at which I had to fight for my policy. R.A. had for the two previous days schemed with the staff to urge the Committee to keep him on as Secretary. Adams came up from Ulster to get instructions about Barbour's & his agreement with the Northern Government for a grant on conditions similar to those of the Provisional Gov't but with the added restriction upon all technical services.</p>

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		<p>J. Clerc Sheridan came back again to Kilteragh.</p> <p>Ten armed (with Rifles) Republicans came to look for my cars and hung about to get the money my steward pays to the men on Fridays.</p>
<p>[<i>nous verrons</i> – we shall see]</p>	<p>19 Aug, Sat</p>	<p>Last night Henry Robinson's House was attacked. He & Kit defended it for 3 or 4 hours & capitulated finally to the petrol threat. The blackguards, some half dozen or more raided, but took little.</p> <p>Another meeting of the Office & Finance C'tee. R.A. retired to let the staff tell us how indispensable he was to the I.A.O.S. Clifford was chief spokesman. I replied with complete frankness – except on the alcohol. A row was narrowly averted but the staff saw my point & in the end strongly advocated Æ's succession to R.A. Norman they would work for. But Fr. Finlay & I agree that Norman would be better in other work – educating young men in cooperative theory & practice.</p> <p>G.B.S. & wife came in the evening and Lady Lavery brought Michael Collins to supper. This was my first talk with the Commander in Chief of the Army of the Provisional Government. He is an interesting personality. Too fat, but virile. 32 years old. Forcible, direct, simple & yet cunning. A bit crude (perhaps due to shyness) in the expression of his views. I got in my economic (agricultural) ideas and, I think, at last got the unprotected condition of the district attended to. <i>Nous verrons</i>. It was a hard but interesting – perhaps fruitful – day. Would I were even ten years younger.</p> <p>Collins said one thing which was significant. "After we get over the present trouble we shall have to fight Bolshevism." He took a risk in coming here without an escort. I fear he is too careless of his life. His car was bombed only yesterday when, luckily, he was not in it.</p>
<p>[Archbp. James Duhig]</p> <p>[Both letters reprinted in <i>IH</i>, XXIX:30 (26 Aug), pp. 530-1]</p>	<p>20 Aug, Sun</p>	<p>Sir John & Lady Lavery, The Gogartys, Cosgrove [<i>sic</i>], (Minister of Home Affairs) The R.C. Archbishop of Brisbane, the Bernard Shaws, Lennox Robinson, Monteagle, J. Clerc Sheridan made the best of Kilteragh Sundays. Early we went to poor Henry Robinson's house. The party of raiders fired a good deal through the windows, always upwards to the ceilings. A national army guard was in possession. Then Lennox Robinson typed two letters in defence of the I.A.O.S. against an attack in the Freeman's [sic] Journal] of 18th – one by Clerc Sheridan, the other by G.B.S., both first rate. At lunch good discourse all round. Cosgrove [<i>sic</i>] seemed a nice fellow & I expounded my agric'l policy to him. In our short talk he agreed with me upon (1) the vital importance of this policy, (2) the necessity of taxing the land & (3) the difficulty which labour will present in reconstruction. On the whole yesterday & today were not without hope for the future. But the outlook must be gravely anxious for many a year.</p> <p>G.B.S. left by night for London.</p>
	<p>21 Aug, Mon</p>	<p>I.A.O.S. all the morning. R.A.A. disagreeable. Agreed that he should go to I.A.W.S. & no appointment to secretaryship should be made till next C'tee meeting.</p> <p>Sir John Lavery came to see Æ & told me he wanted to paint me.</p> <p>Daisy came back to Kilteragh. G.B.S.s & Sheridan's letters in the</p>

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		Freeman on the IAOS part very helpful.
	22 Aug, Tue	<p>At 5 A.M. there was a terrible fusillade at Henry Robinson's House – machine gun, rifle & revolver. Daisy came up to my aerie on the roof in her 'nightie' as calm & brave as any man of my acquaintance. She also soothed Mrs. G.B.S. & the maids! I heard at noon that a few shots were fired at the house & the "garrison" (a few young soldiers) fired into the plantations without seeing anybody! It is nerve wracking to be waked up by such a pandemonium.</p> <p>Harold Barbour came & I think I cheered him about the agric'l cooperative situation. I think if I stick to my own work I may have considerable influence upon the agric'l policy of the Gov't.</p>
	23 Aug, Wed	<p>Collins dead in an ambush in Co Cork – a stunning blow. Griffiths [<i>sic</i>] perhaps would not have got on with Collins – Collins might have got on without Griffiths [<i>sic</i>]. But there is no other above the horizon. Poor, ill starred Ireland. What an awful beginning of her deliverance!</p> <p>Dined with the Gogartys to meet Cosgrave, acting President, who did not turn up! But I called on him at the Gov't offices after & had a fairly good talk. My chief object was to interest him in the I.A.O.S., the National Land Bank – or rather its manager Smith Gordon – & if possible to get protection for the Foxrock district which is still haunted by banditti. With the Gogartys dined John McCormack the great Irish tenor & his wife. Mrs. Gogarty was terribly grieved for poor Collins. She had looked after him in her house all the time he was "on the run" & while he was in danger of assassination since.</p>
	24 Aug, Thu	<p>Rushed in to do some IAOS work & back for lunch. John McCormack & wife came & spent afternoon. He is of the build & type of Collins, but coarser. Fingall came up to discuss whether we should go to the funeral. He says we made ourselves conspicuous at Griffith's funeral, & were criticised by our class. But Collins was a gunman & if he did not (as Carson asserted in the Lords he did) kill people with his own hand, he must have been privy to the assassination of the police and secret service officers in 1919–20. My view is that these things are due to be forgotten now. Collins has been highly praised by H.M. Gov't for the way he behaved in the making of the Treaty. Certainly he is better than the Republican leaders.</p>
	25 Aug, Fri	<p>Morning at I.A.O.S. At lunch had talk with Tom (on way to Scotland) who brought bad news from Kilcooley. Bolshevism was the note of it all. He has not yet been raided badly but thinks his house may be burned at any minute. In Thurles the popular view was that the Free Staters have failed – that they cannot govern the country. He thinks the people will turn to de Valera. Had talk with Sir Bryan Mahon about what our class should do to defend what is left of us & our property & what he as a soldier might do.</p> <p>Meeting (badly attended) of Council of Chamber of Commerce to pass a resolution about Michael Collins. I helped – but Lord what people to move to action!</p>
	26 Aug, Sat	<p>Smith Gordon came, the Fingalls, Gerald & Sheridan left.</p> <p>Bridges betw'n here & Bray on the R[ailwa]y broken by</p>

