I think I must really speak my mind, even if it is a little risk to do so. I do not want the "Irish Free State" to be started. I am so absolutely certain that it will only break down completely. I would sooner it were still born, and never get to work at all. The Northern Parliament is perfectly horrible. Belfast is passing under the control of the mob. There is no law at all up there. The other day there was an inquest held on 19 persons killed in a bomb explosion, and riot. I wonder if this got into the English papers. Here everyone was rather full of it. The district inspector R I C said that there were about 7,000 men of the "corner boy type", armed with revolvers of a pattern which he thinks is American, and till these men are disarmed nothing can be done to quiet the city. A juror asked very sensibly if the importation of ammunition from America could not be stopped? The coroner said that in his opinion there is a large Bolshevik association keeping up the party quarrel in Belfast for the purpose of plunder. A juryman then said that the working classes were being gullied, and how could "young fellows who have been out of work for months" get money to provide themselves with ammunition? Mr Campbell K C, who appeared to represent the relations of one of the dead people, said it was wrong to attack the authorities for the present state of things "improvement must come from within" "The authorities must be assisted by public spirited right minded persons". Now what is the sense of talking like that? How can the most right minded civilian in Belfast stop the importation of bullets from America? However much public spirit one has
To K S

January 10 1922

one cannot break up an association whose object is plunder. That is what the authorities exist to do for us. Why pay taxes, and as a Belfast tax and rate payer I speak feelingly, why pay these vast sums of money if we are to be told that we, the civil population, are to take upon ourselves the work of administration, which all civilized peoples agree to hand over to their governments? We have no secret police, we have no forces at our command, we have no training, no leisure to put such forces in motion if we did command them. It is just rubbish to tell us to quiet Belfast.

And yet for all that it fails so signally the Northern Parliament is in a much stronger position in many ways than the Dail. It is quite united in itself. It is said that the R Gs were forcibly kept away from the polls so that there might be a Unionist victory in the elections. Anyway there was a very big Protestant and Unionist victory, and practically the little Parliament is at one, while the Dail is so rent from top to bottom that it can only decide these vital matters by these tiny majorities. I see this morning de Valera was only allowed to resign by a majority of two.

Then again the Northern Parliament is quite good friends with Westminster, and can make reasonable use of the King’s army, whereas I understand that the British troops are to be totally withdrawn from the twenty six counties as fast as possible. The unhappy Dail will then have no force at its command except its own Irish Republican army which is a volunteer force at present. What the I R A
To K S  

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will do if the Dail proposes to enforce regular discipline remains
to be seen. I should think if anyone were seriously punished for
anything that a good number of the men would just throw down their
arms, and say they did not join to help in that sort of thing.

What is to happen about the R I C I am not sure, because to
tell you the truth I think the treaty so entirely visionary
that I did not trouble to read it yet. In Belfast the men got the
choice, Would they enlist again as a police force under the Northern
Parliament? Or would they retire with such money allowance as the
Westminster Parliament would make to its servants retiring under
ordinary circumstances? The retiring allowances were in most
cases good. They were calculated I see on some special recommenda-
dation of someone's, and were very favourable to the men. There are
at present about 1,000 R I C men in Belfast, and more than 600 have
taken the Westminster pensions, and are leaving the force. Those
who remain will be reorganized in March, and I understand combined
with the specials, the men you know who d Malachy. When that
happens the last hope will be gone. Such was the tradition of the
old R I C that many people trust them still. No one trusts the specials in the least, apart from what one feels sure of in one's
own mind. The oddest stories are told about them. I hear they are
to have some more training. At present they are put in charge of
the streets after a few weeks instruction, instead of a three year's
course, such as was the R I C rule. Also they are allowed to serve
anywhere. In the R I C a man was not employed within so many miles
of the place where he enlisted and that was a most excellent rule
To K S  
January 10 1922

because it caused the force to be strangers. But query. Can you
enforce that particular rule in the six county area? Have you

I hear that the best of the civil servants were like the
R.I.C. They took what money they could get from Westminster, and
resigned. The Northern departments are now in the hands of inex-
perienced men

I have seen several notices in the papers, (and again I do
not know if this penetrates to England) that Co Donegal is in the
hands of highwaymen. They go about both by night and by day, and they
rob lonely farms, and they hold people up on the roads. Their

object is just robbery. There were one or two articles about them
in the papers, and then silence. If the Free State is set up I
think they will get possession everywhere. I am sure in my own mind
that if Ireland is really to rule itself from within the franchise
must be raised, obviously the people who now vote are unable to
govern the country. Anarchy is coming in before our eyes. I think
myself that a period of martial law is inevitable, but where to get
martial law? That is the trouble. What they called martial law
last year was mere military license. They turned an armed mob loose
on the country people. That is a great deal worse than useless.
What is wanted is law very strictly enforced on the soldiers.

In the first place I would only have men of good character
employed. I would send regiments where discipline was well maintained.
and where the men had seen a good deal of service. I would say
pleased with the new delimitation of territory, and thinks that

(continued on next page)
To K S  January 10 1922

that drunkenness would be most severely punished, and that robbery
would be followed by death. I believe you do say that under some
circumstances, and I would keep to it. As for burning houses, or
for touching property, or burning crops such things would be
unimaginable where my men came. There would be no curfew, no inter-
ference with markets or fairs. On the contrary all assistance would
be given to all forms of lawful activity. The soldiers would hunt
out the highwaymen, who would be tried if possible before civil
courts, and then treated in the most friendly manner possible, and
very likely helped to emigrate. The only people against whom
severity would be shown would be those who were the actual agents
for those gentry on the continent. The whole of my strength would
be spent in sealing Ireland hermetically against that outside
influence, but internally I would make peace, and have everyone at
my feet in a fortnight. Poor dears. They are supporting this silly
old treaty because they think the Dail can manage, and will make some
kind of peace, and I feel sure it cannot.

