

**Against the Tide:
Immigration into Ireland from Continental Europe, 1945-1990**

Patricia Farrell B.A.

Supervised By Dr.Róisín Healy
School of History and Philosophy
Department of History

Ollscoil na Gaillimhe University of Galway

Date 11 November 2024.

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and has not been submitted at any other institution.

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------------|
| INTRODUCTION | 6 |
| CHAPTER ONE: | |
| Official attitudes to European Immigration,1945-199 | 39 |
| CHAPTER TWO: | |
| The motives behind immigration to Ireland | 82 |
| CHAPTER THREE : | |
| The European migrants' experience of Ireland | 120 |
| CHAPTER FOUR: | |
| The impact of European immigrants on postwar Ireland | 164 |
| CONCLUSION | 213 |
| Appendix A | 222 |
| Appendix B | 223 |
| Bibliography | 225 |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|------------|
| Table 0.1: Number of Migrants by country and census year | 30 |
| Table 0.2 : Oral History interviewees | 36 |
| Table 3.1: Migrants by country, province and census year | 125 |
| Table 3.2: Extract from Bogardus Table (MicheálMacGréil) | 146 |
| Table 4.1: European-owned businesses by country and county | 167 |

Acknowledgements

It takes a village to raise a child. It has taken the help of very many people for this project to be born. First of all, I thank the fifteen people who entrusted me with their life stories: 'Hans', Anne Korff, 'Helga', 'Annette', 'Lise', Petra Breatnach, Norbert Illien, Helene Willhelms, 'Bertha', 'Anna', Nutan Piraprez, 'Harry', 'Gino', Nadin Reichel, Dr Niall O Ciosáin and Anita Groener. Thank you to The College of Arts, Social Sciences and Celtic Studies for their insight in grant-aiding a senior citizen. More particularly, this thesis would not have been completed without the compassionate, hardworking, insightful help of my supervisor Dr Róisín Healy, very many thanks. I would also like to acknowledge the History Department in general for their support. One should not forget the many 'backroom' people. The staff of NAI, the staff of University of Galway Hardiman library and Special collections and the archivist in RTÉ, all them went above and beyond helping me access the materials I needed particularly during the COVID shut-down. Lastly my supportive partner, Neil, whose sense of humour helped me finish this thesis and my two children, Leo and Barbara whose sense of proportion helped me keep my feet at ground level.

Introduction

Immigrants from continental Europe made a disproportionate contribution to postwar Ireland, but one that is often overlooked. Their presence extended into many aspects of Irish society. To give an example from everyday life the 'Roma Foods' brand is now as common an Irish supermarket name as Barry's Tea or Brennan's bread. One might assume that it is an Italian import. However, it was started in 1957 by a man from Verona, Antonio Nico, who had arrived in Dublin in the early 1940s as a minor Italian diplomat.¹ It is common knowledge that Charles Bačík, an émigré from Czechoslovakia, started Waterford Crystal in 1958 but less well known is that a Dane, Joergen Simonsen, was the first person to realise the potential the Irish climate offered to the commercial cultivation of semi-tropical pot plants.² Continental Europeans also played a key role in Irish culture. The principal conductor with the RTÉ Symphony Orchestra and Director of Music from 1961 to 1967, was a Hungarian, Tibor Paul, who used his reputation to bring many other world-class soloists from the Continent to play with the orchestra including - Vladimir Ashkenazy, Andrés Segovia and Julian Bream.³

One reason that these immigrants have been largely ignored is that their absolute numbers were small. In 1946 there were 2,910 European-born immigrants in the Ireland; by 1991 there were 17,048.⁴ While these figures represent a large increase they are still small in comparison with the postwar experience of other European countries. France experienced an annual flow of 19,300 immigrants in 1950, rising to 1,185,000 in 1980. West Germany had a similar experience, with the arrival of 550,710 immigrants in 1950, rising to 752,100 by 1980.⁵ If one follows classical migration theory, one would have to admit that the Irish migration pattern

¹ Barbara Page, *Evening Herald*, 1 June 1961.

² Catherine Cox, 'Charles Bačík, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. <https://www.dib.ie/biography/bacik-charles-a0296> accessed 12 March 2022; 'Our history', <https://uniplumo.ie/> accessed 3 January 2024.

³ Richard Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), p. 428.

⁴ *Census of the Population of Ireland, 1946*, Vol. 3 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1949), Table 01. <https://www.cso.ie/en/census/censusvolumes1926to1991/historicalreports/census1946reports/> accessed 6 January 2022; *Census of the Population of Ireland, 1991*, Vol. 8 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1996), Table 27A, <https://www.cso.ie/en/census/censusvolumes1926to1991/historicalreports/census1991reports/>, accessed 6 January 2022.

⁵ B.R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: Europe 1750-2005* (Basingstoke, Hants & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 139.

was not typical.⁶ There were, in fact, no wide-scale 'push and pull' factors or large bodies of people moving into Ireland; except for the group of 541 Hungarians fleeing the Soviet invasion in 1956. The Irish economy was not strong enough to attract these immigrants; in fact, mass immigration to Ireland was not an issue in Ireland until the 1990s.

Migration into Ireland over this period was almost exclusively individual. Apart from the migration of the Italians, largely involved in food retail, from the southern Italian region of Casalattico throughout the twentieth century, there was no chain migration into Ireland.⁷ There was therefore, for most European nationals, no 'receiving community' with a body of knowledge about settling in Ireland that could be passed on generationally. One might contrast this with the support available for the Irish diaspora in the large ex-patriate communities in the U.K. and the U.S. These communities offered the immigrant support, in some cases shelter and advice on housing and employment.⁸ Nor were there 'guest workers' in large numbers, a Western European phenomenon as described by Marios Nikolinakos.⁹

There was instead a slow, but increasing, trickle of individuals who came for complex reasons. The 1946 census lists eighteen countries from which immigrants came to Ireland, alongside only twenty-four individuals listed as 'other Europeans', many of these immigrants will have come to Ireland before 1946.¹⁰ The biggest group of European-born nationals living in Ireland, at this time, were those from the USSR, much of this immigration was before 1917 and Jews from the Western part of the Russian Empire predominate in this earlier immigration. The next largest groups are German, French and Italian nationals. In the 1940s this immigration was mainly for political reasons: Eastern Europeans fleeing Soviet control and Basque,

⁶ E.S. Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, XVIII, June 1885, pp. 198-9; Henry Fairchild, *Immigration: a World Movement and its American Significance* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), p.3.

⁷ Brian Reynolds, *Casalattico and the Italian Community in Ireland* (Dublin: Foundation for Italian Studies, UCD, 1993).

⁸ J.J. Sexton, 'Emigration and Immigration in the Twentieth Century: An Overview,' in J.R. Hill ed., *A New History of Ireland Volume VII 1921-84* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 805.

⁹ Marios Nikolinakos, 'Notes Towards a General Theory of Migration in Late Capitalism', *Race and Class*, XVII, (1), Summer 1975, pp. 14-16.

¹⁰ *Census 1946*, Vol.3, Table 01. The countries listed were: Austria 147, Belgium 149, Czechoslovakia 85, Denmark 37, France 422, Germany 460, Greece 73, Hungary 19, Italy 298, The Netherlands 125, Norway 17, Poland 14, Roumania 18, Spain 79, Sweden 17, Switzerland 85 and USSR 653.

Breton and Flemish nationalists who were unwelcome in their native countries after the war. However, there was also a resurgence of chain migration from Casalattico in this period. A few European entrepreneurs arrived in Ireland in this decade, although there was no official policy of encouraging investment from overseas. The 1961 census only lists four European countries separately: France, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands.¹¹ This period, the 1950s, saw more European owned businesses set up in Ireland. Radio Éireann recruited European musicians and conductors in this decade. Dutch graphic artists were brought to Ireland by the Sun advertising agency and most of these artists settled in Ireland. The only large-scale immigration during this period was that of the 541 Hungarian refugees in 1956. European migration during the 1960s and 1970s had several strands: musicians continued to be recruited by RTÉ; the IDA's new funding and international outreach programme attracted more European businesses; the newly founded Kilkenny Design Workshop attracted European skilled craft workers; and young professionals started coming to Ireland in search of a more environmentally sound life. The 1980s, despite recession, saw further growth in the European-born population. The 1986 and 1991 censuses both listed ten countries and all of those named grew in size in the intervening period.¹²

The focus of this thesis

This thesis examines the whole process of post-war migration to Ireland by Europeans: why they came, the government's attitude to them, what they experienced, and what their impact was. This study will show that Ireland was in fact attractive to European immigrants over the chosen period and why. It will prove that their experience was mostly positive and that the Irish government, rather than being isolationist, actively encouraged some Europeans to settle in Ireland. Finally, it

¹¹*Census of the Population of Ireland, 1961*, Vol. 7 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1965), Table 7, <https://www.cso.ie/en/census/censusvolumes1926to1991/historicalreports/census1961reports/>, accessed 6 January 2022; The countries and their totals were France 433, Germany 3853, Italy 1314 and The Netherlands 1888.

¹²*Census of the Population of Ireland, 1986*, Vol. 8 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1993), Table 30, Vol. 8, <https://www.cso.ie/en/census/censusvolumes1926to1991/historicalreports/census1986reports/>, accessed 7 January 2022; Belgium 497, Denmark 366, France 2460, Germany 3853, Italy 1314, Luxemburg 30, The Netherlands 1888, Portugal 124, Spain 1113; *Census 1991*, Vol. 8, Table 27A. Belgium 600, Denmark 463, France 4512, Germany 5792, Greece 197, Italy 1507, Luxemburg 44, The Netherlands 1985, Portugal 147 and Spain 1801.

will demonstrate that the impact of the immigrants was more substantial than their numbers would suggest. This work will do this by interrogating the Irish government's intentions towards immigrants as exhibited by the legislation concerning aliens and naturalisation and the implementation of these laws. It will identify the motivation for each category of immigrant and examine their experience through oral history interviews, media interviews and memoirs. The work will also attempt to assess the impact of European migrants by examining newspaper reports and obituaries, biographies and honours bestowed upon them, such as membership of the Royal Irish Academy and Aosdána.

For the purposes of this study the term 'European-born' includes any European born outside the United Kingdom. Citizens of the United Kingdom have been excluded for two main reasons. Firstly, their experience in Ireland was different from other Europeans. Under the Common Travel Agreement UK citizens had an automatic right to enter and live in the Free State, later the Republic of Ireland, and they were effectively exempt from the legislation of Aliens Act of 1935.¹³ Secondly, many UK citizens coming to Ireland were returning second and third generation immigrants to the United Kingdom for whom Irish culture and mores would have been familiar, unlike the experience of other Europeans.¹⁴ The term Ireland, in this work, denotes the Republic of Ireland rather than the whole island of Ireland. As part of the United Kingdom the six counties of Northern Ireland were governed by different legislation concerning migration and its history was shaped from the late 1960s by the Troubles. A recent work by Jack Crangle describes the very different experience in the North of one ethnic group explored by this thesis, the Italian immigrants from Casalattico.¹⁵ Even though they were largely from the same part of Italy and engaged in similar occupations, the Italians in Belfast and other areas

¹³ This seems to have been a tacit agreement referred to by both President de Valera and Osmond T. Grattan Esmonde during the debate on the 1935 Aliens Act *DD* 14 February 1935 Vol. 54 No. 12 but was not officially made law until 1999 1999, Aliens (Exemption) Act, 97 of 1999. <https://irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1999/si/97/made/en/print>.

¹⁴ Sara Hannafin, 'Coming Home: place, belonging and second generation return migration from England to Ireland', PhD Thesis (Galway: National University of Galway, 2018), p. 2.

¹⁵ Jack Crangle, *Migrants, Immigration and Diversity in Twentieth-Century Northern Ireland: British, Irish or Other*, Palgrave Studies in Migration History (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), pp. 69-104.

suffered from what Jack Crangle calls 'the binary social structure' in the North.¹⁶ The Italian community were Catholics and for this reason they were assumed to be on the Nationalist side and were targeted by Protestant paramilitaries.¹⁷ The Italians in the South did not have this experience.

The choice of European-born rather than all migrants to Ireland over the period is, similarly to the decision made about UK born immigrants, made to compare like experience with like. According to the 1946 census, most of the people born outside of Ireland who numbered, 65,379 in total, were from the UK or Commonwealth countries, 53,107. Of the rest 8,509 were from the United States. Both are likely to have included second or third generation returnees, a fact which, again, could cloud the picture of immigrant experience.¹⁸ Choosing only European-born subjects for this study also raises the question of race. While some European-born people could be from previous colonies most of the people concerned in this study are white. Their experience could, therefore, be different from people of colour arriving in Ireland at the same time. Very little work has been done on the experience of people of colour coming to Ireland.. In 2011, Theophilus Ejorh examined the situation of Africans in Ireland but only those who arrived at a later date, and Jack Crangle's work, while examining this period, is focussed on the North.¹⁹

This thesis examines immigration that occurred between 1945 and 1990. The end date is easy to justify. After 1992 and the implementation of the Maastricht treaty the citizens of all EEC countries (known as the EU from 1993) could move freely between member states and the term, 'alien' no longer applied to them.²⁰ It was thus much easier for these Europeans to settle in Ireland. The starting date may seem more arbitrary for the Irish context. One might ask why not 1922 when the Free State was instituted or 1969 when the IDA was given funds to attract

¹⁶ Crangle, *Migrants, Immigration and Diversity in Twentieth-Century Northern Ireland*, p. 70.