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		irregulars. Many signs of a coming time of chaos.
	27 Aug, Sun	James Douglas came to lunch & Æ. Douglas is a Quaker, whom every one respects & trusts. He is clear headed, was in with the Sinn Feiners in their fight against the English & with the Free Staters after the truce, peace & inevitable split. He was on the Committee which drafted the Constitution. Considering his position, I think he is very modest. He told me that his fear for the immediate future was based upon the unwillingness of the gunmen (I forget how he described the powers that be) to take in anyone from the outside, and many of those who would be tolerated (e.g. himself) could not afford to act without substantial remuneration & assured terms of office. But neither of these could be guaranteed without the beneficiary losing his influence!
	28 Aug, Mon	A sad day. Went to Pro Cathedral. Poor Collins had the biggest funeral I have seen. And the grief was wide & genuine, the vast crowd were marvellously self-disciplined & till I left Dublin (3.15) no shot or bomb was heard. Met Fingall, who had heard two rumours (1) Erskine Childers fired the shot which killed Collins (2) E.C. had been shot. Probably not a word of truth in either but symptomatic. I look for bad times – very bad. At Foxrock P.O. heard that a neighbour Mr Jack Jones who lives close to Henry Robinson’s house was shot by a raider on Saturday & is dying. I am amazed that I have been so little molested.
	29 Aug, Tue	<p>Michael MacWhite, Schoolfellow and 20 years intimate friend of Griffith who sat next me & was introduced to me in the Pro Cathedral yesterday called on me at Plunkett Ho[use] by appointment today. He is living at Geneva where he is “Délégué du Gouvernement Irlandais en Suisse”. He told me that the members of the League of Nations are almost all anxious to have Ireland in because she “had no axe to grind” and would bring in America. I am to see him again, but he he [<i>sic</i>] told me many interesting things e.g. the Minister representing Czecho-Slovakia was keen about a Commercial Treaty with Ireland. His country had sugar to sell. I asked what Ireland could give in exchange & he did not know.</p> <p>Asked James Douglas to find out whether the Gov’t could use Col. House (whom I should see on Thursday) in negotiations betw’n the Free Staters & Repub[lican]s.</p> <p>Lionel Curtis & Mr. AW Cope – the last remnant of “the Castle” in the days of the Black & Tans supped on the way to the boat. I was too busy to talk to them for there had come a first cousin of my old Eton friend Jack Leahy who had inherited his property at Killarney & wanted me to advise him whether he should stay in the country or go.</p>
	30 Aug, Wed	<p>To Dublin for clerical help in correspondence. Met James Douglas whom I had asked to find out whether House could help in mediation betw’n Free Staters & Republicans or betw’n the 26 & 6 counties. All afraid to make any such move.</p> <p>The station master at Foxrock was robbed of £40 last night.</p>
	31 Aug, Thu	A full day. Adams came up from Oxford to help me to draft an agreement betw’n possible contributors of (say) \$250,000. ⁰⁰ and an Irish Committee to run a “highbrow” 6 ^d weekly to be called (say) “The Irish Statesman” for 5 years with a possible loss of the

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		<p>whole capital, the purpose being to give to the Irish people – ADVICE!! But it is to be the best counsel that can be assembled from the Irish at home and abroad for Irishmen & friends of Ireland.</p> <p>Then to Col. House who told me interesting things about Europe & America. Ireland should be in League of Nations for every the same reasons MacWhite (see Tuesday) mentioned and for the third reason that she might bring Germany in. (Bonn later told me that Germany would only come in if there was no opposition at home caused by ill treatment by France or other power and if she got an equal status with other powers). For the three reasons all hope Ireland will quickly ratify the Treaty with England. In the 1920 election the Irish in America were against the League because Wilson had not helped them in their struggle with England & the League was regarded as a British suggestion. His party lost more votes over the League than over anything else. Breckenridge Long who had been beaten for Senatorship of Missouri begged House to ask me to get the Irish to ratify!</p> <p>At lunch met Vanderlip who has been all over Europe. He is in despair of government finance & sees nothing but Revolution ahead. Proletariat standard better, middle & professional classes ruined and no hope of budgets which will balance. I asked him for the remedy & he had none beyond re-writing history – undoing Versailles. Dined with Cullinan & his four women. He said (confidentially) he would put up \$50,000 to my Irish Statesman redivivus scheme. He wants me to go to America to promote it!</p>
[French premier Raymond Poincaré]	1 Sep, Fri	<p>Early to House again to listen to a conference betw'n him & Bonn. Both agreed no European settlement possible yet. Poincare insists on terms Germany simply can't accept. Bonn said the biggest difficulty was Germany's exports being only ½ her imports which are about 8 billion gold marks. Also private business is paralysed by the sympathy betw'n private & public credit. The stabilisation of the Mark was the only solution – but how was it to be done?</p> <p>Lady Lavery called – took me to Sir John's studio where she showed me a portrait of the dead Collins. She drove me about in her motor & we had much talk about her Irish experiences. She told me L.G. always liked Collins & would have met him any time. I asked her why Carson's statement in the Lords that Collins had killed 3 men with his own hand had not been challenged. She did not know. Collins liked Mulcahy, O'Higgins & Hogan best among his associates but did not have a high opinion of most of them! I promised to keep her informed from time to time of Irish happenings.</p> <p>Dined with Mrs. Norman Grosvenor to meet the Bonns. More gloomy talk.</p>
	2 Sep, Sat	<p>More talks with Bonn, who was no less gloomy over the future of Europe. Lunched the gloomy Bullock at Club, where met H.G. Wells. To the latter I explained the Irish situation. He was very friendly and of course understanding. He has a contempt for the later behaviour of the Irish which I tried to allay by throwing some of the responsibility upon the British Government (Coalition). Long talk with Lady Leslie, with whom Lady</p>