Of course I do see it is very difficult. Here is Europe all
arranged in such countries as are right according to some distinction
or other. I suppose those eastern places are arranged according to
some scheme of "nationality." And they that is what is wrong with
Vienna. The railways are laid out to suit the old Austrian Empire,
and they do not suit the new national divisions. Therefore they
are not half, or a quarter the use they used to be for the purposes
of trade and communication, and that does really mean starvation for
for a lot of people. I think probably Lloyd George is greatly
pleased with the new delimitations of territory, and thinks that
To K S  January 10 1922

after a little while these natural race distinctions will work out all right, and new railways be built, and the whole thing accommodate itself.

And I expect he thinks something like that will work out in Ireland. The North being really quite different in race and religion is really better parted from the South, and the South will be all right. It will gradually find out for itself what suits it, and will get it. Robbery and so forth is an accident, evidently you cannot allow highway robbery, in time everyone will join and put down criminals, and meantime he must really go to Cannes, or to Washington, or wherever it may be, and deal with large affairs. Ireland is only a small matter after all. I do not think he is statesman enough to see that there are no such things as small matters. The merest trifle may be an indication which you cannot afford to miss. You may in a little place like Ireland make statements of the policy and plan now being pursued by the Prime Minister of England which will resound to earth's furthest limits.

I cannot believe that LLG has not had his head turned by all he has been through. Your own aeroplane to go over to Paris your invitation to world conferences on questions of the first moment to civilization, all that perpetually, it must be a great strain on anyone. It is all done on a far larger scale than anyone ever attempted before, and I do think it would require genius of the first order to be able for instance to see the ideal of the League of Nations, and at the same moment pay proper attention to the appearance of highwaymen in Donegal. And
To K S

10 January 1922

I am sure that LL G has not genius, he has not more than great cleverness.

I was outside the University, the National you know, Earlsfort Place on Saturday. There was a small crowd. You had to make your way through it, it was big enough for that. It was eight when I was there, the division being announced for eight thirty. I made my way half through and then turned back, as it was of course quite dark, and I do not like even small crowds. But I could have got through to Stephen's Green quite easily had I really wished it.

There was the same kind of crowd outside the Mansion House on Sunday while de Valera was holding a private meeting of his supporters. But there is no enthusiasm, and no excitement. The shops are wild for peace, everyone is wild for peace, and settled government, and therefore there is a good deal of passing of resolutions, and so on, in favour of the Treaty, but as for enthusiasm, or joy, or anything like that it is conspicuous by its absence. Do you remember how when National Insurance first came in LL G wanted to celebrate a "National Joy Day"? and then it appeared that national insurance was girls about with every kind of difficulty, and that we felt more bewildered than delighted, and the Joy Day had to be dropped. I guess there will be no joy day here whatever happens.

I will tell you one thing more. You remember that Miss Mitford? Well she came to see me, and she tells me that the discipline in Dublin Castle is what you never would believe.
To K S  

January 10 1922  January 13  Dublin

Drink, Idleness, gambling, and the most extreme forms of flirtation between the young men and maidens employed. She is perfectly overjoyed to be out of it. Imagine that at such a crisis there is no one to insist on proper conduct. I think people at the top are in despair, and are just giving up the whole thing as a bad job. But to feel that chaos is in the Castle too is depressing.

January 13

You will have seen the last horrid news. Fresh violence in Belfast, and apparently the Crumlin is getting one of the worst places now. The worst was on Wednesday. At breakfast time there was a bomb explosion, and but for the conductor who made his car tear like the mischief90 men would have been killed, at least so one of the papers said. It was a workman's car going to the Island.

Those two young people were at their breakfast in Hooker Street (parallel with Everton Street five streets higher up) and they heard the crash, and an outburst of rifle fire that followed, and they ran to the door to see what it was, and apparently with deliberation three shots were fired, and Mrs Anderson fell dead, and Anderson staggered back into the kitchen and fell dead too, and the children who were in bed ran down, and found their parents lying dead on the floor. What happened later I cannot fully make out. Two women in two houses in the same street heard knocking and went to the door, and men were outside and shot them. They were not killed, but were
To K S. January 13 1922 Dublin

taken badly wounded to hospital. After that the crowd got
"unruly," and the police "had to fire" and today there is
no more. I do not follow it. Hooker Street is next door to
Herbert Street, where the Halfpenny's live, and it is my great
fear that I shall be distinctly told some day by someone
that such a one in Hooker Street was in the lorry on the
12th June. It has been said in a roundabout way, and I very
resolutely refused to hear any more. What use in hearing?

That was my first idea, and I thought these two women who
were shot might belong to suspected families. They were
neighbours of the Andersons, and their names were Mrs Maginnis
and Mrs Bowman. They were 48 and 50. Another woman was shot
later in the day in the evening, I think in the same way in Fifth
street. She opened when someone knocked. Fifth Street is between
the Shankill, and Falls Road. I do not know anything
about the locality.

Today there appears in the paper a letter from the
Bishop, the Moderator, and the Head of the Methodists,
and they say that people nominally connected with Protestant
churches have "become involved in the circle of crime" and
they denounce the crimes, or at least crime in general with
some vigour. It would be a nice letter, only that they say the
Protestants were not the original aggressors, which is a
highly controversial statement.

Something was said about good intentions, and I said "What is
January 19 1922

To K S

Yesterday Thursday 17th I stood in Dame Street and watched with the crowd for the giving over of the Castle to the Provisional Government. It has haunted me ever since. I did not see anything. There was just the usual small crowd that is attracted by anything connected with the Free State, and I stood a while and chatted with the people, and then came away. I believe Griffith came later, and took over charge, but it was horrid beyond words.

One woman said to me "I was afraid of the black and tans, I am glad they are going, but I am sorry the soldiers are going, everyone is sorry the soldiers are going."

Then I went on and found a group looking on, and rather cheerful, and one of them began how awful it had been last year. I asked if she had lived in a very bad quarter? She said On the Quays, and she had been expecting the birth of a vast baby, then sleeping in her arms she had been waked at night again and again by the firing and explosions, and she had got up and crouched down under the window for fear of shots coming in. I know that is what they say is the safest place. Three times she was in such pain that she thought the baby was coming, and went over to the hospital where he was to be born, and each time she got better and came home again. What she chiefly feared was the Black and Tans in her room. They never did come but you never knew the minute when they might burst open the door and rush in. But her baby had come all right, he was none the worse. Poor child I hope he is not really injured any way, but it is too soon to tell yet.