¹⁷ Crangle, *Migrants, Immigration and Diversity in Twentieth-Century Northern Ireland*, p. 95.

¹⁸ *Census 1946*, Part II Table 1A.

¹⁹ Theophilus Ejorh, 'African Immigrant Experience of Racism, Adaptation and Belonging' in Fanning, Munck and Kersten eds., *Globalization, Migration and Social Transformation: Ireland in Europe and the World* (Farnham: Routledge, 2011), pp. 141-152.

²⁰ 1992, , 'Treaty on European Union, (Maastricht 7 February 1992) No. C 191, Article B, Official Journal of the European Communities 29 July 1992. Ireland joined the EEC in 1973.

foreign businesses to establish enterprises in Ireland.. These dates are, of course, significant in some ways. But, in 1922, the Free State had not yet decided on its policy towards immigrating foreigners. This came with the Aliens and Naturalisation and Citizenship Acts of 1935. A starting date of 1969 is too late in that this date would omit the Europeans who came to Ireland in the aftermath of World War II and Soviet expansionism. In many ways 1945 was a watershed. The disruption of active war was over and much of Europe was moving, 'like swollen mountain torrents in the spring a Babel of people and languages'.²¹ Ireland itself was looking outwards after the war-time period of neutrality, evinced by the country's desire to join the United Nations and offer aid to postwar Europe.²²

Historiography of European Migration to Ireland in the second half of the twentieth century

For many years, Irish scholarship has concentrated on emigration rather than immigration, an understandable focus given how many people were leaving the country. Kevin Kenny estimates that, 'one in every three people under thirty independent Ireland in 1946 had left the country by 1971'.²³ This has led to a rather dismissive attitude to immigration. Cormac Ó Gráda for example in 2006 commented on 'the unimportance of immigration in modern Irish history before the Celtic Tiger'.²⁴ Yet this is to miss an important aspect of Ireland's past. Recent archaeological evidence indicates that Ireland has been an immigration destination for a long time.²⁵ In fact, Bryan Fanning, a sociologist who specialises in migration studies, sees Ireland, historically, as 'a small island at the centre of the world' with

²¹ Alexander Donat, *The Holocaust Kingdom: A Memoir* (New York: Secker and Warburg, 1957), p. 49.

²² For Ireland looking outwards in the immediate post-war period see Memo from William Warnock on developing Ireland's foreign trade, Interdepartmental Conference on European Relief Aid, 24 October 1945, NAI DFA 419/4; Jérôme De Wiel, *Ireland's Helping Hand to Europe: Combating Hunger from Normandy to Tirana 1945-1950* (NY: Central European Press, 2021).

²³ Kevin Kenny, 'Irish Emigrations in a Comparative Perspective', in Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly eds., *The Cambridge History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.414.

²⁴ Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Time of Joyce: a Socio-economic History* (Princeton & London: Princeton University Press, 2006), p.2.

²⁵ 'Irish DNA reveals History's imprint' 11 December 2017., this article relates to the bones, excavated from the Poul na Brone dolmen, which were found to have Middle Eastern DNA. BBC News, <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-35863186>, accessed 2021.

much inflow and outflow of people.²⁶This picture seems to reflect Barry Cunliffe's idea of Ireland as part of a Northern Atlantic region with the sea as its highway rather than the sense of Ireland as a remote *Ultima Thule*, the Classical Roman idea.²⁷

That said, immigration in the period since 1990 has been extensively covered by historians, sociologists and economists. For example *Globalisation, Migration and Social Transformation: Ireland in Europe and the World*, edited by Bryan Fanning and Ronaldo Munck, gives an overview of the key issues raised by mass immigration.²⁸ Other works have discussed specific areas. Some, such as Dug Cubie and Fergus Ryan's book, *Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Law in Ireland* looks at the legal situation and the technicalities of immigration.²⁹ Other writers - Martin Rhus for example - examine the effects of immigration on areas such as employment and education.³⁰ Two writers stand out in this context, Irial Glynn and Bryan Fanning. Glynn focuses on the issues refugees and other migrants face such as the cultural loss that can come with integration. He also looks at the interface between the incomers and the host country, for instance in *History, Memory and Migration*, the book he edited with Olaf Kleist.³¹ Bryan Fanning, who could be seen as one of the pioneers of Migration Studies in Ireland, has written extensively on immigration, integration and racism. His most recent work, *Immigrants as Outsiders in the Two Irelands*, compares the experiences of the different ethnic groups which came to

²⁶ Bryan Fanning, *Migration and the Making of Ireland* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2018), p. 1.

²⁷ Barry Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 60.

²⁸ Bryan Fanning and Ronaldo Munck eds., *Globalisation, Migration and Social Transformation: Ireland in Europe and the World* (Burlington VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., c2011).

²⁹ Dug Cubie and Fergus Ryan, *Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Law in Ireland* (Dublin: Thomson Round Hall, 2004), this book details the legislation and case law around immigration; Kate Waterhouse's 2014 publication examines how immigrants are treated at District Court level. Kate Waterhouse, *Ireland's District Courts: Language, Immigration and the Consequences for Justice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

³⁰ For employment see Martin Rhus, *Managing the Immigration and Employment of Non-EU Nationals in Ireland* (Dublin: The Policy Institute at Trinity College, Dublin, 2005); for education see Delma Byrne, Frances McGinty, Emer Smyth and Merike Darmody, 'Immigration and school composition in Ireland', *Irish Educational Studies*, 2010-09, Vol. 29 (3), pp. 271-288.

³¹ Irial Glynn and J. Olaf Kleist eds., *History, Memory and Migration: Perceptions of the Past and the Politics of Incorporation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).

Ireland since 1990, discussing areas such as employment, education and housing in both Northern Ireland and Ireland.³²

However, while emigration and post-1992 immigration has been well-covered there has been much less academic attention paid to people who came to Ireland prior to the 'Celtic Tiger', particularly in the post-war period. This is true of the three large-scale histories for this period, which have largely focussed on emigration and mostly ignored immigration. *A New History of Ireland* has a chapter dedicated to emigration and immigration.³³ The chapter by J.J. Sexton provides a clear exposition of the causes and extent of emigration and changes in the character of the outflow of people from the island and their destinations.³⁴ The coverage of immigration over the post-war period differentiates clearly between returning emigrants and non-nationals but there is no attempt to discuss the European migrants and their potential impact.³⁵ The chapter also makes the key point that Ireland was unusual in relation to other European countries in that immigration was low and its populations did not have a large proportion of non-nationals.³⁶

Published over a year later, Mary Daly's approach in her chapter, 'Migration since 1914', in *The Cambridge History of Ireland*, is also focussed on emigration and agrees that Ireland's emigration was exceptional even in the late 1980s.³⁷ Daly does mention that 10% of the Irish population since 2010 are either Irish people living abroad or people born in other countries but does not discuss their origins or their role in Irish society.³⁸ The editors of the third general work, *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland*, see migration as a key issue for Irish social history and Part III is devoted to the discussion of 'Emigration, Immigration and the Wider

³² Bryan Fanning, *Immigrants as Outsiders in the Two Irelands* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019). See also his chapter, 'Racism, Rules and Rights' in Bryan Fanning ed., *Immigration and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland* (2007), pp. 6-26, and his book, *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

³³ Sexton, 'Emigration and Immigration in the Twentieth Century: an Overview' in J.R. Hill ed., *A New History of Ireland: Volume 9. Ireland 1921-1984* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 796-825.

³⁴ Sexton, 'Emigration and Immigration', pp. 800-805.

³⁵ Sexton, 'Emigration and Immigration', pp. 817, 819.

³⁶ Sexton, 'Emigration and Immigration', p. 820.

³⁷ Mary E. Daly, 'Migration since 1914', Part III Contemporary Ireland in Thomas Bartlett ed., *The Cambridge History of Ireland: Volume IV 1880 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 533.

³⁸ Mary E. Daly, 'Migration since 1914', p. 535.

World.³⁹ Of the ten chapters in this section only two concern immigration directly. The first, 'Minorities', investigates pre-twentieth century immigrants and explains that much was actively encouraged by the state, as with the Huguenots and the Palatine Germans, but not actively supported by the state.⁴⁰ The lack of state support was a mistake he feels was repeated with the Hungarians in 1956.⁴¹ This is a valuable contribution to the discussion on minorities and the role of the state. However, there are many immigrant experiences omitted from his discussion such as that of the Italians from Casalattico and of the Europeans who came to Ireland as individuals. The second chapter addressing immigration is, 'Migration and Integration since 1991', by Niall Glynn. This chapter's main focus is post 1990 and mass-immigration but it does make the point that Ireland has a rich history of immigration.⁴² Glynn also recognises the increase in European immigration between 1971 and 1991 in the pre-Maastricht period.⁴³

Niall Glynn has a different mission in his publication, 'Returnees, forgotten foreigners and new immigrants.'⁴⁴ Glynn sees the cultural importance of inward migration. 'Returnees, forgotten foreigners and new immigrants all brought first-hand experience from overseas when they moved to Ireland.'⁴⁵ This view is corroborated by this thesis. Glynn's chapter describes some of the groups concerned, the Hungarians in 1956 and European nationalists, Basques and Bretons, who had been expelled by their home countries in the immediate post war period, for example.⁴⁶ Glynn does not discuss, however, exactly what the impact this 'first-hand experience' might have been in this period and indeed, apart from the refugees, why they came.

³⁹ Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly eds., *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

⁴⁰ Eugenio F. Biagini, 'Minorities', in Biagini and Daly eds., *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 439-40.

⁴¹ Biagini, 'Minorities' p. 439.

⁴² Niall Glynn, 'Migration and Integration since 1991', in E.F. Biagini and M.E. Daly eds., *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.566.

⁴³ Glynn, 'Migration and Integration since 1991,' p.566.

⁴⁴ Niall Glynn, 'Returnees, Forgotten Foreigners and New Immigrants', in Niall Whelehan ed., *Transnational Perspectives in Modern Irish History* (New York and London: Routledge, 2015), pp.224-49.

⁴⁵ Glynn, 'Returnees, Forgotten Foreigners and New Immigrants', p. 225.

⁴⁶ Daniel Leach, *Fugitive Ireland: European Minority Nationalists and Irish Political Asylum 1937-2008* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), p. 15.

Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, two historians from TheUlster American Folk Park Omagh, Co. Tyrone were the first to remedy the omission of research on immigrationwith their book *Migration in Irish History 1607-2007* published in 2008.⁴⁷Fitzgerald and Lambkin not only give a very detailed accountof who came to Ireland over the four centuries but they also situatetheir book squarely within the landscape of migration theory.They begin their book with Everett Lee’s definition, ‘Migration is defined broadly as a permanentor semi-permanent change of residence. No matter how short or long, how easy or difficult, every act of migration involves an origin, a destination and a set ofobstacles’.⁴⁸

The two writers see the study of Irish migration as key to understanding Irish history and indeed call their first chapter ‘Putting Migration into Irish History’.⁴⁹ Fitzgerald and Lambkin state that , ‘our approach to these four centuries is based on the idea that migration is a useful prism through which to view societies as a whole since migrants who are moving home and resettling are in relationship with the majority, in both their old and new worlds, who remain settled’.⁵⁰They agree with previous scholars who contested the view that societies were inherently static, in stating that ‘migration is a missing piece in the standard understanding of the nature of historical change’.⁵¹They argue reasonably that one should consider not only emigration, but also internal migration and immigration as processes that have shaped Irish society.⁵²Furthermore they point out correctly that each of these impact on the other two.They use the three patron saints, Patrick, Brigid and Columba, to exemplify the three migration processes: Patrick the immigrant, Brigid the internal migrant and Columba, the emigrant.⁵³

Fitzgerald and Lambkin point out that, although most academic attention has been on emigration, there has always been immigration and that even during

⁴⁷ Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁴⁸ Everett Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, *Demography*,(3) 1, p. 49.

⁴⁹ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p. 1.

⁵⁰Fitzgerald andLambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p.71.

⁵¹ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p.6.

⁵²Fitzgerald and Lambkin,*Migration in Irish History*, p. 5.

⁵³ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p.15.

periods such as the famine there were visitors to Ireland who stayed.⁵⁴In this context they agree with Everett Lee that describing the motivation for migration, outside of large movements such as refugees fleeing war, is not a simple matter of mechanical processes but differs from migrant to migrant.⁵⁵The two writers also address the effects of migration on the individual, quoting John Jackson, 'Every such movement implies an element disassociation from the usual and familiar world, a transition and an involvement with a new environment, a new context of physical space – and most significantly- social relationships.'⁵⁶Fitzgerald and Lambkin's discussion on the experience of the individual raises the concept of where home is for the migrant and notes that part of the motivation for migration is the search for the perfect home.⁵⁷

The two writers devote a chapter to 1945-1990 and examine the motivation of the people who came to Ireland. They delineate three main reasons: asylum, in the case of the Hungarian refugees in 1956, employment in the case of people from India and China, and lifestyle in the case of people who came for a better quality of life. While they do mention immigrants recruited by the state, this is in the context of nurses recruited from the Philippines, a phenomenon which falls outside the period of this study.⁵⁸ They do not, however, examine other economic migrants who were recruited by businesses and government agencies such as the musicians recruited by Radio Éireann in the 1940s to fill perceived skill shortages.⁵⁹ Nor do they mention the entrepreneurs, funded and encouraged by the IDA, who came to Ireland to start businesses.⁶⁰ All of these can be considered in a thesis which covers a much shorter period of time.