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		<p>Algernon Lennox, upon the I.Q. Then to Mrs. Gifford Pinchot in her nursing home where she explained to me Gifford's & her political pos[ition]. They had spent \$130,000 on the campaign which ended in smashing (temporarily?) the Pennsylvania machine. But if he does well he may be the Presidential candidate in 1924 or 1928. The White House is surely a worthy ambition! Col. House told me he would have voted for Gifford against a Democrat if he had been a Pennsylvanian. That shows a political importance which I should not have thought Gifford possessed, though it is his due.</p> <p>Col. House called on me at Mount St. with Governor Cox (Democratic nominee 1920) before I left for the night mail.</p>
	3 Sep, Sun	<p>Arrived with J.S. Cullinan who is going to spend most of the week interviewing the Irish Free State leaders & who spent the day at Kilteragh. Found the Percevals, Daisy & Smith Gordon. We devoted our united energies to the education of C. for the part he is to play in Irish reconstruction. This consists chiefly in paying his share of the money required to restart the Irish Statesman</p> <p>Heard that the successors of Collins are determined to clean up the looting business with a ruthlessness which may be the only real kindness.</p>
	4 Sep, Mon	Not feeling well – did nothing & took lots of time about it.
	5 Sep, Tue	Felt poorly and took a complete rest. Ran in to Dublin with Perceval & Heard & saw over Christ Church cathedral, H's knowledge of architecture being amazing. Also saw T.C.D. Library. Daisy left. Saw Cullinan & Sheridan in town. Former pleased with the Irish Gov't; latter appalled at their ignorance.
	6 Sep, Wed	I.A.O.S. and a dinner at Gogarty's to meet Dean ?McAlpin of Connemara, Ryan of Philadelphia (who had entertained me there over 30 years ago as Pres of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, I think) & a few others.
	7 Sep, Thu	<p>In the morning saw Cosgrave about the Gov't's attitude to the National Land Bank, on which depends the availability of Smith Gordon for work in which I am interested. He told me that S.G. was suspect in some quarters. I asked what about & he did not know! Probably all there is to it is that he did not see his way to accommodate some gunman on the security offered. I discussed the Irish Statesman revival project. There too the usual cowardice came out. The Gov't would have to be very careful how it approved of it & so forth.</p> <p>Cullinan was entertained by the Ministers at a lunch at Shelbourne. I was asked & went. Sat next Cosgrave, with Desmond Fitzgerald (Publicity) on other side. Next to him Walsh (P[ost].M[aster].G[eneral]. – "cheap goods") opposite Blythe ("Economic Affairs") & Hayes, Education. They were obviously rewarded politically for with administrative posts for military & political (anti British) services. Cosgrave had admitted in the earlier conversation that this was so. But he said we shall get over ?that ?soon.</p> <p>Then Cullinan came out for tea & supper & I clinched the Irish Statesman project as far as he is concerned. After he left I</p>

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		finished a draft letter for him to take to America.
To Cullinan, J.S.(IRS) [Association]	8 Sep, Fri	Up betimes & finished the letter to Cullinan. Took it to Kingstown by 8.30 A.M. in Smith Gordon's car. Had a cordial farewell. Then back to Kilteragh where I worked at my letters to Cullinan, John Quinn etc. Wrote in afternoon many letters on the Irish work. To supper came Lena Long, sent over by Lady Aberdeen to work at the Women's National Health Council [<i>sic</i>] etc. She was a bright, stout spinster – all common sense & I should say efficiency.
	9 Sep, Sat	Tried to rest. The party went to Dublin to see the new Dail open its proceedings. They were not edified. At night we heard of the new ministry. Cosgrave (Finance) John MacNeill (Education) Hogan (Agriculture) & Mulcahy (Defence) seemed the best of a moderate lot.
	10 Sep, Sun	A quiet Sunday. Padraig Colum & Mrs. J R Green called. I had two sun baths & hope I am getting redder blood. Perceval left.
	11 Sep, Mon	Postal strike. Two meetings of the Council of Chamber of Commerce about it. Sheridan left.
	12 Sep, Tue	Smith Gordon left after a longish stay in which I got to know & like him. Spoke at a meeting of Chamber of Commerce on Postal Strike. Was in bad form. Sir Ralph Coote came to supper and I had a good cooperative talk.
	13 Sep, Wed	Not well. At night Lady Gregory came. I don't know her age – she must be near or past 70. She is as vigorous and <u>calm</u> as ever.
	14 Sep, Thu	Sick with diarrhoea & sore throat. Did nothing except attend advisory C'tee of Carnegie Trustees. Hutcheson Poe, Lyster, Dermot O'Brien & Æ present.
	15 Sep, Fri	Sick idle day. Went to see Curtain at the Hospital & got a boil on my neck dressed. Mary Perceval left by night mail. A good soul & I was very glad to give her pleasure.
[In Smyrna (now Izmir) Turkish troops sacked the city, killing thousands of Greeks and Armenians.]	16 Sep, Sat	The postal strike still savage! Sniping going on merrily in Dublin. The ghastly news of the burning of Smyrna makes our troubles seem light. But the steady demoralisation of our young men portends awful consequences for many a long day. George Fletcher came out to see me & I discussed with him the future of Technical Instruction in Ireland. Will they build on the foundations I helped to lay? He is getting bored & evidently meditates leaving Ireland before it is too late to get work the other side of the Irish Sea.
	17 Sep, Sun	Another quiet Sunday after a night (for me who slept on the roof) disturbed by a battle for a Police Barracks in Killiney. Moorhead & wife, Æ, Lady Gregory, Fletcher wife & two boys & McGreevy made the afternoon party.
(Fr Cullinan, J.S. to Doheny, E.L.; IRS)	18 Sep, Mon	Letters – very few & old – came. Lunched with Fingalls to meet MacMahon & Dr. Duhig (Archbp. of Brisbane) at Shelbourne. MacM. thought the new Gov't doing well. Nasty boil on neck makes me rather miserable.

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	19 Sep, Tue	Saw Moorhead who told me that my boil was a very bad carbuncle (which he explained is a nest of boils!). He tried sucking its contents out with an air pump – in vain. Sent a night nurse to dress it all night. Felt weak & ill. John A Poynton came to Kilteragh for a dine & sleep only. He may help with the revival of the Irish Statesman when he goes back to N.Y. Sat[urda]y.
	20 Sep, Wed	Moorhead decided not to have the carbuncle operated on, but violently squeezed it. He admitted it was much more painful than having a tooth out & so it was – especially after the process.
	21 Sep, Thu	Another squeeze of the carbuncle – excruciating but effective. Its size very reduced. Got a cable from Cullinan from N.Y. saying that Doheny would cooperate in the Irish Statesman project. Blanche Ponsonby had a stroke & I was too sick to be of much use. I sent a long wire to Tom.
	22 Sep, Fri	After a good night the carbuncle was less painful, until Moorhead again violently squeezed it. Yeats came in the evening – his wife following tomorrow.
	23 Sep, Sat	Another violent squeezing of the carbuncle and sickening pain. Yeats told me his father once said “A woman will suppress herself all her life, but no woman can control herself”. This was a propos the part taken in Ireland by the women of whom Con Markievicz, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, & Miss MacSwiney are types. Blanche Ponsonby died.
	24 Sep, Sun	A rest from the torture of the Moorhead “squeeze treatment”. Came out the Colums, James Douglas, Dermod O’Brien, Æ & the Hansons. Good discourse. Got Douglas’ consent to help on the governing body of the Irish Statesman – if the project is guaranteed. Wrote to Ld. French & Smith Gordon about it. Douglas had a long talk with me on the Constitution – or rather on the clause relating to the selection of the executive (cabinet). It is an ingenious attempt to avoid the party system as well as the evils of the group system.
	25 Sep, Mon	Yeats’ left.
	26 Sep, Tue	Day by day I go to Moorhead & he looks at the carbuncle. Then back to Kilteragh where Heard & Lennox Robinson do the best they can for me. I am very sick & the country goes from bad to worse. Meanwhile my health declines & I cannot help. Tomorrow I am to have a consultation [with] Sir Wm. de Courcy Wheeler surgeon, supplementing Moorhead’s wisdom in the treatment of carbuncles!
	27 Sep, Wed	The Consultation. Verdict. I must go to bed at once & have a day as well as a night nurse to dress the horrid thing. Some modifications of the treatment but no surgery. So sick was convinced I must give in. I wonder how much of my life I have spent in bed beyond my not excessive normal sleep hours? Gogarty came to see me. He is a good weathercock & tells me he is going to live in England!