Something was said about good intentions, and I said "What is
to K S

January 19 1922

Dublin

wanted is good intentions, and strength to carry them out."
And one woman looked at me with such a grin, a wink very nearly,
and she said "Yes, that is what worries one." I was rather
startled, because the extreme feebleness of Dail Eireann, I
mean its utter lack of resources is what worries me, but I did
not
know that it also worried the plebs.

Then one of them blamed de Valera, and said that the
delegates had been told to bring back peace at any price, and
had done so, and I observed the remark because a man to whom I
spoke on Sunday said that they had far exceeded their powers,
and had no right to agree to anything unknown to de Valera.
So there you have the two points of view.

Then some of them said that the sun was shining, and
that it was a great day, and Ireland was coming into her own
after centuries of oppression. And I said it was very amusing
to watch a crowd, but I had to go unfortunately. So I left
them.

50,000 soldiers are being withdrawn from the southern
counties, I hear some of the smaller garrison towns will be
ruined. They have never been without regiments to cater for
before.

I have heard no more from Belfast. Oh yes I have. Kathleen
Huggard came to see me one day, and she says that it was like
a battle when she was there for a religious convention they had.
She was somewhere near the workhouse, and one night especially
the machine guns were awful, and some officers that were there
half flouting. It was madness.
said that the guns were firing blank, and they were greatly upset about it, because apparently firing blank is considered most unsportsmanlike. After a time people get to think there is no real danger in guns, and they go on rioting, or whatever it is, whether soldiers appear or not, and then you have to put in ball, and kill ever so many to make them see it is real. It is really better always to fire to kill, brrrid as it sounds. If there is never blank firing at all the very sound of the regular marching as the soldiers come up, sends them off.

You know I have heard that before, and I believe I saw it somewhere in printed instructions, and I thought it so very much when I saw the riot in Everton Street. The people were stoning the public house, and going utterly mad with excitement, and all at once there was a rush as of many waters, and I looked out and the whole street full of rioters were running as they thought, for their lives, and an armoured car had just appeared, and a couple of guns were pointing down at them. The place was deserted in a couple of shakes, and what I thought so idiotic was that the gun stood there for an hour or more, and gradually a few came back, and the soldiers got chatting with them, and sort of showing off their armoured car. I thought it mad. The gun might have stayed for a while, but it ought to have had sentries round it, all on duty not speaking to anyone, and I think I should have ordered anyone away who showed themselves in the street at all while the gun was there. I would have had people think it a most alarming object, and these idiots of soldiers has girls standing round it, and all laughing and half flirting. It was madness.
To K.S. January 13th, 1922, Dublin.

And that is one of my great worries. I feel as if everybody had got into such a light spirit, nothing seems to be seriously done.

All that misbehaviour at the Castle is the fault of either the soldiers, or the Black and Tans. There is no social life at the Castle now. There has been no season since before the war. The Castle itself has been in the hands of the "Auxiliaries" and I said were they soldiers or police? Miss Mitford did not know, and said she knew as little about them as she possibly could. The hostel where she lived was beside the Castle, adjoining it practically, and in it were women who came over for clerical work. Everyone was English, and the men were married mostly, and their wives were in England, because since that 21st of November officers were not allowed to live in lodgings, and the Castle had no space for wives. So these grass widowers and the occupants of the hostel went on as described, and it reached a pitch where my informant had thoughts of appealing to the Archbishop because everything was so dreadful, and in the hostel there were no rules at all outside work hours. You could come and go, and you could come in at any hour you pleased, or stay out all night. No questions were asked as long as you did your office work. Of course a thing like that could have been quite easily stopped. If the higher military authorities had chosen the hostel could have been under military rules, lights out at such an hour, and permission asked if you wanted to sleep out, and definite rules about people paying calls. It is so slack, so incompetent to allow a quite needless scandal like that.

And that is one of my great worries. I feel as if everybody had got into such a light spirit, nothing seems to be seriously done.
To E S  January 18 1922  Dublin

Here is a thing Kathleen Huggard told me. They have been having this sort of little Swanwick in Belfast for the Student Movement people. There were 250 people, and they were gathered in from places about Belfast, Dungannon and Derry and so on. Miss Huggard said it was perfectly awful providing for them because the post seemed so uncertain. They were to write to the railway and get vouchers, and then get tickets at half price, and the complaints were quite endless. Why had they never received vouchers? Why had they no offers of hospitality? Why had they never had a programme of the Conference? And all these things had been sent, and the real question was why had they never received them? One letter was posted to Miss Huggard in Dublin, and she did not receive it till Saturday.

I have been sending out the Guild reports, and asking for such subscriptions as are paid at this time of the year. I have a good many not responded to yet. They may have got there safely, also they may be lost, and I feel a horrid doubt.

What I am also anxious about is that before Christmas I sent by post £3 worth of tools to down to Galway, to make up for some burnt in a reprisal. That very man himself should not write is not so strange, but why does Mr O'Connell keep silence? I have written to him twice, and I hope it is only procrastination, but these Belfast irregularities make one uneasy.

I have a feeling of exhaustion over the whole public life of Ireland, as if nobody had energy to go on looking after
To K S  18 January 1922  Dublin

anything. Are you aware of that in London?

You saw yourself how little people care about the Dail, I mean how little the man in the street cares. He is not roused to make crowds or anything like that, and I see no vigour, or real hopefulness anywhere.

One thing that those women said yesterday was this. I said "Belfast is the most disturbed place now, we are quiet for the moment" and with elfish laughter they all cried out" Oh yes we are very quiet for the moment. If it does not all begin again ....." and we all began to laugh as if we had said something funny.

You know really and truly I think everybody is paralized by the feeling that it will begin again in some newish form. Some whistle to keep up their spirits, and some are like me and hold their tongues to a great extent, but I think there is the greatest possible feeling of insecurity, and that it paralizes effort in all directions.