Immigration as well as emigration is also examined by Bryan Fanning writing ten years later in 2018. From his introduction to *Migration and the Making of*

⁵⁴ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, pp. 166-168.

⁵⁵ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p.9.

⁵⁶ J.A. Jackson ed., *Migration Sociological studies 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1969), pp.1-2.

⁵⁷ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, pp. 3, 285.

⁵⁸ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, pp. 225, 227.

⁵⁹ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p. 97.

⁶⁰ The 1958 Industrial Development (Encouragement of External Industrial Development) Act no. 16 of 1958 established the role of the IDA as encouraging investment from abroad and also repealed the Control of Manufacture's Acts of 1932 and 1934.; the 1969 Industrial Development, Act 32 of 1969, gave the IDA powers to grant-aid foreign-owned industry.

Ireland he sees his role as an apologist for immigrants and their contribution to Irish society. 'Immigration has also shaped Ireland, mostly through the impact of incomers and the descendants upon Irish society, Ireland's economy and Irish culture.'⁶¹ While Fitzgerald and Lambkin wished to examine the effects of migration on the development of Irish history, Fanning is more concerned with the motivation of immigrants and their experiences of integration.⁶²

Fanning's work, in common with Fitzgerald and Lambkin's, spans four centuries. While Fitzgerald and Lambkin have endeavoured to include all the groups and individuals available to them, Fanning has selected groups to discuss: the Palatine Germans, the Jewish community, refugees from Hungary and Vietnam and ignored the Huguenots (historically) and more recently, economic and lifestyle immigrants except for those who came after 2004. It is worth remembering that Fanning's aim is didactic. He suggested in an interview in 2018 that Ireland needs to acknowledge the racism experienced by some immigrants in order to progress and grow.⁶³ This focus may have influenced his choice of immigrants to include and exclude. It could be suggested that he omitted the Huguenots because they were an elite group and did not experience the 'racism and injustice', that other groups definitely did. Some immigrants definitely did not experience racism. As we will see the Europeans discussed in this thesis were mostly welcomed.

One sociologist, Marshall Tracy, argues that Irish immigration law was inherently racist, dating, he considers, from the inheritance of the colonial period. 'The 1935 Act uses much the same language as the British Acts it repealed and is equally restrictive.'⁶⁴ Chapter 4 of his work deals extensively with immigration over the period 1935-1996 and examines its relationship to government policy, such as the attitude to the United Nations, refugees and Ireland's entry into the European Common Market.⁶⁵ Tracy delineates three main groups of immigrants: refugees, entrepreneurs attracted by the Irish government's new economic policies in the

⁶¹Fanning, *Migration and the Making of Ireland*, p.1.

⁶²Fanning, *Migration and the Making of Ireland*, p. 2.

⁶³ Bryan Fanning, *Irish Independent*, March 2018.

⁶⁴ Marshall Tracy, *Racism and Immigration in Ireland: A Comparative Analysis* (Dublin: Department of Sociology, Trinity College, 2000), p. 24.

⁶⁵ Tracy, *Racism and Immigration in Ireland*, pp.23-36.

1960s and 'counter-cultural' migrants.⁶⁶ While Tracy's work is very thorough in detailing his main interest groups and outside influences on government policy, other immigrants such as farmers, writers and artists are not included. Nor does Tracy attempt to evaluate in depth either the reasons for coming or the possible influence of the immigrants concerned.

Not all immigrants come to Ireland by choice. For refugees, exiles and asylum seekers Ireland may have served as a refuge but not necessarily home. Some historians agree with Bryan Fanning and see Ireland as hostile to refugees; others have a more positive view. Eilís Ward has not only detailed the experience of the Hungarian refugees who came to Ireland in 1956 but has also documented governmental attitudes to refugees in general.⁶⁷ In her article she details at least two post-war occasions when the Irish government showed racism and anti-Semitism in response to requests for sanctuary.⁶⁸ From the first page of her article Ward describes the episode of the Hungarians in Ireland as a failure.⁶⁹ She attributes its lack of success on the one hand to Ireland's desire to appear actors on the international stage while not having the infrastructure or experience to properly cater for the Hungarians and on the other to the racist ideology which had refused other requests.⁷⁰ A more recent work by Vera Sheridan presents a rather different picture.⁷¹ Sheridan has interviewed surviving members of the group who came to Ireland in 1956, agrees with Ward's assertion that governmental incompetence, or as Sheridan describes it inexperience, was a major contributory factor to the overall failure.⁷² Sheridan, however, also describes in detail the kindness shown to the refugees by Irish individuals and begins her book with the success of Operation Shamrock and a description of the welcome previously given to a group of stranded

⁶⁶ Tracy, *Racism and Immigration in Ireland*, pp. 27-8.

⁶⁷ Eilís Ward, 'A Big Show-off to show what we could do: Ireland and the Hungarian Refugee Crisis of 1956', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 1 January, 1996, Vol. 7, pp.131-141.

⁶⁸ In 1938 when European governments were discussing shelter for Jewish refugees Ward, 'A Big Show-off', p. 132, 1945 in response to a request of behalf of 100 Polish Jews Ward, 'A Big Show-off', p. 133 and February 1953 when there was a request for asylum for 10 Jewish families Ward, 'A Big Show-off', p. 135.

⁶⁹ Ward, 'A Big Show-off', p. 131.

⁷⁰ On the international stage: Liam Cosgrave's speech to the UN in 1956, Ward 'A Big Show-off', p. 136, lack of infrastructure Ward, 'A Big Show-off', pp. 137--9, for racist ideology see note 66.

⁷¹ Vera Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2023).

⁷² For governmental incompetence see Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, pp. 193-194.

Estonians in 1949.⁷³ Sheridan also points out that the report given by the Irish government to the Council of Europe in 1953 shows that Ireland had absorbed 1,000 refugees in the eight years from 1945.⁷⁴

Daniel Leach in *Fugitive Ireland* examines another group of immigrants whom some Irish people saw as problematic, termed in the title of the film he helped make for RTE, 'Ireland's Nazis.'⁷⁵ Leach's book examines the migration experiences of various nationalists who could not remain in their native countries in the immediate post-war period. They ranged from Basques who were escaping repression under Franco in Spain, Scottish nationalists who had refused to fight for the Allies, and Flemish and Breton nationalists who had supported the German occupying forces in exchange for promises of national freedom and were facing lengthy prison sentences.

Some of the asylum seekers had looked to the Irish revolution as a template and wanted to be there, 'A thousand times we went to sleep dreaming of being in combat at the General Post Office in Rennes.'⁷⁶ For many of these men and most of the women who moved there as spouses, however, Ireland was not their first choice. They had come there because of Ireland's liberal extradition policy but had wanted to settle elsewhere.⁷⁷ They saw themselves as exiles intending to go back to their native countries as soon as it became possible.⁷⁸ While Leach's main purpose is to interrogate the motivation behind the government's willingness to grant these people asylum, he also gives a clear and detailed picture of what it was like to be an exile in Ireland in this period. This thesis agrees with Leach's conclusion that the Irish government were not particularly sympathetic to Nazi collaborators in their decision not to expel people such as Albert Folens or Yann Fouéré but were

⁷³ Operation Shamrock was an International Red Cross initiative to give respite care to German children in Irish families. See Herbert Rimmel, *From Cologne to Ballinlough* (Millstreet, Co Cork: Auban Historical Society, 2009).; Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, pp. 14,15; many people from the Baltic area chose to leave after the Soviet take-over in 1940: Vera Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, p. 14.

⁷⁴ Questionnaire, Council of Europe, TSCH/3/S11007 B/2, cited in Vera Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, p. 15. This report is corroborated by the number of Eastern Europeans who applied for Irish citizenship in the post-war period, NAI, Department of Justice, JUS/2013/50 series.

⁷⁵ Daniel Leach, *Fugitive Ireland: European Minority Nationalists and Irish Political Asylum* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009).

⁷⁶ Olier Mordrel a Breton nationalist in Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 20.

⁷⁷ Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, pp. 21-22.; also Fouéré, *Un Maison du Connemara*, p. 52.

⁷⁸ Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p.57.

rather motivated by commitment to the independence of Ireland and anti-communism.⁷⁹

None of the preceding works examines the experiences of people who came to Ireland in Everett Lee's terms as 'unwilling immigrants', that is the spouses and children of the initiator of the move and those people who settled in Ireland because their partner was Irish.⁸⁰ Anjali Fleury's review of literature concerning women and migration suggests that there could be many women in this position as it is more likely that women will move to facilitate a marriage or relationship than men.⁸¹ However, it is only recently that this aspect of women's lives has been investigated.⁸² Jennifer Redmond's work, while her focus is Irish women moving to the United Kingdom, argues that this omission in women's history can be connected to the different cultural attitudes to men and women's migration. Migrant men were envisioned as providers, migrant women were seen as moving for trivial reasons, even though, in Redmond's research, the women concerned were sending as much money home as the men.⁸³

There are a series of case studies of types of immigrants to Ireland which proved useful for this study. Young European professionals in search of a more holistic lifestyle are the sole focus of Ulrich Kockel's work. This is the group of people variously called lifestyle immigrants (Fitzgerald and Lambkin) or counter-cultural immigrants (Tracy), a term which Kockel also uses. 'Counter-cultural Migrants in the West of Ireland' is an in-depth analysis of the young European professionals who came to the West of Ireland from the 1970s onwards. Kockel explains why Europeans would want to come to Ireland: work opportunities, the chance to buy property, to live out their retirement and in the case of his chosen study, to live an environmentally simpler lifestyle.⁸⁴ Kockel also looks in detail at the demographics of

⁷⁹ Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 219.

⁸⁰ Everett Lee, 'A theory of Migration', *Demography*, 3 (1), 1966, p. 51.

⁸¹ Anjali Fleury, 'Understanding women and migration: A literature Review', KNOMAD working Paper No. 8 KNOMAD, 2016, p. 3.

⁸² Fleury, 'Understanding women and migration', p. 1.

⁸³ Jennifer Redmond, *Moving Histories: Irish Women's Emigration to Britain from Independence to Republic* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018), p. 8.

⁸⁴ Ulrich Kockel, 'Counter-cultural migrants in the West of Ireland', in Russell King ed., *Contemporary Irish*

this group, whether they had a university education, which countries they came from and where they settled.⁸⁵This is very useful study of this particular group but Kockel's work does not attempt to examine how his subjects integrated into the communities they chose or what impact they made on the area they settled in.

Later in the 1990s two other studies of immigrants who settled in specific areas of Ireland were undertaken by MA Geography students from University College Cork. Elisabeth Bauer's study of the German community on the Iveragh Peninsula included interviews with sixty nine out of a potential 120 adults who were a mixture of German immigrants and Irish local people. Bauer found that the immigrants had arrived for very different reasons. Some fitted into Kockel's group of countercultural migrants, while others had retired to Ireland.⁸⁶Integration had also been very mixed with a percentage still speaking German at home and mixing only with Germans, while others were involved in the community.⁸⁷Heather Hegarty's research was based on West Cork and examined the relationship between an ethnically mixed group of newcomers and the local people, over a wide range of contact points in the community such as the local shop, GAA and the church.⁸⁸ Both of these microstudies give a useful and detailed insight into a particular community and the impact of newcomers, although, the extent to which this was replicated elsewhere remains unclear.

In 1993 Brian Reynolds published a book on the Italian community in Ireland and its origins in a small area of Frosinone, the village of Casalattico.⁸⁹ This is the first work to examine what seems to be the only contemporary incidence of European chain migration to Ireland and discusses in depth the issues of why the

Migration (Dublin: Geographical Society of Ireland, 1991), pp. 70-83; see also Ulrich Kockel, 'Political Economy, Everyday Culture and Change: A Case Study of Regional Development and Informal Economy in the West of Ireland' (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, unpublished PhD Thesis, 1988), and Ulrich Kockel, 'Immigrant Entrepreneurs of the Future', *Common Ground*, 71, pp. 6-8.

⁸⁵ Kockel, 'Counter-cultural migrants in the West of Ireland', p.71-73.

⁸⁶ Elisabeth Bauer, 'Foreign Immigration to Ireland: A Case Study of the German Community on the Iveragh Peninsula', Unpublished MA Thesis (Cork: UCC, 1997), pp. 5,52, 65.

⁸⁷ Bauer, 'Foreign Immigration to Ireland', pp. 145-148.

⁸⁸ Heather Hegarty, 'A Geographical analysis of the socio-cultural interface between the locals and the incomers in West Cork', Unpublished MA Thesis (Cork: Department of Geography, UCC, 1994), see for a description of the 'incomers' pp. 49-72, and for their interaction with their neighbours. pp. 109-139.

⁸⁹ Reynolds, *Casalattico and the Italian Community in Ireland* (Dublin: Foundation for Irish Studies, UCD, 1993).

first Italians from Casalattico chose Ireland and why the migration continued up until Reynolds' time of writing. The naturalisation records available to this thesis add considerably to Reynolds work. The Italian community was one of the few national groups where many members applied for naturalisation and the resulting records show a picture of how the chain migration operated in practice, the community's general practice of endogamy and their entrepreneurship.