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	28 Sep, Thu	Bed all day.
	29 Sep, Fri	Ditto
	30 Sep, Sat	Ditto. Dorothy came & Daisy
	1 Oct, Sun	<p>Bed all but an hour in study. Monteagle, J C Sheridan, Mrs. Martin, Mary Spring Rice & Æ came.</p> <p>Alice also came for 24 hours only. She gave me a sad account of affairs in her district. The Republicans are in control chiefly. The Transport Workers are the second power & the Free Staters the third! She asked me whether she was justified in keeping on friendly terms with the Republicans (whom she tells frankly they are in the wrong) since they have befriended her in her helpless condition. I had no hesitation in telling her to be friendly with those who protected her so long as she was honest about her views.</p>
	2 Oct, Mon	Half day up.
	3 Oct, Tue	Up but not out. Very weak.
	4 Oct, Wed	Struggled out. Weak & giddy. Insomnia only kept off by drugs. I shall have to undergo hospital treatment, giving Wingfield a chance.
	5 Oct, Thu	The pain I have gone through with this carbuncle has forced me to increase the Morphia & I shall have to go into a nursing home soon to reduce the dose or cut it out.
	6 Oct, Fri	Sick & did nothing.
	7 Oct, Sat	<p>In to town to see Moorhead & he said the carbuncle had healed in record time. So it might. 2 nurses, 1 doctor & 1 surgeon etc etc. But my general health goes down, down. I shall have to undergo treatment for the morphia habit as the limit allowed is losing its effect.</p> <p>Saw Daisy in nursing Home, definite rheumatoid arthritis but slight. George O'Brien came out and agreed the Irish Statesman plan – especially Robert Lynd as editor.</p>
	8 Oct, Sun	The Gogartys to lunch, Æ & Susan Mitchell to tea. But I was very dull & depressed.
To Cullinan, J.S. (IRS)	9 Oct, Mon	[No entry]
	10 Oct, Tue	[No entry]
	11 Oct, Wed	<p>Had McGee the organiser (junior) of IAOS in 3 Ulster Counties of the Free State. Educated him cooperatively. He added to the evidence which shows Ireland to be politically in the depths.</p> <p>Moorhead advised me not to get treated for sleeping drugs &c till I am in much better health than at present. It is a terrible puzzle.</p>
To Cullinan, J.S. (IRS)	12 Oct, Thu	<p>Another long cable from Cullinan indicating that he is to have a luncheon of the chief probable supporters of the Irish Statesman on 17th inst[ant]. Also letters saying that interest in Ireland is on the wane in some quarters, but that in others the importance of peace in such countries as Ireland & Mexico is recognised.</p> <p>The ass't manager of the London branch of the National City</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		Bank, C.V. Sheehan spent the afternoon & evening at Kilteragh. Got some useful information out of him.
To Cullinan, J.S. (IRS)	13 Oct, Fri	Letter from Wingfield recommending me not to give up the morphia but to reduce dose in a nursing home.
	14 Oct, Sat	Daisy & Fingall & O'Farrell came for week end.
	15 Oct, Sun	Gogartys, Sheridan, Gerald, & Dudley White (uninvited) came to Kilteragh. Not a very interesting day.
	16 Oct, Mon	The party all left. Sir John Keane came to dine & sleep. He had invited himself by letter which never reached.
To Cullinan, J.S. (IRS) <i>Fr Cullinan, J.S. (IRS)</i> [GS&W Ry – Great Southern & Western Railway]	17 Oct, Tue	Meeting of IAOS General Ctee. A strike on the GS&W Ry prevented good attendance. R.A.A. was troublesome & I had to fight him on several points. Saw Yeats & explained Irish Statesman position. Left at night for London where I am going to have another try to get rid of the opiate addiction or reduce it within safe limits. I feel very uneasy about the state of Ireland. The Republicans are I fear much stronger in the country than is generally imagined. The Provisional Government's troops are hopelessly undisciplined. I don't see how order is to be restored.
	18 Oct, Wed	A busy day in London before lying up in Wingfield's Nursing Home, 2 Bentinck St. Had a long talk with Wingfield where the following principles for getting the most work out of my life were laid down. (My mistake had been that, forgetting my age, 68 in a few days, I had "drawn too heavily on the Bank of life[?]") (1) On no account must I give up opium which the X-ray burn of 1916 and its sequelae, chiefly bladder trouble (secondary growths – papilloma – one malignant) had made necessary to the functioning of my nervous system. But I must try to stabilise on a small dose which he puts at 2/3rds grain heroin as a maximum. (2) I must not stimulate myself for a greater effort than is possible with this dose. During the day came Cullinan's cable "Cable received (In it I said that "President approves your project") Committee organised Doheny chairman, Richard Campbell secretary. Workable plan developed all join greeting President Cosgrave associates and yourself. Letter follows". Adams came from Oxford. Long talk. He thinks (1) Lloyd George will again carry the country (2) There is a terrible time before us in agriculture – farmers unable to pay living wage – refusing more than 25/. Saw Tom more pessimistic than ever for Ireland.
To Cullinan, J.S. (IRS)	19 Oct, Thu	Attended Bowes meeting. Was helpful, I think. Lunched with the Bernard Shaws to discuss Irish Statesman & Irish Homestead. His opinion was distinctly that Robert Lynd would make a good editor & that Æ would not know the technique of bringing out such a paper as the I.S. At night went into the Nursing home after writing many "last letters" before lying up.
<i>(Fr Cullinan, J.S. to Doheny, E.L.; IRS)</i>	20 Oct, Fri	Walter, Tom Ponsonby & Mrs. Perceval called. But it was a miserable day. A Dr. Wilfred Harris was called in consultation. He agreed with Moorhead & Wingfield that I cannot at my age do