26 January 1922

To K S

Miss B said to me today " We, the loyalists, are beaten, and we had better submit with a good grace. But some people feel it differently. They say no good will come from a Parliament founded in murder. What do you think? I say we should submit and hope they will do very well " "Oh well" said I rather put to it for an answer "I do not think they can be strong because they have been so lawless themselves. All the Parliaments have been lawless, all are weak. I hold with the
To K S January 26 1922 Boston February 3

Church. I think it will survive the State. I think she really is at her wit's end. She has had some horrid experience, I forget just what it was. Some friend of hers was killed in some horrid way. She has had a very bad time over it.

The wave of crime seems quieter now. Belfast has not been in the papers for several days, and there is less said about crime in other places. I feel no relief whatever, it is only a pause.

February 3 1922 Dublin To K S

The outrages are over in Belfast. I am very 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 11th, 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 Jan 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. It is vile beyond words. If Craig and Collins could stop the outrages it showed 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 last moment that he was a good man quite powerless, 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
To K S February 3 1922  February 10  dublin
be a General Election over here, and de Valera will try to get a republican candidate in everywhere, 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 tete montee, and going on about the glories of "our free state". It is a horrid exhibition, the whole thing is.

To K S Feb 10

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 no wait at least untill the House of Commons had ratified the agreement? and till someone had taken 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 discussion 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 Westminster. Also why should six hundred more soldiers, King George's soldiers, be removed from Ireland 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
February 10 1922

Dublin

people who are far too ignorant to be able to administer them, and through them the national life may express itself and that will and the effect of that is a general paralysis. I keep it alive till it is possible again to have real government.

We all really think 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 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 I cannot ask it for advice, or for help about anything. Also obviously decent people cannot side with those who resort to violence.

I do not see what we can do but wait till some right minded 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. And really it is not the 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 important to keep such things as the Guild of Witness in existence, because they can be kept sound,
To K S

February 10 1922 Dublin

and through them the national life may express itself and that will keep it alive till it is possible again to have real government.

I have been carrying on an exhaustive search, and have just made it clear to myself which the six counties are which Sir James Craig so very wrongly denominates "Ulster." They are all the counties of Ulster except Cavan, Monaghan, and Donegal, and we may remember the three excluded ones by the formula "Covenant Don't Matter" which was in practice 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.

with 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 Oliver 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.O. When I do I shall begin to consider whether he does not deserve such moral support as I can conveniently give him. Meanwhile the seizure and retention of what we call the "Ulster hostages" look to me as much like the beginning of avowed civil war as anything could. Iq so I think under present conditions what-ought-to-be-our-Government will have to help "Ulster."

The question appears to be "is our civilization a failure?" or "Is the Caucasian played out?" If yea it is more the latter than the former. According to Flinders
From Sir Herbert Stephen 4 Rosary Gardens London 12 Feb 1922

Dear Ros

... Your letter to K received yesterday interested me prodigiously. I entirely agree with practically all of it. except that I have never attached so much importance as you to the Covenant which Didn't Matter. In my opinion they never do for more than a few months, which is a good reason for not making them.

Do you think the "general election" will ever occur? I mean the one in the twenty six counties which the Lord Chancellor, and all sanguine Englishmen, expect to be held "in a few weeks (why not this week I do not 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 Oliver 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 I do I shall begin to consider whether he does not deserve such moral support as I can conveniently give him. Meanwhile the seizure and retention of what we call the "Ulster hostages" look to me as much like the beginning of avowed civil war as anything could. I think under present conditions what-ought-to-be-our-Government will have to help "Ulster."

The question appears to be "is our civilization a failure?" or "Is the Caucasian played out?" If yea it is more the latter than the former. According to Flinders
From H S London  
February 12, 1922

Petri, whose short account of the 7 successive civilizations lasting 1450 years apiece is seldom for long out of my mind, or the fact that he dates this one from about 450 A.D. there will be no recovery till after a period of complete barbarism, and the coming into existence of a new race by means of our interbreeding with a Conquering Horde (? Chinese or Russian or Jap). Being partly sanguine myself I incline to your belief (written at Christmas) that for this time we shall outstay and defeat the foreign anarchists who find the money. In fact I am betting 6 to 4 on it. But surely no one can deny that Li G and his companions are mad, and madder than Hamlet ever was thought the English. And even with the modest hope that I in fact share with you, I may reasonably as a matter of today's Irish politics subscribe myself

y a b (your affect brother)

Mr MacMahon

(Note by R S) Mr MacMahon was a solicitor who on being consulted by a friend of ours on the state of her affairs, said

"There is nothing before you Madam, but ruin, the blackest ruin".

In the streets, though the tone is on the whole quieter, if Sir James Craig cannot stop "outbursts 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 race than about the streets.

A number of Mr Quigley's class told me that in many places Irish is "b rolling" becoming "a code language, for a certain section"
To K S

February 24 1922

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 will go on for a year. I think it will be civil war before that." "It looks very like it," said Mr Quigley without turning a hair. I am glad people speak a little about civil war. I have come so near now I do not feel as I did a little while ago that it is wrong to put one's expectations 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 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 three "outbursts of firing" in the streets, though the town is on the whole quieter. If Sir James Craig cannot stop "outbursts 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. I have a feeling that people like the city clergy are wild fire. A member of Mr Quigley's class told me that in many places Irish is being becoming "a code language, for a certain section"
To K S   February 24 1922  Dublin  March 3rd

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.

To K S  March 3rd 1922  Dublin

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, but this Stephen’s Green affair was since.
X thinks she heard the shooting. I did not get a paper, 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 police 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 Dublin alone of 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.

The chief event since I wrote last has been the lessons
(note. Mr Quigley’s lessons in the Irish language) 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 Provisional Government without injury to their consciences
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 who are talking quite cheerfully about
their teachers passing one standard on 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 Free 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 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 utterly miss that feeling that was so strong
formerly 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 so it is I fear, and the Irish makes a sort of gleam
of pleasure for some people."
From the Archbishop of Dublin March 7 1922

The Palace St Stephen’s Green

Dear Miss Stephen Thanks for your letter

Mr Quigley is a great asset as a native Irish speaking clergyman of our Church, and he is so enthusiastic and good tempered that I can well believe all you say about the happy impression he produces on his otherwise unwilling pupils.