Immigrants buying Irish agricultural land were seen as problematic. Land and land-owning by immigrants in earlier decades is examined by Mervyn O'Driscoll. He calls his article, 'A German Invasion' and examines the controversy generated by rural TDs who first drew public attention in 1963 to the purchase of land by German nationals.⁹⁰ Although the Land Commission and Fianna Fáil politicians reported on more than one occasion that the amount of land at issue was very small - in 1962 it was 4,000 acres out of a potential thirteen million acres of arable land - a campaign against it grew up in rural areas. Land Leagues were formed, property was attacked and eventually in 1965 the law on land ownership by foreign nationals was changed.⁹¹ This work is thought-provoking in that it describes hostility to newcomers, a factor not present in other works.

Also interested in the host society, Marion Banks examined the effects on Irish society of entrepreneurial immigrants.⁹² This article seems to support the assertion that Ireland's modernisation was at least partly fuelled, perhaps even seeded by immigrants. The writer begins her argument with the statement, 'roots of current change (both the Tiger and the Crash of 2008) in Ireland can be traced back to the 1960s and 1970s.'⁹³ Banks traces the developments which led to Ireland's globalisation and tiger economy back to the governmental changes in the early 1960s when 400 multinationals chose to site their businesses in Ireland.⁹⁴ Banks further

⁹⁰ Mervyn O'Driscoll, 'A German Invasion: Irish Rural Radicalism, European Integration and Irish Modernisation 1958-1973', *The International History Review*, 26 May 2016, 38.3, pp. 527-550.; John McQuillan, Wednesday 23 October, 1963 *Dáil Debates hereafter DD*, Vol. 25. No. 1

⁹¹ Micheál ÓMóráin, 7 June 1962, cited O'Driscoll, 'German Invasion', p. 533; O'Driscoll, 'German Invasion' p. 532, and pp. 538-40.

⁹² Marion Banks, 'Modern Ireland: Multinationals and Multiculturalism', *Information, Society and Justice Journal*, Vol.2, No. 1, December 2008, pp.63-93.

⁹³ Banks, 'Modern Ireland', p. 63.

⁹⁴ IDA facilities, the low level of corporation tax and mass secondary education, Banks, 'Modern Ireland', p. 66.

analyses societal changes which made Ireland attractive to foreign investment: the IDA, the low level of corporation tax and mass secondary education. These also include the decreasing power of the church, better telecommunications and road networks, largely due to EEC funding.

No one scholar to date has examined the whole process of post-war migration to Ireland by Europeans. The picture presented to date is a series of cameos, some very detailed but nevertheless separate. This thesis aims to create a more complete picture of why the immigrants came, what they experienced and what they contributed. Two facts should be acknowledged, however. One, that this thesis had the luxury of studying a relatively short period of time compared to, particularly, the large-scale survey works discussed above which has enabled detail. Two, this research had access to the Department of Justice naturalisation files series JUS/2013/50. These documents were only released in 2013 and so were not available to many of the writers considered above.

European Immigration prior to 1945

Immigration from Europe has been an on-going factor in Ireland's history. Twentieth century European immigration differed from that of previous centuries in that it did not have its impetus in religion. From 1542 onwards the British state had a vested interest in encouraging Protestants to come to Ireland to counter-balance the growing number of indigenous Catholics who were seen as a danger to the state.⁹⁵ There were two groups of European Protestants who were actively encouraged to settle in Ireland the French refugees, the Huguenots, in the seventeenth century and the Palatine Germans in the eighteenth.

The Huguenots were, in the majority, elite Protestants who had been driven out of France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1683.⁹⁶ They were welcomed in Ireland by the ruling class, the Duke of Ormond being one, partly because of their religion but also because of their technical and business skills.⁹⁷ They tended to settle in enclaves such as Chapelizod in County Dublin, Portarlinton

⁹⁵ 1542, Crown of Ireland Act, (Regnal. 33, Henry 8).

⁹⁶ Grace Lawless Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland* (London: Clearfield, 1936), p. 256.

⁹⁷ Fanning, *Migration and the Making of Ireland*, p. 54.

in Co Laoise and Lisburn in County Antrim, where they are credited with the development if not the foundation of the Irish linen industry.⁹⁸ The Palatine Germans arrived as a large group, 831 people, in 1710. They had initially arrived in London in 1709 as part of a group of 13,000 hoping for a new life in the American colonies.⁹⁹ The 831 were initially welcomed as Protestants by the Irish government and eventually allocated land in Ireland. But, by 1711 two thirds had left and returned to England.¹⁰⁰ Ireland had not been their chosen destination. They were hoping to be given land in the New World not renting land in Munster.¹⁰¹ Their faith, tied as it was to the British establishment, made them unpopular with the Catholic tenants in both Rathkeale and Old Ross and this was exacerbated by the fact that they were allocated land under much better terms than the native Irish tenants.¹⁰²

The Jewish community in Ireland were also a group marked out by their religion but attracted to Ireland more by the possibilities of trade than religious persecution. Sephardic Jews had settled in Dublin after the battle of the Boyne. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were individual traders in Galway and Waterford and a group of Ashkenazi Jews in Dublin.¹⁰³ These early Jewish inhabitants were successful traders and integrated into their communities, but their presence was not always welcome. The Irish Naturalisation Act of 1783, intended to enable foreign traders to settle in Ireland, specifically excluded Jews.¹⁰⁴ Jewish refugees from Lithuania, Litvaks, arrived in Ireland in the late nineteenth century. The author of the recent authoritative study, Natalie Wynne, explains that the reason was not the pogroms in Russia, as was the accepted narrative, as the most serious pogroms occurred in Southern Russia and Lithuania was not badly

⁹⁸ Raymond Pierre Hylton, 'Louis Crommelin', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*,

https://www.dib.ie/search?search_name=louis+crommelin, accessed 3 March 2023.

⁹⁹ P.J. O' Connor, *People Make Places: The Story of the Irish Palatines* (Newcastle West: OireachtnaMumhan Books, 1989), pp. 4&7.

¹⁰⁰ O' Connor, *People Make Places*, p. 21.

¹⁰¹ O' Connor *People Make Places*, p.25; Bryan Fanning *Migration and the Making of Ireland*, pp. 64 & 69; Vivien Hick, 'The Palatine Settlement in Ireland: The Early Years', *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, Vol. 4, (1989), p. 122.

¹⁰² Fanning, *Migration and the Making of Ireland*, p.76. This resentment was obvious by the time of the United Irishmen when only four out of a hundred houses in Old Ross survived; see T. Dunne, *Rebellions: Memoir, Memory and 1798* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2004), p. 174.

¹⁰³ Louis Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland from the earliest times to the year 1910* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), pp. 2, 24-25.

¹⁰⁴ *The Jews of Ireland*, pp. 22, 24-46.

affected.¹⁰⁵ Wynne argues that the reason for the immigration was the possibility of work. Once it became known that Ireland was badly in need of Jewish pedlars, others decided to follow suit.¹⁰⁶

Waves of immigrants such as these were not the rule in twentieth century Ireland. There were two exceptions, the Belgians during World War I and the Hungarians in 1956. The outbreak of the First World War and the fall of Belgium saw thousands of Belgian refugees cross the channel to Britain. The usual estimate is 250,000. Three thousands of them came to Ireland.¹⁰⁷ The response was at first very positive.¹⁰⁸ Local elite women organised jumble sales, farmers pledged food and the Monaghan County Council assigned housing.¹⁰⁹ As the war progressed, opinions changed, partly from the effort of maintaining the refugees, 'as months wore on many an unfortunate Belgian found himself in the position of a much adored kitten which has grown into an unwanted cat'.¹¹⁰ In general, relations remained civil but by the end of the war only ninety out of the original 3,000 decided to remain in Ireland.¹¹¹ The experience of the 541 Hungarians in 1956 was somewhat similar and will be further explored in Chapter Two.

The migration pattern that did continue into modern times was individual migration often associated with work opportunities. The eighteenth century was a time of building, mostly for the elite.¹¹² As a result artists and craftsmen were recruited from Europe to decorate the 'great houses' and paint portraits. In the nineteenth century, Catholic Emancipation in 1829 saw an ecclesiastical building

¹⁰⁵ Cormac ÓGrádá, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History* (Princeton & London: Princeton University Press, 2006), cited in Natalie Wynne 'An accidental Galut? A critical reappraisal of Jewish foundation myths' *Jewish Culture and History*, 2018, vol. 19, no. 2, p. 128.

¹⁰⁶ L. Lentin, 'Grandpa speak to me in Russian', a script of the television documentary published in *Translocations*, Spring, 2008, p.157.

¹⁰⁷ W. Buck, 'Come find Sanctuary in Eire: The experiences of Belgian refugees during the First World War', *Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, Vol. 34, 2016, 2, pp.192-209, p. 192.

¹⁰⁸ Grace Moloney, 'Belgian Refugees in Monaghan, 1914-1919', *Cumann seanchaisChlochair*, 11 January 2014, Col. 21 (3), pp.232-244.

¹⁰⁹ *Northern Standard*, 12 September 1914, 24 October 1914, cited in Moloney, p. 234.

¹¹⁰ A. Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London: Bodley Head, 1965), pp. 39-45, cited in W. Buck, 'Come find Sanctuary in Eire', p. 204; W. Buck, 'Come find Sanctuary in Eire', p. 196.; when Britain brought in conscription in 1916 many of the young Belgian refugees signed up.

¹¹¹ Clare O' Neill, 'The Irish Home Front 1914-1918 with particular reference to the treatment of Belgian refugees, prisoners of war, enemy aliens and war casualties' (PhD thesis, Maynooth, 2006), p. 71.

¹¹² Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, pp. 116-117.

boom. Masons, *terrazzo* workers and craftsmen came to Ireland from Catholic Europe, many of these from Italy.¹¹³ Ireland also became a migration venue for unskilled labourers from Italy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Individual Europeans also came in the nineteenth century, notably Carlo Bianconi.¹¹⁴ Bianconi was a long-term resident and had a substantial career in Ireland. He arrived in Ireland in 1802 as apprentice to an Italian printer.¹¹⁵ From this lowly start Bianconi built up a successful and significant business which, from 1815, transported people over the south and west of Ireland.¹¹⁶

There are several threads which carry forward from the previous history of migration into the latter part of the twentieth century. The first is the concept of the recruitment of elite migrants to Ireland by the government and other elite groups. This process can be observed in the post-reformation period when the Protestant Huguenots were encouraged to come to Ireland by not only to provide a counter-balance to the indigenous Catholics but also to encourage the development of skills in the country such as weaving and silver-smithing. This trend was also present in the eighteenth century when artists and other artisans were encouraged to come to Ireland to decorate elite houses. In the nineteenth century, post-Emancipation, rapid expansion of church building also attracted terrazzo workers, sculptors and artists to Ireland. More recently, de Valera's early twentieth century plans for the DIAS belong in this narrative. This thread carried forward into the period of this study, the latter half of the twentieth century. During this period many people were recruited to bring skills to the state from classical musicians for the Radió Éireann orchestra, to craft workers for the Kilkenny Design workshop and commercial artists from the Netherlands.

A second thread is the view of Ireland as a place to start a business and find employment. This was not only true of the highly skilled people mentioned above but also the unskilled labourers from Italy who first came in the nineteenth century

¹¹³ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p. 152.

¹¹⁴ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p. 153.

¹¹⁵ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p. 153.

¹¹⁶ Cecil Woodham Smith, review 'Bianconi King of the Irish Roads', *Studia Hibernica*, No. 3, (1963) p. 207.

and the Litvak Jews who came at its end.¹¹⁷ The Department of Justice naturalisation records show that in spite of the Free State's desire to protect Irish businesses which culminated in the Control of Manufactures Act 1932 Europeans were prepared to start businesses there and come to Ireland to work.¹¹⁸ This trend carried forward into the post-war period with businesses such as Liebherr, Waterford Crystal and Roma beginning or being sited in Ireland.

The foundation of the Irish Free State brought new legislation on immigration. The 1905 Act had already created the concept of 'good' and 'bad' immigrants. Asylum seekers had to prove that they were being persecuted and that they had the means to support themselves in Ireland.¹¹⁹ As early as 1922 the Irish government was wary of attracting too many migrants. A memorandum from the unofficial Irish diplomatic mission in Berlin stated, 'If it becomes generally known that Ireland is available it means that in a short time our country will be flooded not only by Germans, but also Jews'.¹²⁰ The 1935 Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act and the Aliens Act of 1935 regulated migrants, making the Department of Justice responsible for deciding who could come and who could stay.¹²¹ As the impact of Nazism began to be felt in Germany there were many applications for asylum, particularly from Jews, very few of which were granted. Fitzgerald and Lambkin state that pressure of work on the Department of Justice caused this problem.¹²² Fanning argues that the Department of Justice was biased against admitting Jews, particularly two of its

¹¹⁷ Census returns: 1881 less than 500 Jews, 1901 3,898: 2,048 in Dublin, 708 in Belfast, 359 Cork, 171 Limerick; Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), pp. 6-12 cited Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p. 153.

¹¹⁸ For starting a business, see Application form 13 dated January 1936 Abel Chalet naturalisation application file, NAI, Department of Justice, JUS/2013/50/113 and Department of Justice memo 68/1/114, Kalman Windt, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/120, who came from Hungary in 1924.; for work see application form, 20 March 1936, Julius Schlesinger, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/133.

¹¹⁹ 1905, Aliens Act 5, (5, Edw. 7, Ch.13).

