The outrages are over in Belfast. I am ery greatly afraid that there was a " truce" between Dail Erin and the Northern Parliament. Those very abominable murders I told you of were on January II, then a few days later the outrages on both sides left off all at once. On January 25th it was announced that Craig and Collins had met in London, and arranged to stop the boycott On January 28th there was a notice in the paper that the state of the city was so much improved that curfew would cease on Monday Jan 30th, which as I understand has happened. I It is vile beyond words, If Craig and Collins could stop the outrages it shoed that they knew a very great deal more about them than they ought to have known. Of course I always did really know that about Craig, but it is rather horrible to have it forced like that upon one's attention. I hoped till the very last moment that he was a good man quite powerkess, now I rank him along of Collins etc.

I am sending you a hysterical publication called the Republic of Ireland, just to show what form the madness is taking now. I understand that as soon as the House of Commons consents there will be a general election over here, and de Valera will try to get republican candidates in every where, and likely he may succeed. It will I suppose be the first general election contested in Ireland in living memory. And some people are still quite tête montée, and going on about the glories of "our free state". It is a har horrid exhibition the whole thing is

If one did remark on public affairs now a days one would say that it was unwise to take all those soldiers out of Ireland, and to give all the strong places over to the I R A before the Free State was even set up. Why not wait at least till the House of Commons had ratified the agreement? and tillus someone had taken over the charge of the I R A?

You see it calls itself by those letters
which mean Irish Republican Army, and it is a
matter which affords much interesting discus =
sion over here to ask who is really in command
of it. Collins is I think supposed to be at
its head, but then why is it "republican "?
Also if Griffith has anything to say to it why
does he not get those men released ? as he is
being besought to do by the people at Westmins =
ter Also why should 600 more soldiers, King
George's soldiers, be removed from Ireland ye
yesterday while the kidnapped people are not

only not forthcoming, but are having their numbers added to ?

I think posterity will notice all this but somehow we are past noticing it. It is very odd I wonder what this apathy is which envelops us all. I think really the affairs of Ireland in particular, and of the empire in general are now entrusted to people who are far too ignorant to be able to administer them, and *the effect of that is a general paralysis

We all think really that the Government is quite incapable, and that it is no use to apply to it. Petitions to Parliament etc are quite out of date, some of us resort to the methods of violence, some take to prayer, some do nothing at all. I think this is the explanation.

I am sure future ages will blame our inaction, but at this moment I do not see what we could do. Obviously and on the face of it a government which evacuates its barracks

Dublin

and its strong places under such circumstance; is utterly unworthy of confidence, and you can not ask it for advice or for thelp about any thing. Also obviously decent people cannot sid side with those who resort to violence I do not see what we can do but wait till some rightminded person arises whom we can support, and in the meanwhile be so right minded ourselves that a certain amount of solidity remains in the national existence. I think if you cannot keep a real national life you may yet preserve smaller elements out of which national life will blossom some day. Newx Ixhave xit really it is not small elements that one preserves, it is very great elements.

Now I have it. The life of the nation can no longer express itself through the great institutions which were once national, and of which the House of Commons was for many years the chief. Therefore it is more than ever im-

portant to keep such things as the Guild of Witness in existence, because they can be kept sound, and through them the national life may express itself, and that will keep it alive titil it is again possible to have real governament.

I have been carrying on an exhaustive search, and have just made it clear to myself which the six counties are which Sir James Grace Craig so very wrongly denominates "Ulstern" They are all the counties of Ulster except Cavan, Donegal and Monaghan, and we may remem to ber the three excluded ones by the formula "Covenant Dont Matter," which was in practise what Carson said to them when they complained of being left outside the Six County area. Or at least when the signers of the Covenant in those counties complained of same.

hor from Lie 4 Rosary Gardens Kerbert Stephen 12 Feb: 4532 1922 Scar Ros your letter to k received gester = day interested me prodigiously. I entirely agree with practically all of it - except that Thave never attached so much importance as you to the Covenant which sidnt matter. In. my opinion they never do . For more than a few mouths, which is a good reason for not making them. Po you think the "general election" will ever occur? I mean the one in the 26 wuntes which the Ld Chancellor and all the sanguine Englishmen expect to be held " in a few weeks (why not this week I don't know) and to give Collins, Griffith a " sweeping majority " over de Valera - Childers which will finally settle the hash of the latter I can