I should be very sorry that the Church of Ireland should seem to show any reluctance in a matter which whether rightly or wrongly the Government set so much store on.

Yours sincerely John Dublin
To K.S.  March 17, March 10 1922-in Dublin

For so far the post is quite safe, and I have no more reason than usual to think that the letters are opened. But if I do, 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. Now 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 took place when soldiers came and burnt people's houses and took furniture, by order of their commanding officers. And 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.

The business men keep on holding meetings, and telling the Government (i.e. Sir James Craig) to act. And the Government keeps begging law-abiding citizens to exert their influence, and the robbers snap their fingers at everybody, and go on robbing.ought the sentences were so numerous, and so very many that they would swallow up all interest, but now I think that they will run away screaming as fast as they can, but that some will be left...
To K S  March 17 1922  Dublin

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 slack off a little. They run three times a week from 4 to 10 30, and he just bolts out at 6 to t 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 half a crown a lesson, and he is considered very expensive. He has round and about 100 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 it against their minds. But especially amongst those who are not teachers I think a certain measure of real interest is being awakened. Mr Quigley is so very non-party, that he gives solid interest a chance to show itself. I quite a gree 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
To K S

March 25 1922  Dublin

You will have read about this murder of all the men of a family on Antrim Road (in Belfast. Note) I 20 a.m on Friday morning. 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 think Sir James Craig is afraid to disarm his own side, and very much afraid of what might come out about his own side. Of course 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. Do you know there has never 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 enquiry held at once, and a message of condolence from Sir James, and provision from some fund for the children. That was all right, but why was not the same done when Malachy was killed? I think the thing really wanting is an honest man.

( Note by R S In 1938 Later I made enquiries of the city coroner. He told me that a military inquiry was held about the death of Malachy Halfpenny, but it was held in secret.)

My third reason weighs with no more than either of the others really. I think any day or any hour real fighting might start on the boundary. If a real big fight begins, and communications are interrupted I think I must be here. I do not see what I could do if something turned clean head over heels
To K S

March 30 1922  Dublin

I must now tell you that with very great regret I have decided not to go to Belfast just at present. My reasons are three.

First I had already made up my mind that a fortnight was all I could spare for them, because there is such a press of work here.

Secondly there is the perfectly horrible state of Belfast. Never, no never did I read or hear of such a state of things. It is altogether unique. The people appear to be raging mad, and everyone consulted makes them worse. Sir Henry Wilson has written a letter to Sir James Craig, which I suppose you will see in the English papers, so I will only say that if he wanted to add fuel to the already raging flames, he could hardly have chosen his topics better. As far as I can make out from the papers about half the outrages are to some slight extent political. They take place either in "Sinn Fein" or in "Unionist" districts, and they take place more or less alternately in such districts. There seems some rough rule of outrage, and counter-outrage. The other half are frankly the work of robbers. People walk into shops and rob tills, or they rob men going to pay wages, or they take things from people in the streets. I heard from Miss Clark today. I will enclose her letter because it is so very odd.

My third reason weighs with me more than either of the others really. I think any day or any hour real fighting might start on the boundary. If a real big fight begins, and communications are interrupted I think I must be here. I do not see what X could do if something turned clean head over heels...
March 30 1922 Dublin

To K S

here. You see the poor provisional government here is not provoking all these outrages in the North. Obviously this burning of farm houses is being carried by republicans, who want to make government by the Northern Parliament impossible. Suppose they do make it impossible everywhere as they have in the streets of Belfast, they may any day get seriously to work on the border, and if real fighting starts anywhere you do not know what may happen in Dublin. De Valera may make a great push to become a real president in Dublin, or in fact any mad thing may happen. And though I long to be in Belfast, and though I know how much it would cheer all the cottage people to see me, still I do feel that this house has first claim. So many seem to depend on me here, and there are all the books. As I explain it to you I feel clearer and clearer that it is better to go than to stay, and though there is much loss in staying.

It is evidently very bad at the border. There is a place called Caledon in Tyrone, which seems to be the worst neighbourhood. The Northern specials blew up a stone bridge on their side, and as they blew it up so badly that it fell into the river, and there will probably be very bad flooding in consequence. You know I expect that the IRA and the specials would fight very equally if left alone. If the imperial troops help there will be no facing them by anyone. But their position will be awful once they get involved. It will first be necessary for them to help the specials, who are as fighters as described, and the next thing they will have to come to Dublin to help the Rats. Do you know who the Rats are? They are
the people who want to have the treaty ratified.

I think it is only being at a distance frightens......

Things are actually much safer now in Dublin than they were a year ago. There is no daily danger of any sort now. Of course the whole situation is sad and tragic to the last degree. It is appalling to see the beloved country go to pieces, but that cannot be avoided. That is so, and one sees it wherever one lives, but for the moment I feel rather specially safe. It is perfectly lovely to have no curfew, and now that I am not going north feel a horrible safety, the safety of the shirker.

Letter enclosed from Miss Clerk

March 27 1922 Belfast

Dear Miss Stephen,

In answer to your letter about coming to Belfast I should say myself that the longer you can put it off the better. We are always hoping that the worst of the trouble is over, and certainly this side of the city has been quieter this last week, but of course the military are pervading everywhere. Edith says the nurses are going about as usual now. They have been intermittently staying away from disturbed districts. Of course the real danger is from the snipers, who do not care whom they hit. Things may improve, but if you come I think you ought to be content to do your writing, and not wander about much. There is no use in being pessimistic, but many people say the worst is yet to come.

If you do decide to come it will be very nice to see you so please let us know.
To K S  
March 31 1922  
Dublin

I see today that "Peace is declared" between Belfast and the rest of Ireland. I think that is only because peace cannot be enforced. Griffith says that the activities of the I R A in the Northern area shall cease, but we know that he has no control over the I R A. He says a good part of it is in a "state of mutiny" but he cannot shoot the mutineers. I doubt if he can dismiss them. Craig says that he will reorganize the police. He says that in mixed districts he will employ a mixed force, half Protestant, and half Roman. I am ashamed of anyone printing such nonsense. A real police force is taught to be impartial, Craig admits that he cannot raise drill or educate an impartial police force, though he has lived with one all his life, and he proposes a carefully mixed police.