¹²⁰ Nancy Power to Gavin Duffy, NAI DFA ES Box 34, file 239 cited in Gisela Holfter, 'Ernst Scheyer', in Gisela Holfter ed., *German Speaking Exiles in Ireland 1933-1945* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), p.152; this book was written as a result of the Conference in Limerick in 2004.

¹²¹ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p. 205.

¹²² Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p. 205.

members, Peter Berry and Charles Bewley.¹²³ He cites a memorandum written by Berry in 1945,

It is the policy of the Department of Justice to restrict the immigration of Jews. The wealth and influence of the Jewish community in this country, and the murmurs against Jewish wealth and influence are frequently heard. As Jews do not become assimilated with the native population, like other immigrants there is a danger that any big increase in their numbers might create a social problem.¹²⁴

Unlike Northern Ireland, the Free State did not accept any refugee Jewish children as part of the *Kindertransport* scheme before or during the Second World War. Attempts in 1946 to bring over a hundred Jewish children, survivors from Bergen Belsen, were also unsuccessful, because of Department of Justice objections. However, due to an appeal to de Valera by the Chief Rabbi, 137 children were admitted on a temporary basis.¹²⁵ Some of these refugees stayed in Ireland and their stories were part of an exhibition in 2023.¹²⁶ The Irish state did, however, support the Operation Shamrock scheme between 1946 and 1947 which gave respite care to 500 German children and, as has been previously stated, extended much practical support to postwar Europe. In the debate between Fitzgerald and Lambkin and Fanning on this point the truth lies between the two positions; anti-Semitism was indeed present in the Department of Justice but the over-riding concern of the government at this time was caution rather than prejudice and there was also great generosity.

Methodology

¹²³ Fanning, *Migration and the Making of Modern Ireland* p. 159, Bewley was a Nazi supporter and openly Anti-Semitic see Andreas Roth, *Mr Bewley In Berlin: Aspects of the Career of an Irish Diplomat 1933-39* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), p. 28.

¹²⁴ 'Present Policy of the Department of Justice', in 'Minutes of an Inter-departmental conference on immigration Policy', NAI DT S11007A, 24 September 1945, Catriona Crowe, Ronan Fanning, Michael Kennedy, Dermot Keogh, Eunan O'Halpin eds., *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy: Volume 8 1945-1948* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2012), p. 30.

¹²⁵ Barbara Bennett ed., *The Hide and Seek Children: Recollections of Jewish Survivors from Slovakia* (Glasgow: Mansion Field, 2012), cited in Fanning, *Migration and the Making of Modern Ireland*, p. 162.

¹²⁶ Holocaust Education Ireland, *They became us: The Unlikely Lives of Holocaust Survivors in Ireland*, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1mX26GrJ5PObHOueKWW_1kkcXhE2-nimK/view?pli=1, accessed 2 November 2024.

This thesis asks three central questions. Who came, what did they experience and what effect did they have on Ireland? The first question requires in part a quantitative answer. How many Europeans migrated to Ireland over the period concerned, from which countries, when they arrived in Ireland, what their occupations were and where they lived all need to be ascertained. Establishing the relative size of national communities in a particular area at a particular time is critical for understanding the extent to which they could rely on co-nationals of their national embassy or consulate.

Some of these questions are answered by the Irish census. This was usually held every five years. Some questions were standard. Others changed from census to census depending on the focus of the government in power at the time. The government then published reports on the aspects it chose. There were ten such censuses in the period in question: 1946, 1951, 1956, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1979, 1981, 1986, 1991. Of these only six reported on birthplaces: 1946, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1986 and 1991. The chart below is collated from the birth-place reports from the 1946, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1986 and 1991 censuses.

As can be seen from the chart, the most detailed report is that for 1946 when all Europeans are reported. The succeeding censuses report a much smaller number of countries: four in 1961, six in 1971, eight in 1981, ten in both 1986 and 1991. The countries not specifically named are included in the large number of 'others' together with people from any country that is not the USA. Therefore, there are many European countries first reported in 1946 such as the USSR, Switzerland or Sweden which cannot be tracked over time.

However it is possible to see from the countries which can be tracked through all the censuses that all the numbers are increasing for each census except for Denmark in 1986. German-born immigrants represent the largest numbers, rising from 466 in 1946 to 5,792 in 1991 and the greatest rate of increase, more than doubling between 1946 and 1961 and again between 1961 to 1981. The figures for French-born immigrants have a different pattern, displaying barely any increase between 1946 and 1961, before then tripling from 1961 to 1981 and doubling in 1986 and 1991. Other countries like Belgium and Greece moved upwards very

slowly. Unfortunately, due to the 100-year rule on data protection, the individual census records after 1911 cannot be examined.¹²⁷

Table One: Number of migrants by country and census year.

| Country of birth | 1946 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1986 | 1991 |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| Austria | 147 | | | | | |
| Belgium | 149 | | 240 | 490 | 497 | 600 |
| Czechoslovakia | 85 | | | | | |
| Denmark | 37 | | 205 | 410 | 366 | 463 |
| France | 422 | 433 | 701 | 1,997 | 2,460 | 4,512 |
| Germany | 466 | 1,373 | 2,066 | 3,482 | 3,853 | 5,792 |
| Greece | 73 | | | 109 | 124 | 197 |
| Hungary | 19 | | | | | |
| Italy | 298 | 689 | 1022 | 1,350 | 1,314 | 1,507 |
| Luxembourg | | | | 30 | 30 | 44 |
| Netherlands | 125 | 570 | 712 | 1,710 | 1,888 | 1,985 |
| Norway | 17 | | | | | |
| Poland | 173 | | | | | |
| Portugal | 14 | | | | 124 | 147 |
| Roumania | 18 | | | | | |
| Spain | 79 | | | | 1,113 | 1,801 |
| Sweden | 17 | | | | | |
| Switzerland | 85 | | | | | |
| USSR | 653 | | | | | |
| Total named | 1,527 | 3,065 | 4,946 | 9,573 | 11,769 | 17,048 |
| Other Europeans | 24 | | | | | |
| Others | | 8,514 | | 19,261 | 19,089 | 23,293 |

Comparison of European birthplaces from census reports 1946, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1986, 1991 table 12A

There are two other sources which could have been useful in answering who came to Ireland. Under the Aliens Order of 1946 all aliens had to register on arrival in Ireland at their local Garda station. These records are kept as an Aliens Register in the National Archive and would allow one to discover who came and when.¹²⁸

Unfortunately GDPR considerations prevent consultation of these records.¹²⁹ The Irish Land Commission Records Office, based in Portlaoise, holds details of all land purchases in the state, and would allow one to ascertain where Europeans bought

¹²⁷ Section 8, National Archives Act 1986, 11 of 1986.

¹²⁸ 1946, Aliens Order, No. 395 of 1946.

¹²⁹ Access to the Aliens Register, in conversation with the archivist, NAI, March 2022.

land and the size of the property purchased. These records are also only available to the individuals involved in each land sale and not for general research.¹³⁰

The qualitative questions about the individual experiences of Europeans and the impact they made are more difficult to answer. Any answer, necessarily, will be selective as it would be impossible to survey every living European in Ireland. The approach taken, then, was to consult a wide range of sources: government documents, records from semi-state bodies, obituaries and other newspaper articles, biographies, ego-documents and to conduct interviews with a select sample.

One of the richest sources, and hitherto rarely used, was the Department of Justice JUS/2013/50 series. These files contain all the documents involved in naturalisation applications from 1935-1965 and were released into the public domain in 2013. Each file contains the individual's application 'form 13'; and the letter from the Department of Justice to the Superintendent asking the local Gardaí to check the application.¹³¹ This letter laid out the parameters of the Garda inquiries. The investigating Garda would be instructed to check that all the facts on the application form were correct, that the three referees were Irish citizens and that the applicant had fulfilled the residency rules for naturalisation. They were also asked to inquire about the applicant's involvement in politics since their arrival and whether they were of 'good character'.

Each file also contained the resulting Garda report, which in some cases was very detailed, the Department of Justice summary and ruling on the application based on the Garda report, the applicant's acceptance and a copy of the naturalisation certificate. Many of the files, particularly those which had a longer time between application and naturalisation, also contained passports and travel documents with photographs, supportive letters, usually from T.D.s, and correspondence between Justice and other government departments. The most revealing files were those with annotations in pencil by Department of Justice personnel. One file, that of a Breton exile, contained a chart by the Department of

¹³⁰ Email to writer from Conor Gallagher, Land Commission Records, 6 October 2022.

¹³¹ Formal letter from the Department of Justice to Superintendent 24 February 1936, FrantisekSchwatschkenaturalisation application file, NAI, JUS,, JUS/2013/50/110. The standard letter became tabulated with alphabetical listing for the paragraphs in 1945 but the wording remained the same.

Justice of all the Bretons living in Ireland at the time, their pseudonyms and their real names.¹³²

There are 2,800 files in the series, most of which are lengthy, and so a decision was made to investigate a sample of these. 145 files were examined in full. The sampling process began with the selection of a few files at random from different dates. From this process it was clear that the longer files were those where there was an issue or issues for the applicant with the Department of Justice. It was decided then that these files would be the most informative, both in terms of general concerns of the Department of Justice and in understanding the experience of individual applicants. Nationality was also considered so that a good spread of countries could be examined. A broad sweep of nationalities was made so that people from Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern Europe were included to identify differences, if any, in treatment of and experience by nationality or region. The nationalities chosen were: Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Malta, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey.¹³³ An exception was made in the case of the immigrants from Casalattico, the only case of chain migration, where all the files were examined.

These naturalisation files were a useful aid towards understanding official views towards migration both at departmental and governmental level. They also helped in the exploration of the motivation and to a certain extent the experience of the migrant for the early period under consideration including, at times, access to their own voices. To this end, parts of these files, such as letters, have been quoted verbatim without correcting spelling or grammar. None of the names on these files have been anonymised, so that the applicants appear, then, as the people they were, their real names showing their diverse cultural heritage. This action is deemed to be ethically correct as these files are part of the public record.

¹³² Thomas Coyne, undated handwritten chart, Joseph Gourlet, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS,, JUS/2013/50/1300.

¹³³ The modern names of the countries chosen have been used.

Some semi-state resources were also used. An interview revealed that Radió Éireann had recruited European musicians for their orchestra in the immediate post-war period and so the RÉ archive was consulted. This task had to be done remotely due to COVID restrictions and depended on the goodwill of a busy archivist. However the archivist was able to find some very useful documentation including a graded list of Irish performers by an anonymous conductor and correspondence showing that RÉ were prepared to offer large salaries to Europeans who were willing to move to Ireland. While acknowledging the helpful assistance of the archivist it is impossible to know how much more this source would have yielded if direct access had been possible.

On foot of an IDA report on foreign-owned businesses which showed that by 1998 there were over 400 European-owned businesses in Ireland, IDA records were consulted in the National Library and on-line to ascertain: how widespread the IDA's efforts had been to recruit European owned companies, which of these had received grant aid and how successful some of these businesses had been. The Companies Registration Office online archive was accessed to gauge how long-lasting these businesses had been. This information was useful in that it proved that there was European interest in investing in Ireland. Unfortunately information as to how many of the entrepreneurs moved to Ireland was not available through this source and had to be sought through more targeted research using individual websites and newspaper articles.

Tracking which European artists came to Ireland, apart from the RÉ musicians, and what their impact might have been, was facilitated by Aosdána's records.¹³⁴ This body honours artists who have made a significant contribution to the creative arts in Ireland. It was, however, only founded in 1981 and, even though artists who migrated in an earlier period were elected to the organisation there may be some who were overlooked. It also might be said that the selection was subjective and many artists were never honoured thus.

¹³⁴ Members, <http://aosdana.artscouncil.ie/members/>, accessed 23 January 2024.

Other sources were used to help build a picture of the lives of European immigrants in Ireland. These included national and local newspapers, particularly obituaries and other retrospective pieces. Also, once individual Europeans had been identified by other means, searches through the newspapers with names yielded significant news items. An Access data base was set up to collate details of immigrants who came to Ireland during the period in question. Individual memoirs and biographies were also consulted. An early example is *From Cologne to Ballinlough* which represents the memories of a German who came to Ireland as part of the 'Operation Shamrock' project in the immediate post-war period.¹³⁵ It is a child's eye view of life in urban and rural Ireland in the late 1940s. Yann Fouéré's *La Maison du Connemara*, gave his experience of living in Connemara from the late 1940s onwards. Seamus Brady's *Doctor of Millions* represents an analysis of the few years in the 1950s that Paul Singer, the stamp impresario, spent in Ireland and his resulting prosecution for fraud.¹³⁶ Heinrich Böll's *Irish Diary* describes his family holidays in County Mayo in the 1950s. Hugo Hamilton's memoir *The Speckled People* describes the experiences of his German-born mother.¹³⁷ Her struggles with the language and the culture of 1950s Dublin confirm Everett Lee's contention that the people who suffer the most during the process of migration are those who have not actively chosen to move.¹³⁸ Iris Taylor's *Memoirs of a Reluctant German* described living in Dublin from the early 1960s onwards. Michel Déon's *Horseman Pass By* paints a, perhaps, semi-fictionalised account of rural Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s. It should be pointed out that these memoirs were, however, written mostly by members of the elite. Fouéré was an academic, Böll and Déon established writers, and Iris Taylor came from a family that could afford to send her away for her education.