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		without the morphia & must only keep it down to a fixed small quantity.
	21 Oct, Sat	No callers. But I think the rest is helping already. The reduction has not begun, but will tomorrow.
	22 Oct, Sun	Deadly dull. Its going to be very slow. Mrs. Perceval is a daily caller. Kindest soul alive. Lady Seton was my only other caller.
	23 Oct, Mon	Tom, Karl Walter called.
	24 Oct, Tue	Bullock called early & was against Lynd as editor. Lord ffrench came & agreed to act on the Irish Statesman Committee. He is convinced that England will try to exercise economic domination over Ireland. Well, if he can prove it, or England disprove it in the columns of the I.S. that will provide copy.
	25 Oct, Wed	A talk with Wingfield about himself & myself. He poor fellow is very low in spirits. His career – consultant physician, after being medical officer of Winchester school (both of which jobs he thoroughly enjoyed & did well) is now ended. His wife is sick & I think a querulous invalid. He said “I am tired of it all. I often think ‘what’s the good of going on?’”. I did my best to cheer him. His advice to me was this:- Reduce the morphia by minute quantities – even 1/100 gr[ain] a day till 1 gr. or less suffices. Then stabilise on that. But it is impossible to do this and do work of any kind. Three months complete rest is obligatory.
	26 Oct, Thu	Lady Lavery called. She told me that Cosgrave, O’Higgins & Kennedy had made a good impression over here. The New Gov’t are friendly to the Free Staters. (But neither she nor the gov’t knew the real state of things.) Granard is working for the Governor Generalship but she says Tim Healy is the man the Irish gov’t want. He is a friend relative of O’Higgins!! Squalid.
	27 Oct, Fri	Bernard Shaw came to see me. I was dull & he bored. But he was as kind as ever. He knew my limited range of conversation & kept within my interests. He gave me his views on the political situation (he thinks Labour’s day will come after a short period of reactionary Toryism) and showed an interest in The Irish Statesman project which I told him looked likely to materialise. Lady Lavery looked in & gave me a book, “The Puppet Show of Memory” by Maurice Baring. It is an autobiography. His English is poor but as far as I have gone (childhood in luxury) he is very vivid.
	28 Oct, Sat	A very bad day. Blood pressure & pulse down dangerously. Brandy resorted to. I fear Wingfield, who is very ill himself, is making a mess of my cure. He went back to heroin today, the morphia having apparently lost its effect. Malcolm Seton called.
[Una Pope Hennessy]	29 Oct, Sun	Better. Dame Una called.
	30 Oct, Mon	Olive Guthrie called. The Dr. tells me I am in for a long period of weakness which there is no avoiding if I want to cut down the opium! It is a bad time for being hors de combat.
	31 Oct, Tue	Tom Spring Rice called & was very interesting on Foreign Affairs. The cure drags. I have almost made up my mind to go to the Precivals [<i>sic</i>] for a few days & am thinking of “a place in the sun” somewhere. Lennox Robinson I heard from G[erald].

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		H[ear]. would come. I have written to Daisy suggesting her making a third. Mrs. Keith called late. Brennanstown has been sold for £4500, house, land & all, to the steward on it, who does not wish it to be known that he is the purchaser & lives in the Lodge!
	1 Nov, Wed	Callers: Tom, Hart Synnot, Mary Spring Rice, Walter, Aspland the young C.E. who is going to succeed Gardiner in one of the companies (Stella Gill) & a few others. Decided to go to the Percevals on Friday having got all I can out of Wingfield. The rest & massage have enabled me to reduce the morphia. Moorhead & Wingfield (with Wilfrid [<i>sic</i>] Harris, senior phys[icia]n of Bart's in consultation) decreed that I cannot abandon – must only keep low & regular – the troublesome drug. They suggest ½ gr[ain] heroin or 1 gr morph[ine]. Letter from Cullinan of Oct 17 telling me of the meeting of prominent Irishmen on Oct 17th at which it was decided to try & get 100 people to subscribe £300 each towards a capital of £30,000 or so for the Irish Statesman. If this comes off I shall put my whole strength into it as it may be my last service to Ireland.
(To Cullinan, J.S. fr Seaman, S.G.; cable, IRS)	2 Nov, Thu	Mrs. Bernard Shaw, Lady Prothero, Henry James' "incomparable Fanny", Ada Watson my chief callers. I have had a fortnight's rest – not altogether from worries – and feel the better for it.
To Cullinan, J.S.(IRS)	3 Nov, Fri	Left the Nursing home, got my hair cut, went to Walter's office & dictated a letter to Cullinan, ending up at the Percevals' (153 Church St., Chelsea). This is the first stage of my latest "cure". I don't know what to make of it. I found myself very weak after the mild excitements of the day.
	4 Nov, Sat	In the house but up after massage. Wrote good few letters – badly. I am being "killed by kindness". The host, hostess, children & servants all joining.
	5 Nov, Sun	Took a walk to Mount St. & 'bussed' back. Among callers for tea Freddy Lawless & the Studds, also the Dominick Spring Rices. He had a conference with me upon the Irish Statesman & promised to help Lynd with the financial [<i>sic</i>] of the paper.
(To Cullinan, J.S. fr Seaman, S.G.; cable, date changed by ? from 1925; IRS)	6 Nov, Mon	Miserably weak. The doctor told me I should be so for three weeks at least. I must get away to the sun somewhere.
	7 Nov, Tue	Robert Lynd & his wife called and I had a long talk with both about the Irish Statesman. He will undertake it & I like him thoroughly. She is clever, was wild but is now sobered.
	8 Nov, Wed	Had tea with Birrell & he promised to help Robert Lynd with the Irish Statesman.
	9 Nov, Thu	The carbuncle on my neck is not going to erupt as such but as an abscess Dr. Wingfield says. But Lord how invalidly I am getting. Dictated at Walter's office a good (I think) letter to Jim Byrne. Otherwise day wasted.