not remember any historical instance of Kerensky beating Lenin unless it was O wer Cromwell - who must have been Lenin to several Kerenskys before he began Kerensking himself, if he ever did. I see no reason at present to suppose that Collins is an O. C. When Ido Ishall begun to consider whether he does not deserve such moral support as I can conveniently give him. Peanwhile the seizure and retention of what we call the "Ulster hostages" look to me as much like the beginning of open and arowed civil war as anything could. It so Ithink under present conditions whatought-to-be-our-Government will have to help "Ulster." The

question appears to be "Is our civi = lization a failure?" or "Is the Caucasian played out "? if yea it is more the latter than the former. According to Flinders l'etri, whose short account of the 7 successive civilizations lasting 1450 years a piece is seldom for long out of my sead mind, or the fact that he dates this one from about 450 AP, there will be no recovery till after a period of complete barbanson, and the coming into existence of a new race by means of our inter- breeding with a longuering Horde (? Chinese or Sibelian or Jap Geing partly sangune miself vincline to your belief (written at Xmas) that for this time we shall outstay and defeat the foreign anarchists who find the money. In fact I am betting 6-4 or it. But surely no one can deary that L. G. and his companions are made and madder than Hamlet ever thought the English. And even with the modest hope that I in fact where with your I may reasonably as a matter of todays Irish politics subscribe myself

1/2 rae mahan.

hote by R.S. made Seps. 1933

F.F. I'm Mac Mahan was a solicitor who on
being consulted by a friend of ours on the

S-tate of her affairs said "There is nothing before you Madam but ruin, the

blackest ruin" His name became a joke with my brother.

The classes go raging on. The Archbishop told Mr Quigley to give all the lessons he could and to consider it a very important part of his work for about a year. They all wish very much that the Church should have plenty of Church teachers in Irish Otherwise all the learners must go to the Gaelic League. I said I am sure the Archbishop is right to take that line, but I myself do not think the classes wi will go on for a year. I think it will be civil war before that " " It looks very like it " said Mr Q without turning a hair. I am glad people speak a little about civil war It has come so near now I do not feel as I did a litt little while ago that it is wrong to put one's expectations in in words. I feel there is no power anywhere that can keep order, and that can only end in an outburst of fighting. From a general riot all over the country I feel there might be evolved some force which could keep order, but I do not see how it is going t

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to come otherwise, as we have been mad enough to throw away all the institutions out of which better ones might have evolved in peace.

I see that in Belfast there have been two or thee " outbursts of firing " in the streets, though the town is on the whole quieter. If Sir James Craig cannot stop " out bursts of firing " apparently for no reason, he is not governing at all, and it is the same everywhere.

The R I C are being disbanded, but one sees them about the streets.

A member of Mr Quigley's class told

me that in many places Irish is becoming " a code language " " for a certain section " and

he is very anxious that all parties should take

it up with enthusiasm, because then it will not

be code language for anyone in particular.

That is reasonable, and it is quite reason enough to justify the classes.

There has this morning since the papers came out been a fresh murder in Stephen's Green There was a policeman murdered on the north side yesterday, and reported in today's papers, but this Stephen's Green affair was since. X thinks she heard the shooting. I did not get the papers but from what I am told in the streets someone was robbed, and the thieves ran off firing as they went, and then a passer by was accidentally killed by the shots.

I have been making enquiries about the Dublin Metropolitan Police. It seems they are not to be disbanded for the present. They seem to have made friends at some point with the Sinn Feiners. I am told that on some occasions they refused to fire. The R I C fought like tigers to the very last. It all works in and out so queerly. The R I C are being disbanded but getting good pensions, The D M P are going on under the Provisional Government, and one consequence of that is that in Dublin alone of

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all Ireland has an experienced police force. No doubt the man shot yesterday was transferred from the R I C to the D M P

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The chief event since I wrote last has been the lessons They go on like wild fire. I have a feeling that people like the city clergy are glad to have something in which they can follow the suggestions of the Provision al Government without imjury to their consciences ces. It is rather horrible to realize, but I very greatly fear it is the fact that the reprisals last year have left King George as it were without a friend in Ireland. I look with wonder at middle aged clergymen whomare talking quite cheerfully about their teachers passing one standard and another, and being qualified to teach Irish in this class and in that, and I ask them do they really think that the Provisional Government will lead on to a Free Sta State that can be worked by sensible people ? And they say " Well it is our only chance

I think they feel that to go back under the present House of Commons, I mean under the House House of Commons as it is now, is out of the question. Since last year they do not wish to do so. They are very silent you know, they put as little into words as they can, but I utterz ly miss that feeling that was so strong former = ly that there is in London a government which one can stand by. London and Parliament and the King have all faded away into the past as it were. " The cabinet " now only suggests Black and Tans " drunk and raising Cain ". It is very horrid, but I fear that so it is, a nd the Irish makes a sort of gleam of pleasure for some people.