Oral History interviews were therefore chosen to give the view of 'ordinary immigrants' who were unlikely to be covered by the sources above. This medium was chosen for two reasons. Oral History puts the individual and their experience at

¹³⁵ Rimmel, *From Cologne to Ballinlough* (Millstreet, Co Cork: Aubane Historical Society, 2009)

¹³⁶ Seamus Brady, *Doctor of Millions* (Tralee: Anvil Books, 1965). Paul Singer was born in Bratislava Slovakia in 1911.

¹³⁷ Hugo Hamilton, *The Speckled People* (London: The Fourth Estate, 2003).

¹³⁸ Everett Lee, 'A Theory of Migration', *Demography*, 3 (1), 1966 p. 47.

the centre of the discussion.¹³⁹ This is a key attribute when discussing essentially subjective issues such as the reasons for migrating and the sense of belonging or being ostracised. An oral History interview also values any voice expressed. Ian MacDougall, the Scottish historian saw his work as, 'recovering voices' particularly unrepresented voices, 'recovering lost voices before the knowledge they have is lost.'¹⁴⁰ In response to criticisms of the reliability of oral testimony, Paul Thompson argues, 'oral sources must be judged differently from conventional documentary materials, but this in no way detracts from their veracity and utility.'¹⁴¹ Others would point out that written sources also reflect the subjectivity of the author but that in an oral History interview the subject can be asked questions to verify the content.¹⁴² Trevor Lummis argues indeed that the question of authenticity does not arise as, 'the conditions of everyday life are firmly held in the memory and hardly distorted at all by later experiences...Maybe this is the only field where oral history can be regarded as a direct way of tapping the past.'¹⁴³

In 2021, once approval had been granted by the University of Galway's Ethics Committee a questionnaire was prepared to recruit people who would be willing to be interviewed. The aim was to achieve a balance in those interviewed between men and women and individual European countries. The ratio aimed at for the European countries was: seven Germans, five Dutch, two from Eastern Europe, two from Mediterranean countries, two Scandinavian and two others. This ratio was based on the numbers of Europeans present in Ireland for the 1991 census. The questionnaire was distributed widely via embassies, Facebook sites for individual countries such as 'Nederlanders in Ierland' and individual sites. There were twenty-five responses to the questionnaire. Only fifteen people agreed to be interviewed and most of these were women, eleven out of the fifteen.

Table 2: Oral History Interviewees

¹³⁹ P. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.3.

¹⁴⁰ Ian MacDougall, *Voices of Leith Dockers: Personal Reflections of Working Lives* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2002).

¹⁴¹ P. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, p.6.

¹⁴² Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 2nd Edition, (London/New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 23.

¹⁴³ Trevor Lummis, *Listening to History: The Authenticity of Oral Evidence* (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1988), p.120.

| Female | | Male | |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------|-------------|
| German | 2 | German | 2 |
| Dutch | 4 | Dutch | 1 |
| Eastern Europe | 1 (former East Germany) | | |
| Mediterranean | 1 (France) | | |
| Scandinavian | 2 (Sweden * and Denmark) | | |
| Other | 1 (Switzerland) | Other | 1 (Belgian) |

* The Swedish woman withdrew her permission at the post-transcription stage.

The decision was taken to go ahead and interview these fifteen people as there was a reasonable spread of countries represented. The gender ratio was unbalanced, but there were nonetheless enough men to give an idea of the male migrant experience. Apart from one interview in 2024, all the interviews were conducted in 2022 and all were recorded on two devices. Five interviews were conducted remotely, via Zoom; the rest were face to face. The interviews varied in length from thirty to ninety minutes. One should view the interviews as, 'structured conversations'. The interviewer began by asking the interviewee about their childhood which evoked memories which led naturally to the subject remembering their arrival in Ireland and their experience there. There was a short series of prompts which the interviewer used if they were not already part of the conversation. These were: When did you come? Why did you come? What were your first impressions when you arrived in Ireland? What did you find difficult about Ireland? Where do you feel your heart is? If the subject had children the interviewer asked about their education and whether any cultural challenges arose.

Once the interviews were transcribed, a copy was sent to the interviewee who then had two weeks to agree to continue or withdraw their permission. Only one subject withdrew. The interviewees also were asked if they were happy for their own names to be used or whether they wished to be anonymised. The names of the interviewees who chose anonymity appear in inverted commas. The interviews were analysed according to the following criteria: when and why had they come to Ireland

and what their first impressions were, their experiences in Ireland particularly with regard to finding somewhere to live, obtaining employment, children's education and how Ireland was different from their native country and whether they felt at home there. The interviews have in fact added more colour to the picture already obtained.

How to present this colour in a cohesive form? It was decided to begin with the Irish State's perspective and the legislation that would cover all immigrants, then to look at what could be called the logical progression of the immigrant process from motivation, through experience to impact. Chapter One gives an overview of the legislation regulating residency and naturalisation since the inception of the state. Using the Department of Justice Naturalisation records, Dáil debates, and some material from the Oral History interviews the research traces how these laws were implemented and how they impacted the lives of immigrants. Although the legislation gave the Department Justice sweeping powers, which could not be questioned until the 1986 Naturalisation and Citizenship Act, it will become clear that these powers were seldom invoked and when they were it was more from a sense of caution than racism.

Chapter Two describes several different categories of immigrants and examines their motives for moving to Ireland. Three issues become clear in this context. First, most immigrants were coming for more than one reason. Second, many European immigrants came to Ireland because they were invited. Public bodies such as Radio Éireann and The Kilkenny Design Centre actively recruited Europeans who had expertise not available in Ireland at that time. Finally, Ireland was during this period, despite recessions and mass emigration, attractive to Europeans. Land was available to buy and comparatively cheap. From 1969 onwards there were significant incentives for European entrepreneurs to bring their businesses there. The country had a stable democracy and a generous non-extradition policy. These factors made Ireland a safe haven for political exiles from, for example, Soviet-controlled nations. It should be noted, however, that Ireland was not normally the first choice for refugees and political exiles. Most of the Hungarians in 1956 had wanted to go to Canada.

The focus of Chapter Three is the experience of the European immigrants in Ireland and is divided into three main sections. The first deals with the practicalities of life, finding somewhere to live and getting employment. The second examines the issues raised, particularly for European migrant women, by having children in Ireland. The final section, informed by some of the themes raised by the history of emotions, discusses how welcome the European immigrants were in the communities they chose, how welcome they felt and what their sense of belonging or being excluded was.

Finally, Chapter Four surveys the changes in Irish society over the latter part of the twentieth century and addresses the impact that European migrants made on Irish society by examining five areas: industry, agriculture and horticulture, food culture, the artistic world and education. While impact has been assessed from what might be seen as subjective sources such as obituaries and memoirs, attention has also been given to objective factors such as successful innovations in diverse fields and honours from bodies such as the RIA and Aosdána. This chapter argues that, in fact, the immigrants contributed much more than their numbers would suggest and, in fact, had a positive impact on the country throughout this period.

Chapter One: Official attitudes to European Immigration, 1945-1990

Until 1990 and mass immigration, the Irish state's major focus for its legislation on citizenship was state and identity-building, particularly in the 1935 legislation. A key part of this was how to facilitate the return of the many Irish emigrants.¹ As Glynn argues many emigrants wished to return and from the 1960s onwards many did.² Immigration from Europe and other places was generally too small to merit separate consideration. The legislation that did concern people who were not returnees could be accused of harshness, particularly in relation to the powers of the Minister for Justice, but was not exceptional compared with other European countries of the time and was more generous than many by giving automatic citizenship to all children born in Ireland, whatever the nationality of their parents.³ There was no new citizenship legislation in the immediate postwar period, The 'Emergency' protocols by which naturalisations were heavily restricted were revoked and there was a return to prewar norms. The operation of Irish citizenship law has been described as racist.⁴ It is true, indeed, that individuals in the Department of Justice and some politicians expressed hostility towards some kinds of immigrants. In the prewar period there was definitely some anti-Semitism within the Department of.⁵ In the postwar period, however, hostility was largely directed towards immigrants perceived as communists or communist sympathisers.⁶ De Valera, for one, was quite clear in how he and his government viewed communism. 'The Russian menace is something so serious that the foreign policy of Britain and America especially will be dominated by it for years. In the inevitable linking up with the Christian nations, we shall do our part in

¹ 1935, Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 1935, 13 of 1935 Section 2(e), section 2 defines what is a 'natural born' citizen this includes at (e) anyone born outside of Ireland to an Irish father. Clive B Symons, 'Irish Nationality Law', in Randall Hansen and Patrick Weil eds., *Towards a European Nationality: Citizenship, Immigration and Nationality Law in the EU* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 275.

² Glynn, 'Returnees, Foreigners and New Immigrants,' p. 229.

³ For the right of anyone born in Ireland to citizenship - see 1935 Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 13 of 1935, Section 2(b). This right was only revoked in 2004, 27th Amendment of the Constitution Act 2004.

⁴ Tracy, *Racism and Immigration in Ireland*, p. 24.

⁵ 'It is the policy of the Department of Justice to restrict the immigration of Jews. The wealth and influence of Jewish community appear to have increased considerably in recent years, and murmurs against Jewish wealth and influence are frequently heard.' 'Present Policy of the Department of Justice', Daniel Costigan, 'Minutes of an inter-departmental conference on immigration policy', NAI DT S11007A, Catriona Crowe et al eds., *DIFP Volume VIII 1945-1948*, p. 30

⁶ See Department of Justice response to an anonymous letter, 24 March 1949, Abraham Sabin, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/225.

resisting the menace.⁷ Nevertheless, in general, the attitude of the government towards European immigrants was positive and the laws were not applied harshly.

The rights of European migrants to Ireland between 1945 and 1990 were governed by legislation. Irish law placed immigrants into two categories, first, aliens who had limited rights and, second, citizens, that is those who had applied and been granted naturalisation and thus enjoyed the same rights as natural born Irish citizens. As will become clear later, only a small portion of immigrants sought naturalisation. In addition to the constitutions of 1922 and 1937, the key laws affecting their status in Ireland were the Aliens Act of 1935 and the subsequent Aliens Orders and the Naturalisation and Citizenship Acts of 1935, 1956 and 1986.

Ireland's journey towards defining citizenship began with article 3 of the 1922 constitution.

Every person, without distinction of sex, domiciled in the area of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State [Saorstát Eireann] at the time of the coming into operation of this Constitution, who was born in Ireland or either of whose parents was born in Ireland or who has been ordinarily resident in the area of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State [Saorstát Eireann] for not less than seven years, is a citizen of the Irish Free State.⁸

This definition of nationality was, for its time, liberal, in that it granted citizenship to anyone born in the country whatever the nationality of their parent. In Germany, by contrast, citizenship was purely by descent, *jus sanguinis*, i.e. one's parents had to be German for a child to be a German citizen.⁹ Similarly, the Dutch Nationality Act of 1892 ensured that only children of Dutch parents would have citizenship by right of birth.¹⁰

⁷ Eamon de Valera, 'Speech to heads of missions Conference on post-war foreign policy and diplomatic relations', NAI, UCDA P150/2701, Catriona Crowe et al eds., *DIFP: Volume VIII 1945-1948* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2012), p.6

⁸ 1922 Constitution of the Irish Free State (*Saorstát Eireann*) Act Article 3.

⁹ Green, 'Citizenship Policy in Germany: the Case of Ethnicity over Residence' in Randall Hansen and Patrick Weil eds., *Towards a European Nationality: Citizenship, Immigration and Nationality Law in the EU* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 25.

¹⁰ (*Wet op hetNederlandschap*), *The Dutch Nationality Act of 1892*, Kees Groenendijk and Eric Heijs 'Immigration, Immigrants and Nationality Law in the Netherlands, 1945-1998,' in Randall Hansen and Patrick

The 1922 Constitution did not cover the status of Irish people north of the border and the increasing number of Irish expatriates living in England, the United States and Australasia.¹¹ This constitution, however, was intended only to identify who was deemed a citizen on 6 December 1922. Legislation was to follow to determine, 'the conditions governing the future acquisition and termination of citizenship in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann)'.¹²

The issue of citizenship was not addressed by the Cuman nanGaedhael government. When Fianna Fáil came to power, in 1932 de Valera introduced the first citizenship legislation of the new state. In his speech to the Dáil in 1934 introducing Fianna Fáil's proposed legislation on Citizenship and Nationality, de Valera maintained that the main impetus of the new laws would be to create the policy for both citizens and aliens that had been foreseen in the 1922 Constitution. 'We need it [the legislation] to know who is a citizen'.¹³ In effect the proposed measures were three Acts: the 1935 Nationality and Citizenship Act, The 1935 Aliens' Act and The Constitution (Amendment No. 26) Act 1935. This last merely removed the phrase 'shall within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann)', from article 3 of the 1922 Constitution. While this amendment was probably part of the Free State's policy of claiming independent statehood within the Commonwealth, it did not affect intending immigrants.¹⁴

The remaining 1935 legislation was more substantial. New legislation for a new state, the 1935 Aliens Act was about identity. SaorstátÉireann was emerging from being a colony to a separate state, and seeking to define the country as being peculiarly Irish. In this context also another question was how one would define who an Irish person was and, in the light of continuing emigration, how one would ensure the Irishness of its citizens.

Weil eds., *Towards a European Nationality: Citizenship, Immigration and Nationality Law in the EU* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 145.