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
[Gerald Fitzmaurice – chief interpreter (dragoman) at British Embassy in Istanbul till 1921]	10 Nov, Fri	Lunched with Lady Lavery to meet Cosgrave, O’Higgins, Hogan, Kennedy K.C., Dunraven & Donoughmore. My deafness prevented my picking up much, but I got the impression that the Free State Government are quite incapable of dealing with the Irish situation. Sat betw’n O’Higgins & Kennedy. Talked constitutional questions with the latter, police questions with the former. Wrote a few letters to America, had long talk with Daisy who arrived from Ireland & is staying with Ada Watson. Fitzmaurice (the Dragoman) came to supper.
	11 Nov, Sat	Wingfield took me to Wilfred Harris for a further consultation. W.H. struck me as a very clear headed & extremely able man. He told me that I ought to give up work for some time & try to get comfortable on a low dosage of morphia (1 to 1¼ gr[ain]s per diem). He thinks my constant taking of Adalin may affect the kidneys & advises me to try aspirin. He gave me a prescription for another hypnotic 20 gr’s chloralamide in which he believes. He is strongly for my going to Algeciras, but not America. The Lynds called again & I introduced them to Daisy & Walter.
	12 Nov, Sun	Lunched with Miss P Margaret Stewart (marked down for Killeen who didn’t turn up!!), Daisy being there & taking me on to Mrs. Starkie’s & Leonie Leslies. At latter met Ld. Edward Gleichen a very interesting soldier. I learned for the 1000th time that I cannot do society chatter – I am a deadly social failure. If that was all, it would not matter, but . . . !!.
	13 Nov, Mon	A long talk with Betty Balfour. She hoped Bonar Law would get independent majority but said Arthur was right to stick to Lloyd George. She is very anti-Labour but hopes Sidney Webb will get in for Seaham. She was more erratic than bitter (as she had become of late) in her politics. But she is deeply interested in social welfare & is working like a Trojan round the Woking Parish Pump. The women’s vote is still to be justified.
	14 Nov, Tue	Left the Percevals – the kindest people I know. I am not very strong and their care keeps me from overdoing the strength I have. Took Margaret, Walter, Ada Watson & Daisy to a great film production Ibañez’s Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. A childish performance I thought.
[James M.M. Erskine defeated former Chief Whip Leslie Wilson.]	15 Nov, Wed	Very unfit & longing to get away to the sunny south. Had long talks with Heard about the future of my Irish estate. It is a terrible financial burden & cannot fulfil its purpose in my life time. Voted for the Independent Conservative candidate for St George’s Hanover Sq. He got in – against the Chief Tory Whip.
	16 Nov, Thu	Lazy day. Shopping, writing. Chief event tea with Lynd to discuss the Irish Statesman. The Election gave the Bonar Law Gov’t a good working majority – nearly 90 – over all other parties. Ll. George was obliterated – for a time. Asquith got poor support. Labour did well. The English people showed fine judgment & real political sense. They practically declared for character against cleverness.
	17 Nov, Fri	Up at 6.30 A.M. to write a letter to J Byrne to show hesitating subscribers to the Irish Statesman. Did it in the rough. Phoned R

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		Lynd to help Heard & Walter to get it into final shape. Then to Liverpool St. where Daisy was waiting to see us off. I had to take more than my morphia allowance to get through the morning. I had Lennox Robinson as my fellow-traveller & a better could not be found. The S.S. Khiva is very inferior in her comforts to the White Star ships. But how superior to the Royal Yachts of a few decades ago!
	18 Nov, Sat	Thermometer struggled from 52° to 54°. No artificial heat & my temperature very subnormal. Fortunately seas calm.
	19 Nov, Sun	Marconi Irish news was that the Free State had shot some Republicans for carrying arms. The horror of executing Erskine Childers & yet the illogicality of sparing him vexed my soul. "Molly" is morbid, so the reflection that she would not spare one or the other side in similar circumstances does not count.
	20 Nov, Mon	Today no Marconi news of Ireland. I wanted particularly to know about poor Erskine Childers. He is a hero if his work is, as I think, damnable. What a tragedy! If he is killed a widow remains to bring up two fine boys to hate England & sacrifice their lives too for this madness. If he lives I don't think he will ever change his views or ways. Up to today I have shivered & today I can barely sit down in the open air! But it is my subnormal temperature that is at fault.
[St. Swithin's Day – 15th July]	21 Nov, Tue	Arrived at Gib[raltar] shortly after noon & took small boat to Algeciras across the bay. The Hotel Reina Christina was in a tropical garden of great beauty. But the weather was what one expects on St. Swithin's Day in Ireland. The Manageress told us it was what they had had for ten days! I think here, if anywhere, I can take it easy & perhaps stabilise a low morphia dosage. A nasty boil in the X-ray burn region is giving me great discomfort. But there is nothing to do here but get well. The Hotel is very comfortable.
	22 Nov, Wed	Blew all day; the manageress told us it had behaved so for 10 days & evidently it had no intention of stopping. Of course, it was exceptional – the one thing always safe to say of the weather. She showed us a rainfall chart which showed persistence as the chief weather quality e.g. July with no rain, October with 7 inches & a bit! I was so unwell that I could not begin my morphia reduction. It took 1½ gr[ain] to enable me to get about. Perhaps I should have gone to bed & suffered.
	23 Nov, Thu	The "Levante" as this beastly East wind is called still blows & makes sitting out of doors unpleasant. Even down here it seems "good for neither man nor beast". Down to 1¼ gr[ain] but it left gaps! I begin to fear that the insomnia will beat me if I don't give up all work & effort for a long time. At my time of life what a prospect. Curses upon the damned fool who burnt me with the Xrays!
(Fr Childers, Erskine to wife "Molly", extracts)	24 Nov, Fri	More Levante. Decided to see Ronda on the morrow.
	25 Nov, Sat	Early by very slow train to Ronda. 4½ hours there – 3 hours it takes to come back as there is a climb of 2500 ft. in I should say about 80 miles. It was lovely scenery, some Roman & Moorish

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		remains and the high air which attracted us.
<i>Fr Childers, Mary</i> <i>("Molly"; Mrs. Erskine)</i> [Childers' son, Erskine Hamilton Childers, would serve as Ireland's fourth president 1973-4.]	26 Nov, Sun	Day saddened by report in the Spanish paper we saw in the train on our way back to Algeciras that Erskine Childers had been shot. Although he had been responsible for the death of hundreds & untold suffering of thousands I feel sorry for his widow & still more for the two boys whose life will be marred by the inherited and in their eyes more than justified hate their brave, honest, able and industrious but sadly misguided father cherished. I hope the rumour is untrue. They should have exiled him. P.S. Poor Erskine, it is now sure, has paid the death penalty.
	27 Nov, Mon	Went to Gib[raltar]. I lunched at R[oyal]. A[rtilillery]. Mus[eum] where they talked Erskine Childers (& I gave a true picture of the poor fanatic) which Lynx suffered. We are both to do "the galleries[?]" Friday. Not at all well.
	28 Nov, Tue	Very unwell again. Stomach out of order – tremendous flatulence – depression. Everything looking black. There's one thing for me & one thing only. I must give time to fighting insomnia – without hypnotics which are the cause of the trouble. I am getting the morphia steadily down. But sleep won't come without help. The Levante came again. A gale all day – only gleams of sunshine, and though the temperature was 60° Fahr I was chilly. The Gibraltar Chronicle gives Erskine Childers' last words. Poor fellow. He simply protests that he is Irish – birth mother and adopted citizenship. Then he says he has no hard feelings for his executioners with whom he shakes hands and hopes they have none for him. Then he faces the firing squad in Beggars Bush Barracks & dies. And yet Millions were made sorrowful by his well-meant efforts to save Ireland. Well may she be asked to be saved from her friends. I recollect once in the Convention days saying to him "Erskine you are the worst political doctrinaire I have met". Rather tartly he snapped out "What do you mean by a political doctrinaire[?]" I replied "One who regards politics as an exact science". He gave me up! But personal friends we remained. Two days ago I wrote my grief to his widow.
	29 Nov, Wed	Rested.
	30 Nov, Thu	Motored to Tarifa about 17 miles S.W. Southernmost point in Europe. Interesting Moorish Castle. Community looked poor compared with Algeciras. Tunny fish, formerly the local industry had emigrated we were told.
	1 Dec, Fri	Went to Gib[raltar] & Major Hill R[oyal].E[ngineers]. took us through the Galleries. A perfect day & glorious views through the holes in the passages. Saw the narrowness of the strip of land which joins the Rock to Spain & had most interesting technical explanation of this amazing engineering achievement, with the story of the 4 years siege which the Galleries enabled the British to resist. Hardly a siege as the navy kept supplying the garrison by sea. Had tea with Rowan Hamilton, former Indian judge, now temporary Magistrate at Gib. His wife (a Chaytor) & he were eager for news of & views upon Ireland. Got home to find Gerald Heard's first letter – took a week coming