I think very likely there may come a few weeks of calm in Belfast. I think the mobs may have raved themselves stupid for the moment. But security there is none.

The Irish Times says we shall all thank God for this arrangement. I think God will think us very silly if we do any such thing. There is no real settlement here.

I will tell you what there is though. There is a drawing together of Craig and Griffith against the foreign anarchists. I begin to think as I write that it may do good at a very low level. If we do not aim at being a well governed country, at having high ideals or anything like that, if we just want to avoid the grosser forms of massacre and fraud we may perhaps avoid them by devices at this level. I suggest that possibly
To K S March 31 1922 Dublin 7 19 April 7 tlin

it may be so, because of course one must make any best one can out of what happens. whole thing depends on the country remaining

I take your letters as always into Westland Row. I have a feel as if it were safer so. disturbance begins again. The motor

(Note Letters posted at about 4 in the pillar box in Upper Mount Street, were sent from Westland Row by the night mail at I think 8 20. They were in the Government's charge for about four hours. But they could be posted at Westland Row itself up to within ten minutes of the mail train leaving for Kingstown, and for years I posted them there)

Did I tell you that Mrs Willis is just dead. I am glad

and I am sure her daughter is too, really, for it is very
terrible to have change of any kind in her family. She has

To K S April 7 Dublin

This is really almost too suitable. Whatever day did that miserable Free State take over its powers from Westminster but on April 1st. The bill got the Royal Assent on March 31st. ions

Mr Quigley's money is on deposit (Note: The rent paid for the room where the Irish lessons were given.) I have such a feeling that it is fairy gold, and may cease at any minute that I am not going to spend it till I can make it extinguish my overdraft. He paid me £7 yesterday. He must be taking £50 a month I should think. It is tremendous hard work. He teaches solidly from 4 to 9 always, and quite often from 4 till 10 30. And he corrects exercises, vast piles of exercise books have to be corrected. I shudder at the thought of them. That goes on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. He asks half a crown a lesson, and makes a reduction on some cases for nearly everyone.

He has bought a motor, and he goes home on Monday night.
April 7 1922

and on Thursday night. He only leaves her alone on Wednesdays, but of course the whole thing depends on the country remaining quiet. He can neither leave her so much, nor can he run about the roads in the dark if disturbance begins again. The motor cost £300, and I do hope he will make that up before the bubble bursts.

He is told one of the best teachers in Dublin, and as a Protestant teacher he is unique.

(The Rev Paul Quigley was at this time Rector of Carbury Co Kildare. Note)

Did I tell you that Mrs Wills is just dead. I am glad and I am sure her daughter is too, really, for it is very terrible to have charge of old people in this city. Last year she got so frightened that she wanted her daughters to be always in her sight, and you may imagine the harrowing questions that followed on that desire. Mary said it was delusion, and she would grow worse if it were too much indulged, but then where did "too much" come in? They were awfully good daughters and very fond and proud of her, but they could not hinder her being three times in a hold up, and all but getting her claim (for rebate of income tax) burnt in the Custom House, like mine. For some days they thought it was burned, and she could not throw it off, and laugh as I did. It bothered her very much.

Do you know really and truly I think this is civil war. De Valera's I R A are fighting Collins's R I A actually and in fact. They arrested ever so many men in Cork, who were
coming up here to enlist in the Free State army, and they keep this abominable murder business as you see in the papers.

Belfast is said to be quieting, but a rifle shot was fired in New Lodge Road, off Antrim Road, and a child of nine was killed on the spot, and later a bomb was thrown into a house in Spamont Street, and two sisters were badly injured, and taken to hospital. I shall have no confidence in Sir J C till he disarms the whole civilian population. It is useless to do anything else at all till he takes away all the guns, unearth all the bombs and has a ring fence round to prevent more from coming in, and he could do that fairly, and disarm all alike.

I am really not able to follow all the I R A are doing, but it is quite clear that de Valera intends to terrorize everybody till he has the country back again where the black and tans got it last year.

I read in a book that no government is ever overthrown, but that from time to time a government commits suicide. Do you think that is true? "General Tudor was directed that men (of the R I C) should only be disbanded in places whence they can as a matter of fact get out of Ireland in safety." "The government could not make any arrangements officially for housing these men and their families, who were coming to Great Britain." "The real fact of the matter was that the members of the R I C were such outstanding brave and gallant men, that they would run risks" that last because two of them were murdered in Ballyhaunis while arranging for the departure of their families. Is it worth while to harrow
to K S  
April 7 1922  
Dublin

oneself with reading stuff like that? Is it any harm not to read what the ministers of the Crown say in England? The British cabinet seems incapable of remembering, or applying anything whatever.

I have been worried the last few days by having no voice. Also I have a great torpor of the mind. I think it is a cold induced by fatigue. I do not know how I have got overtired.

Of course it is tiring to have a civil war going on. Yes. I think it is civil war, because the two sides fight fairly equal. As long as no real soldiers interfere with the two sections of the IRA I think they can get up a civil war. And I think it is civil war in practice when de Valera's IRA fight the Northern Specials. They also are equally matched and might fight battles.

And yet they do not fight battles. It is more like the old clan fighting. That was not war at all. Perhaps this is not war. Perhaps it is a sort of reversion to type, going back to clan ways. Yes; as I write I begin to think "civil war" is the wrong phrase. I will go over the matter in my own head and try to find a better one.

It was not war at all last year when the IRA was against the troops. I think that was a high degree of "civil commotion." Battles were impossible, and the end would have been a foregone conclusion, had the Government not been so determined on suicide. With a small wish to live they must have won. Perhaps now we have only widespread anarchy and riot.