¹¹ There was an argument put forward by, for example, de Valera that the Free State included all 32 counties on 6th December 1922, 'The area of jurisdiction of the Free State on 6 December 1922 has been judicially declared to be the whole of this island', *DD* 28 January 1934 Vol. 54, No. 3

¹² 1922, Constitution, article 3..

¹³ Eamon de Valera, 2nd Stage of the 1934 Citizenship Bill, *DD*, Vol.54, No.2.

¹⁴ For a discussion on the intentions in the above legislation see Mary Daly, 'Irish Nationality and Citizenship since 1922', *Irish Historical Studies*, XXXII, No. 127, (May 2001), for a discussion on Article 3 and the Free State's attempts to exhibit independent nationhood, see p. 378-9.

Legislation affecting aliens

Until Ireland adopted the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, all Europeans, apart from United Kingdom citizens, were aliens and were directly under the jurisdiction of the Minister for Justice. The Aliens Act of 1935, still in force in 1990, could be seen as both harsh and helpful to immigrants. Article 5 detailed the restrictions on aliens. An alien could not enter or leave SaorstátÉireann without permission from the Department of Justice.¹⁵ Where the immigrant lived, once they were admitted, was also subject to permission and the Gardaí had to be informed of any change of residence or employment.¹⁶

The powers that the Minister of Justice had under this Act were wide-reaching. The Minister of Justice was the arbiter who could decide under Article 5 which aliens were admitted, where they could live and the terms of reference for registration.¹⁷ Perhaps, more importantly, for immigrants arriving as 'stateless' or as refugees the Minister for Justice or his agents had the power to prevent entry or to deport.¹⁸ None of these factors applied to citizens. Admittedly, many of these powers could only be exercised by the creation of an Aliens Order which had to be submitted to the Dáil for approval.¹⁹ But, as the orders would only be created 'whenever he (The Minister for Justice) thinks proper,' much depended on the viewpoint of the Minister. In the debate on the bill, Thomas Johnson, a deputy from the Labour Party, had objected that the Act gave the Minister for Justice too much power but to no avail.²⁰

On the other hand, the Aliens Act did allow the same rights to immigrants as to citizens in terms of buying and owning property.

Article 3.—(1) Real and personal property of every description in Saorstát Éireann or subject to the law of Saorstát Éireann may be taken, acquired, held, and disposed of by an alien in the like manner and to the like extent as

¹⁵1935, Aliens Act No.14 of 1935, section 5, subsection 1, clauses a-e.

¹⁶1935, Aliens Act, section 5 1 f-h.

¹⁷1935, Aliens Act, section 1 (h).

¹⁸1935, Aliens Act, section 2 (b).

¹⁹1935, Aliens Act Section 2 part (8).

²⁰ Thomas Johnson, *Seanad Debates* (hereafter *SD*), 3 April 1935, Vol.19, No. 21.

such property may be taken, acquired, held, or disposed of by a citizen of Saorstát Éireann.

This was a generous provision which was also found, at the time, in the United Kingdom, Germany and France, but not in Italy or Spain.²¹ This right was tempered, however, by two articles in the 1935 Act which required a licence for the change of the name of a business owned by an immigrant.²² It is possible to see this as an anti-foreigner measure and the contribution of two of the deputies involved in the debate seem to suggest this. Both John Costello and Patrick McGilligan, who supported the Bill, used names that sounded Slavic, or Jewish as examples of the possible effect of the Act.²³ To quote John Costello, 'so that he could start business today under the name of Stravinsky or something of that kind and tomorrow morning he could start anew under the name of O'Brien'.²⁴ The choice of these names by the deputies concerned does show a xenophobic, possibly anti-Semitic, attitude.

It is possible, however, to put another interpretation on this part of this law, particularly when coupled with the Control of Manufactures Acts of 1932 and 1934 and Fianna Fáil's policy of protectionism. When Seán Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce, introduced his Control of Manufactures Bill to the Dáil in June 1932, he made it quite clear he was trying to limit British manufacturers. He described the precarious position of indigenous Irish businesses, 'small firms who have risked their savings', and that, 'it would be an easy matter for any very large, very efficient financially powerful firm which operates in the neighbouring country...to put out of business any Irish firm which offered it anything like serious competition to them'.²⁵ In contrast, some continental nationals were, in fact, actively encouraged to set up small businesses under the terms of the Control of Manufactures Act. Mary Daly cites the case of a Jewish family who were offered residence permits if their company was

²¹ Stephen Hodgeson, Cormac Cullinan and Karen Campbell, *Land Ownership and Foreigners: A Comparative Analysis of Regulatory Approaches to the Acquisition and Use of land by Foreigners* (FAO Legal Papers on line No. 6, Dec. 1999), p. 9.

²² 1935, Aliens Act, Articles 8 & 9.

²³ McGilligan had been part of the Army Comrades Association (colloquially 'the Blueshirts'), Stephen Collins, 'Without the Blueshirts there would have been no Fine Gael' *Irish Times*, 7 November 2020.

²⁴ John Costello, *DD*, 10 February 1935, vol. 54, No. 12.

²⁵ Seán Lemass, *DD*, 14 June 1932, Vol. 42, No. 9.

set up with a majority of Irish citizens as share-holders.²⁶ The change of name legislation in the 1935 Act could well have been principally aimed at preventing large British businesses opening a branch under an Irish name, although, technically, any foreign national setting up a business would need a licence unless they had lived in Ireland for five years.²⁷

This legislation remained in place until World War II when The Emergency Powers Act of 1939 effectively prevented any legal movement by aliens into and out of Ireland and in fact put control of the movement of all people in the hands of the government.²⁸ While this is not unusual in a wartime setting, the powers of arrest and detention without a warrant against all but 'natural-born citizens' of the Irish State not only discriminated against alien residents but also against citizens not born in Ireland.²⁹ Effectively this created a two-tier citizenship for the duration of the Emergency. Two minor Aliens Orders during the Emergency in 1939 and 1943 dealt with the definition of minors and sea landings respectively.³⁰

Incidents of illegal entry by aliens into Ireland during the war-time period were surprisingly few. According to historian Eunan O Halpin, twelve Axis spies were sent to Ireland during the period of The Emergency.³¹ Most of these men were sent to liaise with the IRA and were arrested within weeks of arrival in the country.³² Herman Goertz, however, who had arrived in May 1940 was not arrested until November 1941, seems to have been a figure of some importance. Hewas a career soldier and trained intelligence officer and, as O Halpin remarks, was found with a very sophisticated cipher.³³ The Irish government was unsure as to their response to his arrest. A public trial might be seen by the Axis powers as pro-Allied and any publicity might give credence to the American idea that Ireland was an 'elaborate

²⁶ Mary Daly, 'An Irish-Ireland for Business? The Control of Manufactures Acts 1932 & 1934', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 24, No., 94 (November 1984), p. 267.

²⁷ 1932, Control of Manufactures Act 21 of 1932,, Article 2.

²⁸ 1939, Emergency Powers Act of 1939 28 of 1939, Article 2, 2(j).

²⁹ 1939, Emergency Powers Act 1939, Article 2, 2(k and l).

³⁰ 1939, Aliens Order 1939, 291 of 1939; 1943, Aliens Order of 1943, 169 of 1943.

³¹ NAI DFA A71 and A34 cited in Eunan O Halpin, *Defending Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 241.

³² O Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, pp. 241- 245.

³³ O'Halpin *Defending Ireland*, p. 244; Robert Fisk, *In Time of War* (Dublin: Gill Macmillan, 1995), p. 350.

spy centre'.³⁴ The only other illegal entries into the Free State, during the Emergency were Allied and Axis planes either landing or crashing onto Irish soil.³⁵ It is clear from a Foreign Affairs' report that the Allied and Axis crews were not treated equally. The German planes were deemed to be operational and their crews interned while the British planes were considered to be training and their crews released.³⁶ There was a further concern about illegal entry in January 1945 when Britain moved 12,000 German POWs to the North of Ireland.³⁷ However, only two Germans escaped to the South on 14 January and were returned by the local Gardaí.³⁸

After World War II, in 1945, there was concern in the Department of Justice over a possible influx of refugees from the Continent. As the minutes of an inter-departmental meeting recorded, 'there were millions of displaced people and the Department expected there to be many requests for people to live in Ireland especially Polish, Hungarian and perhaps Austrian Catholics'.³⁹ In the summer of 1946, there was such a request, for the admittance of 100 Jewish refugee children, Gerry Boland, as Minister for Justice, refused. He is quoted as saying, 'It has always been the policy of the Minister of Justice to restrict the admission of Jewish aliens for the reason that any substantial increase in our Jewish population might give rise to an anti-Semitic problem'.⁴⁰ In the event Éamon de Valera intervened after an appeal by Isaac Herzog, the former Chief Rabbi of Ireland, and the children were admitted in November.⁴¹

³⁴ Memo from Joseph P. Walshe to Eamon de Valera, dated 28th November 1941, NAI DFA A34, Secretary's Files Catriona Crowe, Ronan Fanning, Michael Kennedy, Dermot Keogh, Eunan O Halpin eds., *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy vol. VII 1941-1945* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2010), p.151.

Joseph P. Walshe was Secretary to the Department of External Affairs from 1927 to 1946.

³⁵ Michael Rynne memo, 11 April 1944, NAI DFA Secretary's Files A50, Crowe et al. eds., *DIFP. vol. VII 1941-1945*, p.416., Rynne's memo lists 28 American and 40 British planes.

³⁶ Rynne memo, 11 April 1944, NAI DFA Secretary's File, Crowe et al eds. *DIFP, vol. VII 1941-1945*, pp. 416-7

³⁷ Memo re Sir John Maffey, Joseph P. Walshe, 16th January 1945, NAI DFA Secretary's files A2.

³⁸ The Irish government solved the neutrality issue by creating a 'zone' between the Republic and the Six Counties which extended from the border to the nearest garda barracks. Sir John Maffey to Joseph P. Walshe 16 January 1945, NAI DFA Secretary's files A2, Crowe et al eds., *DIFP, vol. VII 1941-1945* p. 494

³⁹ Minutes of an interdepartmental conference on immigration policy, 24 September 1945, NAI DT S1107A, Crowe et al eds., *DIFP Vol. VIII*, p.28.

⁴⁰ Gerald Boland cited by Andy Pollack, 'Door closed on Jewish refugees', *Irish Times*, 14 April 1995.

⁴¹ Andy Pollack, 'Door closed on Jewish refugees'.

Perhaps in response to the above, Minister Gerry Boland issued the Aliens Order of 1946 in December 1946.⁴² This reiterated the penalties for landing illegally or aiding illegal landing and gave the Gardaí powers of detention without a warrant.⁴³ Although it is hard to distinguish a motive when there was no Dáil debate on the issue, one might deduce that this Order was designed to prevent an influx of displaced people or refugees. Concern seems to have been largely financial, as among the conditions for an immigrant's admittance to Ireland was 'being able to support himself and his dependents' and 'having a work permit'.⁴⁴ Neither would be likely for a refugee.

In 1962 Minister for Justice Charles Haughey issued an Aliens Amendment Order which effectively created a two-tier system for alien immigrants based on country of origin.⁴⁵ Essentially, one group, those from European countries plus the United States, still had to register, but not within the first twenty-four hours, and were allowed to stay for up to three months without extra permission.⁴⁶ The second group, mostly those from Commonwealth countries, were also given leeway in the time of registration, but were allowed only one month before they had to register.⁴⁷ Marshall Tracy describes this as racist legislation.⁴⁸ What is perhaps more apparent is the list of countries which were completely omitted: the Eastern bloc, China and South America amongst others. Here the government's motivation may well have been a concern about communism rather than the racial profile of visitors. These two lists were replaced in 1975 by one much more comprehensive list which nevertheless still omitted the Eastern bloc and China.⁴⁹ The 1975 order also gave the

⁴²1946, Aliens Order 1946, 395 of 1946..

⁴³1946, Aliens Order, 395 of 1946, Article 17.

⁴⁴1946, Aliens Order 1946, 395 of 1946, Article 5, section 3 (a) and (b)..

⁴⁵1962, Aliens (Amendment) Order, 112 of 1962, Article 4.

⁴⁶ The countries concerned are: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, The Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal, Tunisia, Turkey and the USA .

⁴⁷ The countries were U.K. and colonies, Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Cyprus, Ghana, India, The Federation of Malaya, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sierra Leone, The State of Singapore, Tanganyika and the Republic of South Africa.

⁴⁸ Tracy, *Racism and Immigration in Ireland*, p. 25.

⁴⁹1975, Aliens (Amendment) Order, 1975, 128 of 1975, sixth schedule. The countries included in this list were: Andorra, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, The Gambia, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, India, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Monaco,

right to aliens refused entry to be given the reason in writing, a right never extended to applicants for naturalisation.⁵⁰ Subsequent Aliens Orders clarified where aliens due for deportation could be held and modified the 1975 list.⁵¹ The overall impression given by the later Aliens Orders was of a country that is becoming more inclusive than exclusive as the list of more favoured countries widened.