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		– with a budget of enclosures. Among others a cable from Mrs. Fiske Warren (Erskine Childers’ sister-in-law) asking me to try & get him deported. I had done all I could, curiously, by anticipation when I met Cosgrave, O’Higgins et al of the Irish Gov’t at Lady Lavery’s on Nov 10th. Sitting next O’Higgins I had urged “deportation” of both Childers & de Valera.
	2 Dec, Sat	First letter from Heard since we left London. It was dated Nov 18 & 22 & posted on 24th. No news of any sort! Lost my pocket diary with hosts of memoranda, addresses &c &c.
	3 Dec, Sun	Went to tea with the British Consul Morrison. A very nice fellow but his wife & the people who came for a tea talk gave us a dose of it. I tried hard to hold up my end. Failed utterly.
	4 Dec, Mon	Nothing doing.
	5 Dec, Tue	Went over a big English cork factory. Most interesting information is this. Chief product charred & compressed cork (which has first been almost pulverised by machinery) used as a nonconductor for refrigerating plants. The cork tree is barked every 7 years. The bark (like all other country product[s]) comes to town on backs of asses (stallions mostly) because the roads with few exceptions are impossible for wheeled vehicles.
	6 Dec, Wed	Called on Major CWJ Orr Colonial Secretary & now Acting Governor of Gibraltar. He had stayed 2 or 3 days at Kilteragh in 1912 & had studied my work for application to Cyprus when he there was. He has had an active life in the Colonial service being once in Nigeria deputy governor, (under Lugard) Judge, Counsel for prosecution & defence and in one case actual hangman! An interesting fellow, married to a Miss Ashton (who was out hunting) niece of Lady Bryce. Glorious weather.
	7 Dec, Thu	A day of goodbyes. Weather so grand & place so restful that I was sorely tempted to exchange the certainty of what I could enjoy here far away from Ireland for the chances of what I can do to help her in America!
	8 Dec, Fri	Left for a 10 AM departure for [<i>sic</i>] Gib[raltar]. The Orient S.S. Ormonde came in sight at 3 P.M. & sailed 6 P.M. While waiting we drove to Europa Point & walked back to the town. At the Military Library heard (Marconigram) that Cosgrave had made me one of his 30 nominees for the first Senate. On Board Lennox R. found Mair[e] O’Neill (unfortunately travelling second class) in advance of the other Irish Players returning from Australia.
	9 Dec, Sat	A really fine ship – quite up to the Atlantic service. I am the better for my trip. The Morphia crave lasts & will only yield to minute reductions of the 1¼ gr[ain] dose the doctors (Wingfield & Harris) advised me to try & stabilise on. I fear I shall never be able to do without it. Today took 1 gr.
	10 Dec, Sun	1¼ gr needed to keep me fit!
	11 Dec, Mon	1¼ gr.
	12 Dec, Tue	Landed at Plymouth & came to London. Found fewer letters than would have been my fate had I been in Irish politics. Saw only the Percevals & they gave me a dreary account of Ireland. They have put me in the Senate. Mayo & Headfort (!!) are also in. Monteagle

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		is not!!! I am very sorry that he was left out. It was wrong from every point of view.
	13 Dec, Wed	Lawyers about Super Tax, talks with Lennox Robinson & K Walter, dinner with Eddie & Beatrice in a luxurious house in Cadogan Square which they have bought, making 3 domiciles. Chief interest of day a long talk with Adams, who came from Oxford, on the agricultural policy Committee of Economists which he is asked to join. Strongly urged him to accept. He wants to get Orwin with him which is wise. I offered to get the latest developments of agric'l policy from America if the Commission sent a good man to do the work in Washington where I would introduce him.
[query in original; Count Dino Grandi]	14 Dec, Thu	<p>Greenham this morning told me that he & a butler friend of his during the war discussed joining up. His friend decided to go to munitions work (of which he knew nothing). Got £5 to £6 a week with week ends at home. He went to the front & got 7/6 a week. Another concrete case of Lloyd Georgeism from which the world will recover slowly.</p> <p>Wasted much of the afternoon reading Carnegie UK Trust papers & attending meetings.</p> <p>Saw a good deal of Walter & discussed his coming with me to America to help work out the Irish Statesman scheme at the American end. Had a good conference with Lynd (Lennox Robinson & Walter present) thereon. The Lynds are keen, but they must on Dec. 23 give up their London flat, if they are to take the job, or keep it on another year from March 25! Called on Lady Lavery. Met with her Count Panza (?) who was secretary to Mussolini when he came to London. Not hearing the count's name I called Mussolini the ["enfant terrible of the Lausanne Conference". She had had Tim Healy (whom Sir John rushed on to the canvas, cleverly I thought) Ld. Buckmaster & Birrell. I should have been there if I had let her know I was in town! Tim said he was not afraid of assassination but of being kidnapped! As the Count was there we got off Ireland. Incidentally she talked to Senator McCormick who had called recently. I did not think much of him. "Nor did I. He asked me to marry him & I refused"! She told me Londonderry would have been offered & would have taken but for his Ulster friends governor generalship of both Irelands!</p>
	15 Dec, Fri	Carnegie Executive, voluminous correspondence re Irish Statesman, conferences with K. Walter thereon & decision to take him to America to help me in two big jobs – getting for the British Committee of Economists (who are to suggest to Bonar Law an agric'l policy) and the financing of the Irish Statesman. These jobs <u>if done successfully</u> will be paid for by others. If they fail – well I shall have tried to serve!
	16 Dec, Sat	To Kilteragh by day mail. Found Daisy ready to tell me the news. Spent the evening with her & Gerald Heard & gradually got au courant with chief events. During my absence 10 Rebels camped in my Library & drawing room (G.H. persuading them to keep to these rooms). They took nothing but left a bonfire on the drawing room floor before they left.
[McGreevy]	17 Dec, Sun	Æ, Lennox Robinson, the Smith Gordons & McGreevy [<i>sic</i>] came & I got a good deal of news. The country is going down down.