I will think it over.
May 10 1922

Dublin

It is a nuisance that I feel much pulled down by that turn of fever I had. The fever kept coming back a little and being followed by a very low temperature, and life for a time an unendurable burden. But that is passing now, and I do not feel in quite such hopeless apathy about all prospects as I did. But public affairs are quite awful. All these places in town in the hands of the irregulars look so awful, and things like the Government at Westminster having petitions, and representations made to it to provide help for "refugees from Ireland". It is all such a frightful scandal. I think most people do not realize what a scandal it is. They do not see that this is the end of the House of Commons, and this is the end of British freedom. It was just because things like that did not happen in these islands that we boasted so much and so rightly. People do not realize what a real change there is, and they have this wild idea that things can happen in Ireland, and not matter so very much.

X wants change. She has had ever such a long cold. It is abating now before a spell of hot weather, but she is tired with the goings on in town. On Sunday she went out to watch while Ballast vacated the "officials" the Office, and as she passed Kildare street club she saw men pointing guns and waving flags on the roof, and she was afraid to go any further. It is very tiresome. Of course any of those demonstrations may become serious any minute, or they may remain demonstrations.

(Note The "unofficials" were the same people described in a former letter as "de Valera's section of the IRA")

In July when X comes back, or in
To D I S

May 10 1922 Dublin

In July when X comes back or in August, I might go to England. But will the town be quiet enough to be left? One simply cannot guess. I would spend August in Manchester with Kate, but I have told her that I can make no plans, and that if I cannot come over to her she must come and see me. The election comes in June. How will that affect daily life?

Life cannot help being melancholy. One is always coming on some new horror which has to be put up with. One cannot notice every trifle, or it would get too depressing, but there are such sad little things all the time. Fancy all the letter boxes are now painted green, and you cannot see them at all. They vanish at once into the landscape. What matter for that if they are painted dark green and have yellow initials painted on them meaning Free State. Then a letter marked "O H M S" has that legend effaced, and some inscription in Irish stamped over it, and the nuisance about the stamps is never ending. If you want to write a letter and enclose a stamp for reply, or if you want to add stamps to a postal order, you have to get the stamps surcharged for the twenty-six counties, and not surcharged for the twenty-six, or for Great Britain. If you have to have lots of stamps of both kinds, and it makes your head go round. To get them not surcharged you must write to your friends at a distance.

This morning I went up to see Mrs Holfshams. There were
To DIS Tuesday May 16 1922 Belfast
Feenavarna 5 Everton Street Belfast

Look well at the above address; on July 1st I give up
the house. (Note At this time I rented Feenavarna, and sublet
some of the rooms to Mrs Musson and her family)
You remember what Belfast was like in October? Well it
has just got steadily worse and worse ever since. There was a lull
for about a fortnight in the outrages, and in Synod week I saw
two or three Belfast people who told me the city was much better,
and I could come here. So on Sat last May 13th I came, Dublin
having also taken a better turn. As soon as my car brought me up
here I saw people at their doors, police armed motors etc etc
and Mrs Musson came out pale and laughing, and said with giggles of
terror that a man had just been murdered in Butlet Street, she
was sure there was going to be a very bad week end. So there was
firing
I think four people were killed on Sunday, there was fighting in
Butler Street last night, and today the murdered man was buried.
In Donegal Street, just at the bottom you know where you turn
into Royal Avenue, people from the side streets fired at the
funeral procession, (and a man was seen running, and some men
ran after him into a shop, and shot him dead.) The man being
buried was a St Matthew’s man called Beatty. Dr Walker and Mr
Dodd were both with the funeral. I heard the shots, but I hoped
it was only a volley fired over the grave. Then I saw Mrs Gorman
this morning and she told me
(Note. The incident enclosed in brackets above was reported
at the time, but I had and I have my doubts whether it was
reported accurately RS 1938)

This morning I went up to see Mrs Halfpenny. There were
To D I S. Tuesday May 16 1922 Belfast

people gathering for the funeral. I had forgotten all about it but the Crumlin was crowded. Also aemoured cars were going about. I asked a man standing there if there was any "stir." He said No. I went up to Herbert Street corner. I saw two specials. I asked them was Herbert street quiet, I had someone to see. They said it would be all right. I went to 21 and knocked. I knocked once, twice, three times, and as I waited I watched while a piano, and other good furniture was moved into a wooden hut, where was formerly a waste. At last Mrs Halfpenny opened, she had the door locked. She said with a wild face "Why did you come?" "To see you dear friend" "Yes yes I know you came to see me. But I do not want you. I shall have to go myself. We shall all have to go to Dublin or some place, they will not let us stay here." "Shall I go away?" "Yes For God's sake, go. The funeral will be down presently. Oh and he was a postman too." "Yes yes I knew you would feel his being a postman." "I do. I am grieved to the heart. But go. We will meet again when there is peace." She looked distracted, worn to the last point. But she was entirely herself. We stood in the kitchen, and she brought me out to the door. I was glad to go, and yet it was very horrid leaving her like that. But what could one do? My being there might have brought danger on her, so I just had to walk back to the Crumlin and I saw the Special, and said to him "I got my message given, and it was all right." 

I am awfully glad I came. People like to see one, and I like to see the thing itself. I am going round now making up an
intercession paper for the Guild. It is really a great resource. It makes something to talk about. Everyone looks worn and terrified, and planning out the paper is a resource. Mrs Gorman has chosen a hymn to end it with, and Mrs Hanna has made several suggestions.....

The whole scene here is so hideous, and so odd I seem unable to think of anything else.

The elections for the Southern Parliament are for June 12th I hear.

The people keep asking me what is wrong in Belfast, and I say that it was madness to start the Northern Parliament on June 22nd, and to disband the RIC before March 31st. The police force ought only to have been reorganized very slowly. The process ought to have taken nine years sooner than nine months.

Letter to K S same date and subject
I looked at a piano and other furniture being moved into a wooden hut where used to be waste ground. "They were put out of Palmer Street last night," said Mrs Halfpenny. It was in Palmer Street that the murdered man lived.