noib March 7. 1822. from the archlis-lup of Bublin The Palace. St Stephen's Green. Dear Min Stephen Thanks for your letter. I'v Luigley is a great asset, as a native Trish speaking dergyman of our Church, and he is so en = thusiastic and good tempered that I can well believe all you say about the happy impression he produces on his otherwise unwilling pupils. I am trying to get his services made use of in such connections as the one you mention, as I should be very sorry that the Ch: of Ireland should seem to show any reluctance in a matter which whether rightly or wrongly the gov- set so much slove on. yours sincerely John Rublin

april 7. My dear Rate This is really almost whatever day did ble Free State take over

For so far the post is quite safe, and I have no more reason that usual to think that the letters are opened

It is perfectly awful about Belfast. There is a certain amount of party shooting going on, and men are rushing about looting shops and robbing people in the streets . New and then martial law is threatened, but it does not come to pass. Evidently there is some strong reason against it . It seems that either government can impose martial law, or a Lord Mayor can ask for it if he cannot keep order himself. Again we think of last year. The martial law in the South was so absolutely horrible that I believe the Lord Mayor of Belfast is afraid to ask for it. I think it was under martial law that all those lawful reprisals to took place, when soldiers came and burnt peopl. people's houses and furniture by order of thei commanding officersAnd of course there was the burning of Cork. That was not publicly ordered

but it was certainly condoned by the people who might have punished it. I think people in Belfast are afraid of that.

And telling the Government (i e Sir James Craig) to act. And the Government keeps beg = ging law abiding citizens to exert their influence, and the robbers snap their fingers at everybody and go on robbing.

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Vile murders are again in the papers I think if I do go to Belfast--- and about that I am taking advice --- but if I do go it will only be for a fortnight I cannot stay away very long with all this work on hand . Perhaps I will go at Easter when the Irish classes may slek off a little . They run three times a week from 4 to IO 30, and he just bolts out at six to the dining room, drinks a cup of tea standing and back again He is a good man.

Do you realize that now this house is one of the chief centres for Irish teaching? Mr Quigley charges ha Ir a crown a lesson and he is considered very expensive He has round and about IOO pupils now I believe The enthusiasm with which the subject is being taken up is very queer. Of course a great many people who formerly cared very little about Irish now loathe and detest it, being forced to learn against their minds. But especially amongst those who are not teachers I

being awakened. Mr Quigley is so very non-party, that he gives solid interest a chance to show itself. I quite agree that the general interest will die down. but I now have a hope that a real solid remnant may be left who will study Irish in a reasonable spirit. At first I thought the malcontents were so numerous and so very angry that they would swallow up all interest, but now I think that they will run away screaming as fast and as soon as they can, but that some will be left.

You will have read about this murder of all the the men of a family on Antrim Road at I 20 a m on Friday morning (Antrim Road Belfast)

It is always R Cs who are killed in curfew hours. The police in this instance seem to have acted kindly enough, but this ceaseless murdering of R Cs while the Crown forces are in charge of the streets is a very bad thing.

I do not at all approve of all these violent threats, flogging and hanging if people are found in possession of arms or if they throw bombs. I do quite approve of making the throwing of bombs a capital offence. I would have that part of the permanent law all over the country. But what is wanted is to stop the outrages, not to threaten all the awful things you will do if you catch someone, and then never catch anybody.

I think Sir James Craig is afraid to disarm his own side, a nd very much afraid of

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what might come out about his own side if too many enquiries were made.

Did you see that the other day Mr Chur = chill said that there were " considerably more murders and outrages committed in Belfast on Romans than on Protestants ? I am sure the Northern Parliament does not mean to act fairly Partly it wants to shelter Protestant criminals partly it is afraid to face them. I daresay Sir James Craig is afraid. I believe he is a man who has no sympathy with murder. Of course rea really it is just the same whether you kill a Protestant or an R C But in Belfast there is far more notice taken of Protestants who are killed than of the others. Dony you know there has hever been any inquest at all or any military enquiry held about Malachy ? About those people murdered in Hooker Street , the Andersons, there was a proper inquiry held at once, and a message of condolence from Sir Jam

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James, and provision from some fund for the children. That was all right but why was not to the same done when Malachy was killed? I thin, think the thing really wanting is an honest man.