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		The Government seems likely to pull through. That's the sum of the impressions I got.
	18 Dec, Mon	<p>A ferociously busy day. Got into touch with I.A.O.S. and (through R.A.A. whom I met at lunch) with I.A.W.S. affairs. Both precarious. Swore myself into the Senate. Campbell (now Lord Glenavy) made an excellent chairman. Purely formal business. Col. Maurice Moore tried to talk controversial politics & was well disposed of. Norman & Fletcher supped. The latter gave me a not very lucid account of the present state of technical instruction.</p> <p>During the day wrote many letters on the Irish Statesman, Adams' agricultural inquiry & the Legislative Reference Library which I want to bring up as a definite proposal for equipping the Oirechtas (né Parliament).</p>
	19 Dec, Tue	<p>Meeting of the Office & Finance C'tee. Long talk with James Douglas who is, on behalf of the Senate, trying to bring about peace betw'n the Repub[lican]s & Free Staters. Seven executions reported this afternoon & 3 others rumoured – the latter women – won't make his task easier. He told me the whole difficulty was the Military – or pseudo-Military – mentality. I think the young gunmen are (as one of them said today to my chauffeur) fed up with the civil war. But they have unemployment to face and possible assassination by their leaders.</p> <p>Sir John Keane came for a couple of nights.</p>
[<i>Irish Senate, Parliamentary Debates, Official Report, v. 1, cols. 82-4</i>]	20 Dec, Wed	Made my maiden speech in the Senate & was very well received. I merely asked for the approval of the Senate to two inquiries I was going to make – one into the working of the Legislative Reference Library at Madison (& elsewhere if it has been copied); the other into the recent developments of agric'l policy in U.S.A.
	21 Dec, Thu	<p>Eddie, Beatrice & Randal breakfasted on their way to Dunsany for Xmas. The boy is nice but I fear very unintellectual. I begged Eddie not to talk on public affairs.</p> <p>The papers reported my speech yesterday well & backed my two proposals. I saw Cosgrave who twice said "God be with you" in a way which made me feel that he felt we were all in danger. Another horrible political murder in Rathmines today and a very bad railroad outrage. The Limited Mail from Belfast to Dublin was wrecked & burned at Castlebellingham & sent ablaze up the down line to meet a train carrying Free State soldiers!</p> <p>Gogarty & I paid our respects to Tim at the Viceregal Lodge. We had a long talk with him & nobody could have been nicer. He gave me a letter to all & sundry in America telling them to help me in my inquiries.</p>
	22 Dec, Fri	<p>An awful day. Packed & rushed to Dublin. R.A.A. down with "flu" & his look rather alarmed me. Called on Hogan Minister of Agriculture & Desmond Fitzgerald Minister of Foreign Affairs (i.e. publicity!) about my American trip. Both very uninforming. Then a sad talk with Mrs. Erskine Childers – Erskine really liked me & I liked him. By night mail to Chester en route to L[iver]pool & New York.</p> <p>Said goodbye to the household which I am breaking up. Poor old Curtain was sad at parting. We like each other & he must have been with me nearly 30 years.</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
	23 Dec, Sat	<p>Arrived Chester 3 A.M. A little shopping in the real old & shoddy old town. To Birkenhead, Liverpool for 2 dreary hours & then on Board Adriatic where I had a sleeping room, a bath room & a study. Walter met me. Arthur Vincent of Muckcross the only other I knew on the small passenger list.</p> <p>Got a wire & letter from Adams giving us the greatest encouragement in the agric'l inquiry we are to make for the Irish and the British government. Sat up late so as to send a letter with a cable code to Adams from Cobh. Quite worn out.</p>
	24 Dec, Sun	<p>At Cobh, which was bathed in glorious sunshine, only 7 out of the tens of thousands who would like to leave Ireland embarked. The White Star agent offered to do his best to get my letter to Adams off. The pilot from L'pool was going to motor from Cobh to Cork where he hoped to get a boat to Fishguard. Rail communication with Cork is completely severed by destruction of bridges.</p> <p>The last hectic week I had to increase my morphia allowance to 1½ gr[ains] which is ¼ gr. over my maximum. Now I am going to suffer a big reduction. But it is quite clear that total abstinence is a remedy far worse than the disease (the addiction) and that it would mean the cutting out of a year or more of my remaining working days. My health, with the prescribed (by Moorhead, Wilfred Harris & Wingfield) allowance, is very satisfactory considering what I have gone through at the hands of the surgeons.</p>
	25 Dec, Mon	<p>293 Nothing merry but the waves. At 4 AM one sent its crest in to my bed, soaked all my clothes & so forth. Bells were ringing from passengers similarly visited. So I turned on the electric heater in my bathroom & shut up my clothes etc. in it. Then to sleep again in the dry portion of my big bed.</p>
[sculping – variant form of sculpting]	26 Dec, Tue	<p>313 Among the passengers Mrs. Clare Sheridan, Moreton Frewen's daughter, with all his enterprise & 10 times his sense, with much more of the two Jerome aunts' than her mother's wits. She told Walter & me a good deal about her Russian & other experiences. She believes in the Bolshevists & in Russia. She got to know both by sculping Lenin, Trotsky & four other Soviet leaders. She is working for the New York World (the British press will have none of her]). No means but earns big salaries for her work. All over Europe last 6 months – Lugrina, Constantinople, Bucharest, Lausanne Conference with Mussolini. She says he won't last. All he cares for is power – no ideas. When he heard of her relations with Bolshevists he cancelled an order for busts. He thought her a Russian spy. Spoke of her Irish home burnt by the Republicans, with sadness. Her father is ill & not likely to be better.</p>
To Heard, Gerald	27 Dec, Wed	362
	28 Dec, Thu	335
	29 Dec, Fri	338
	30 Dec, Sat	331 Worst passage for many years. But the ship is splendidly seaworthy – I mean comfortable.
	31 Dec, Sun	<p>410 – 428 to go making 3140 from Liverpool.</p> <p>The voyage has not been quite a rest as I have worked hard at times upon the three missions I am (foolishly from a health point</p>

Correspondence [Notes]	1922	Diary Entry
		<p>of view) undertaking – The Irish Statesman, Agricultural development for the Irish and British governments and Legislative Reference Libraries for the former. But the comparative rest has been good for me.</p> <p>So ends 1922.</p>
	Year-end Summary	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>1922</u></p> <p>A year of sorrow and anxiety over Ireland. I have held my public position without much public activity. I end up a Senator in the Parliament of the Free State whose Constitution I think I helped to make possible – I say no more. I have still much work I can do – if my health holds out. That “if” is the bane.</p>