To K S

I sit on high and listen to the firing. Bang, Bang, Bang every few minutes, and the soldiers march past, and the fire engine, and the armoured cars. A good deal is blank firing, but it is very noisy. It is not the worst kind of evening, because the trams are running. The guns are of new patterns. I would not recognize them for guns only Mrs Mussen told me. One is called the Whippet. It makes a noise like moving furniture.
Do you know I am seriously thinking if I can get a decent offer of selling Feenish. I do not feel near as keen as I did on keeping it. Things are so utterly changed. It is anarchy here and nothing else. The business people want martial law, but Sir J Craig will not consent. No one will consent to anything reasonable. I think when normal life begins again it will be under new conditions which we cannot foresee, and for which we need not try to provide. Under what arrangements the Church will work I have no idea, and I feel now that my work is to help the church through the actual revolution, not to think about the future.

To K S  

Sunday May 21st 1922 Belfast

..... Well now to come to this unlucky town. It is really very dreadful. I was told in Synod week, May 7...14 that Belfast was much improved, and that I could safely come here. On Friday May 12th things did not look very good, and when I got here on Saturday I3th I heard that Beattie had been murdered that very morning. It has gone on since that like a night mare. I think I am right in saying that there have been 26 murders in a week. There has been firing in every 24 hours, there have been many incendiary fires in Belfast and elsewhere throughout the Northern area. One asks before going anywhere "Is it safe? I asked a man at the corner today whether I might go safely as far as the Settlement, he said "Oh yes, the shooting was all in York Road

(10 p.m. There go the guns on Old Lodge Road. That is the first
shooting here today, four volleys I think.)

Yesterday Mrs Musson was quite distressed because I wanted to cross the Crumlin, and go along Tennant Street to see Mrs Gorman. I thought she was needlessly alarmed, and I went, but coming back was rather horrid. I went through side streets, but the people seemed so much excited that I turned into the Crumlin coming back, and there were any number of specials who kept us moving, and called out "Go on Go on", and if they had not done so there would have been a huge jamb of people. So I got indoors as soon as I could, for it was not pleasant hearing the people calling "They are going to shoot, they are going to shoot". They did not shoot, but there really was a fire at Rosebank mill, an incendiary fire, and the people wanted to see it.

This morning I made a great effort to get into Brookfield St to see Kitty Madden. I saw three men at the corner, and I asked them if it was safe to go there. I thought at first they were Brookfield St men but when I got up to them I saw they were in charge of the office of the Brookfield St mill. They told me that Brookfield St was quiet, but that I had much better not go there. I said I wanted to see a neighbour, they said, well perhaps if everyone knew me, and then one man said that the street was full of strangers, and I had better keep out of it. So I did. I longed to go but one might bring trouble on the people.

On Friday I met a Mrs Cassidy in the tram. She shook hands and came and sat beside me, and I told her I had been warned not to stay in Herbert Street. "Do you think that is right?"

"Yes. People have different ideas. Some would say you had come to
To K S

May 21 1922

Belfast

get information. I will not allow you to come to our street "They do not know what they are saying" said I "Give them all my best love" But this morning I felt I really could not go to Kitty.

On Sat. I was very wishful to cross town to call on Mr Cooke. He lives over by the Botaniz Gardens. I got down to Royal Avenue about 11 30 I then saw cars going for the Island men, and I turned back. The Island men used to work till I on Saturday, but all the hours are changed now, and if there is trouble when the men quit work it is likely to be serious. So I went no further than Mrs Gorman’s that day.

The Mussons I am happy to say got over to their allotment early on Saturday, and planted some potatoes, which were sprouting, and ought to have been in weeks ago. The allotment if off Old Park Road, you can get to it up Cliftonville, but the danger is that once shooting starts in the "Bone" the bullets fly right across it. "And the shed would be no protection, the bullets would come through it" For many weeks therefore they have not been there, and Mr Musson who loves gardening was getting very impatient at spending all the fine weather indoors.

I am very sorry about Alice. She has been waked out of her first sleep twice over this week by firing, and her mother says it makes her excited and restless. And the children at school talk incessantly of horrors and Mrs Musson does not know how much to let Alice repeat to her. To repeat it excites her, and yet to keep it to herself may be agitating in another way. It is very difficult for Mrs
To K S

May 21 1922  Belfast  May 22

Musson and I am very sorry for her.

I saw Mrs MacIntosh. Beckett is not put out of his work yet, but they feel he may have to go any month. He is now travelling in Scotland, as he is not admitted into the 26 counties. The boys had a jolly spin the other day. "Oh Granny it was so pleasant. The man never stopped once from the Junction to the Terminus, and the tram went at such a pace" and Alfred Beckett muttered "I did not find it pleasant crouching in the tram with a man that weighted sixteen stone at least on top of me". Having to crouch is far commoner than flying, but the flying must be better fun, specially if it is the terminus you are coming to. It must be horrid if you want to get off say at Queen's Bridge.

To D I S

Thursday May 25

Wednesday 16th 1922  Belfast  Thursday 16th  Dublin

I want to give a full account of Belfast. It was really too remarkable, and too horrid not to be recorded. If I do not record, and if the country settles we shall in quite a short time be unable to believe that I saw such dreadful things.

On Monday May 22nd I went down to the Bank and got there about 11 30. I got a fright going down because outside the chapel that one passes in Donegal Street stood a hearse, and I was afraid of what might happen at the funeral. However I got all right to the Bank. I said to Mr Harding, the manager: "I want to go to Botanic Avenue. Will that be all right?" "Oh yes that side is quite quiet" so to Botanic Avenue, and to the abode of Mr Cooke I went (Note Mr Cook was the Rev R Cooke Rector of All Saints Belfast) The gentleman was not at home.
To DIS

Thursday May 25 1922  

Dublin

I waited for a while till past one, then I left three books on the hall table, and a note to say that I left them on the chance of his liking them, and I came away. As I came into the little front garden there sat Mrs and Miss Cooke. We began to speak to one another and gradually I discovered that Mrs Cooke was nearly beside herself. She kept reviling the RCs in a demented sort of way. Her daughter tried to calm her down, and it was rather unexpected, because he is a peculiarly tolerant man. But as she talked I perceived that she was very much upset indeed, not talking out of her real mind, but kind of wild panic words, and gradually it all came out, a bit here and a bit there. There is a Mr Twadell (you put the accent on the last syllable) and he was an MP in the Northern Parliament. He used to come to All. Saint's