It is worth noting however, that while the discretionary powers given to the Minister of Justice in the 1935 Aliens Act were never revoked, in practice, these powers were used sparingly. Large groups which attempted to land illegally in Ireland were indeed sent back, such as the fifteen German prisoners of war who commandeered a French minesweeper and landed in Kinsale in January 1946.⁵² The Germans had landed in Ireland hoping that, as a neutral country, Ireland would send them back to Germany. The men were concerned that they might be held in France for five years or sent to Russia.⁵³ The Irish government decided almost immediately that the Germans should be sent back to an Allied country, Britain or France. During World War II the Irish government, as part of their policy of neutrality, had a policy of returning combatants who landed in Ireland to their home country. However, Rynne and later de Valera argued that, once Germany had surrendered, any German national attempting to land in Ireland should be treated as an alien landing without permission.⁵⁴ After negotiations with France, a French naval vessel picked up the

Nauru, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, San Marino, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland, United Republic of Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United States of America, United Kingdom and Colonies, Uruguay, Vatican City, Venezuela, Western Samoa, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

⁵⁰ 1975, Aliens Amendment Order 1975, 128 of 1975, Article 5, section 3.

⁵¹ For where Aliens could be held before deportation, see 1972, Aliens Order, 182 of 1972, article 9, 1978, Aliens (Amendment) Order, 351 of 1978, article 2, for the new list 1985, Aliens Amendment Order 1985, 154 of 1985, exclusion of Sri Lanka, 1986, Aliens (Amendment) Order, 31 of 1986, Section 2, Inclusion of Israel and Zambia, 1987, Aliens (Amendment) Order, 340 of 1987, Section 2, deletion of Bangladesh, Ghana, Nigeria and Pakistan, 1988, Aliens (Amendment) Order, 55 of 1988, Section 2, Deletion of Iran, 1989, Aliens (Amendment) Order, 297 of 1989, Section 2, deletion of Turkey addition of Republic of Korea, 1990, Aliens (Amendment) (No. 2) Order, 1990, 78 of 1990, Section 2, deletion of Bolivia, Colombia, Peru and Tunisia, 1990, Aliens (Amendment) (No. 3) Order, 1990, 142 of 1990 inclusion of the German Democratic Republic, 1990, Aliens (Amendment) (No. 4) 1990, 228 of 1990 Section 3, inclusion of Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

⁵² Memo by Michael Rynne, 'The Germans at Kinsale', 21 January 1946, NAI DFA 369/5, Crowe et al eds., *DIFP* Vol. VIII pp. 103-105.

⁵³ 'Germans Detained Under Guard at Kinsale', *Irish Times*, 21 January 1946.

⁵⁴ Memo by Michael Rynne 21st January 1946, NAI DFA 369/5, Crowe et al eds., *DIFP*, Vol. VIII, p. 103,; Note to Eamon de Valera from the Department of External Affairs 25th June 1946, NAI DFA 369/5, Crowe et al eds., *DIFP*, Vol. VIII, p. 168.

Germans from Cobh and brought them back to France.⁵⁵ Smaller groups received different treatment. It is interesting to note the governmental response to the three Bretons who landed in County Cork in 1946 and the seven who arrived at Castletownbere in November 1948 both groups were allowed to stay and were given asylum.⁵⁶ However, these groups were small and had not risked an international incident by seizing a French ship.

The state attitude to Otto Skorzeny, the former Nazi who brought land in County Kildare in 1959, seems more complex. Skorzeny had become a Nazi in the early 1930s and had been made head of a Waffen SS commando group in 1943. Although he was cleared of war crimes in 1947, he was clearly a senior figure in the Nazi regime.⁵⁷ Skorzeny had first applied for a visa in 1957. Conor Cruise O'Brien's (an official at the Department of External Affairs) response to this almost seems facetious in his note of 13 June 1957 to Róisín Ennis, secretary to the Minister for External Affairs. At this point it should be remembered that Skorzeny was on the British government's list of people suspected of war crimes. In the note, Cruise O'Brien, seemed to admire Skorzeny's career, particularly his rescue of Mussolini in 1943, and made a joke that the British were hostile for this reason.⁵⁸ A later visa application was also not opposed.

However, when Skorzeny's purchase of Martinstown House in County Kildare was reported in the Irish newspapers, the tone of the Department of External Affairs changed.⁵⁹ The fact the Skorzeny had bought a house raised the issue of a possible application for permanent residency. The internal minute from the Department of External Affairs dated 15 May 1959 requested that the Political Department of External Affairs should be consulted before the Department of Justice issued another

⁵⁵ 'German sailors removed to Cobh' *Irish Times* 8 February 1946; 'Ex-German boat leaves Kinsale' *Irish Times*, 13 February 1946.

⁵⁶ For the 1946 group, Jacques de Quelen, Charles le Gaonac'h and Gwion Hernod see Yann Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, p. 49; for the 1948 group see Fouéré pp. 124-5 and, 'Freedom fighter Yann switches lenses from gun in France to camera in Galway', *City Tribune*, 5 June 1987..

⁵⁷ For Skorzeny's career see Peter Crutchley 'How did Hitler's scar-faced henchman become an Irish farmer?' *BBC Digital & Learning NI*, 30 December 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-30571335> Accessed 2021; for his acquittal see Terence O'Reilly, *Hitler's Irishmen* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 2008), p.279.

⁵⁸ Minute from Conor Cruise O'Brien to Róisín Ennis, 13 June 1957, NAI DFA 10/2/351, Catriona Crowe, Ronan Fanning, Michael Kennedy, Dermot Keogh, Eunan O'Halpin, Kate O'Malley eds., *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy, Volume XI 1957-1961* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2018), p. 42.

⁵⁹ *Irish Press*, 15 May 1959 and *Irish Times*, 27 June 1959.

visa and the official in question stated that, 'I doubt the wisdom of letting him come here for permanent residence'.⁶⁰ The issue of Skorzeny's residency was still open in September 1959.⁶¹ The delay in processing the application for residency seems to have been caused by a rumour that Skorzeny was supplying arms to the FLN in Algeria and was therefore unwelcome in Spain, where he had been resident.⁶² It is significant that this issue was more important to the Irish government than his previous wartime history. By January 1960 Skorzeny had acquired an Austrian passport and so was free to visit Ireland. He continued to apply for permanent residency. In February 1960 Dr Noel Browne raised in the Dáil the issue of Skorzeny's possible permanent residence in Ireland. Browne's objection was due to reports that Skorzeny was currently involved in Neo-Nazi activities.⁶³ The Minister for Justice, Oscar Traynor, denied this, but the accusation was repeated in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* in June 1960 and Skorzeny was never granted permanent residence.⁶⁴

Legislation concerning Naturalisation and Citizenship

Naturalisation was, in fact, a process only embarked upon by a small percentage of immigrants but is worth considering because an examination of the Department of Justice Naturalisation files provides a deeper insight into the attitudes to Europeans of not only officials but also the Gardaí and in some cases private citizens. The 1935 Nationality and Citizenship Act defined exactly who could be considered 'natural born Irish' and how immigrants could become citizens. Although Article 8 section 4 stated that the naturalised citizen would have all the rights and duties of a natural-born citizen, these rights were only operable, 'from the issue of such certificate and so long as such certificate remains unrevoked'. Article 10 gave the Minister of Justice the power to revoke naturalisation. While criteria for such a decision were stipulated

⁶⁰ Minute from Eoin McWhite to Conor Cruise O'Brien, 19 May 1959, NAI DFA 10/2/351, Crowe et al eds., *DIFP*, Vol. XI 1957-1961, p. 262.

⁶¹ Letter from Peter Berry, head of the Intelligence Department of the Department of Justice from 1941, to John A Belton, Assistant Secretary, Department of External Affairs 28 September 1959, NAI DFA 10/2/351, Crowe et al eds., *DIFP*, Vol. XI 1957-1961, pp. 301-2.

⁶² Letter from John Belton to Michael Rynne, Irish Ambassador to Spain, 1955-1961, 14th July 1959, NAI DFA 10/2/351, Crowe et al eds., *DIFP*, Vol. XI 1957-1961, pp. 293-4.

⁶³ *DD*, 17 February 1960 question by Dr Noel Browne.

⁶⁴ Letter from Con Cremin to Peter Berry, 10 February 1960, NAI DFA 10/1/351 Crowe et al eds., *DIFP*, Vol. XI 1957-1961, p. 338.

in Article 10, the phrase, 'absolute discretion' in this context was defined to mean, 'It is within the Minister's powers to decline to give reasons for his decision'.⁶⁵ The power to remove acquired citizenship was not exceptional in Europe. The French legislation of 1938 also had a denaturalisation process, but the reasons for its use were clearly defined.⁶⁶

Marriage to an Irish citizen by an immigrant did not give citizenship automatically.⁶⁷ However, if the non-Irish spouse was a woman, the usual naturalisation process could be waived. A non-Irish husband, by contrast, was subject to the normal naturalisation process.⁶⁸ But, unlike the rest of Europe (except for the United Kingdom) the 1935 Act gave the children, born in Ireland, of all citizens, natural born or naturalised the automatic right to be natural born citizens.⁶⁹ This provision could be seen as a major benefit to immigrants. Their nationality could be revoked, but their children's could not.

The debates on this Act focussed much more on the decision not to include Commonwealth nationals as citizens and the position of people in Northern Ireland than it did on foreign nationals.⁷⁰ However, the Fine Gael TD, John Costello did express wariness about dual nationality:

Under the provisions of the Bill dealing with the acquisition of nationality by aliens, there is no provision that, when an alien comes over here and wishes to acquire citizenship, he has to abandon the nationality he had before, so that a German or a Russian or a Pole or an Italian can come over here for the purposes of his own—let us not enter into any discussion of what those purposes might be at any stage of the world's history—and acquire

⁶⁵ *Abuissa v Minister for Justice* (2010) cited in definition of 'Absolute discretion' Murdoch and Hunt's *Encyclopedia of Irish Law*, <https://www.bloomsburyprofessional-on-line>, accessed 2021.

⁶⁶ Patrick Weil, 'The History of French Nationality: a Lesson for Europe', in Randall Hansen and Patrick Weil eds., *Towards a European Nationality*, p. 60.

⁶⁷ 1935, Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 13 of 1935, Article 15.

⁶⁸ 1935 Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 13 of 1935, Article 4 section 4, although the word spouse is mentioned not wife the terminology used is entirely female.

⁶⁹ For a comparison of European countries and the right to citizenship through birth see Hansen and Weil *Towards a European Nationality*, p.6; for the right in Irish law see 1935 Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, Article 2.

⁷⁰ For the situation of Commonwealth citizens see John Costello *Cumann na nGaedheal DD*, 28 November 1934, Vol. 54, No. 3; for the position of people in the North of Ireland, see T.G. Esmonde, *Cumann na nGaedheal DD*, 28 November 1934, Vol. 54, No. 3.

citizenship under this Bill and acquire it, let me remark, in parenthesis and in passing, without having any knowledge of Irish or English and still retain his own nationality.⁷¹

This speech certainly seems to indicate a bias against possible European immigrants, from the opposition at least. There was no new legislation during the Emergency but there was a moratorium on naturalisations except for spouses or people of Irish descent. Handwritten notes or memos from officials in the Department of Justice stressed the fact that this information was not to be divulged to applicants.⁷²

Ireland differed from major European economies in not encouraging immigration in the postwar period. The results of the 1951 census had shown that, in spite of a slight rise in population (5,486), emigration was still high (119,568 in 1951).⁷³ A commission to investigate the causes of emigration had been set up in 1948 and this reported in 1954.⁷⁴ The commission's report exposed problems in Irish society that had led to emigration and in fact advised against encouraging immigration.⁷⁵

One could compare this with the active recruitment policy of France in 1927 and 1945 and of Germany in 1955 when faced with depopulation from the casualties of war. France lost almost two million people during the First World War.⁷⁶ To help combat the loss of population, on 10 August 1927 the *Assemblée nationale* passed an Act which the immigration historian Patrick Weil has called, 'the most liberal legislation that the French Republic had ever known'.⁷⁷ This law allowed French women who had married people from other countries not only to keep their French nationality but also to pass this on to their children. The residency qualification for aliens to apply for citizenship was reduced from 3 to 10 years. The end of World War

⁷¹ John Costello, *DD*, 28 November, Vol. 54, No. 3.

⁷² Memo from Justice 7 December 1939, Edigio Squizzoni, naturalisation application file,, NAI,JUS,, JUS/2013/50/84.

⁷³ Tables 1 and 4, 1951 Census, *Central Statistics Office*.

⁷⁴ Commission on Emigration and other Population Problems 1948-1954.

⁷⁵ For a discussion of the Commission's findings see Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2004), pp. 478-81.

⁷⁶ Statista <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1208625/first-world-war-fatalities-per-country/>, accessed 9 March 2024.

⁷⁷ Patrick Weil, 'The History of French Nationality', p. 59.

II also saw a drop in population as 567,660 civilians and 217,600 soldiers died.⁷⁸ In his speech to the French Consultative Assembly on 3 March 1945 General de Gaulle named under-population as the chief problem faced by France in the post-war period and proposed a pro-immigration policy. This speech gave rise to a group of laws, *les ordonnances de 1945*, the law concerning immigration being passed on 2 November 1945. This legislation recognised the right to asylum for refugees and removed the penalty of expulsion for immigrant workers who became unemployed.⁷⁹

Germany's situation in the postwar period was also one of underpopulation. It is estimated that between six to nine million Germans died in the conflict. By 1955 the labour shortage had become pressing and Germany signed a treaty with Italy, in that year, which allowed for *Gastarbeiter* to come to Germany without restrictions for short periods of time.⁸⁰ Germany did not, however, give up its policy of citizenship based on *jus sanguinis* until 1991 and until then the immigrant cohort remained a sizeable group within Germany without citizenship rights.⁸¹

1956 saw a major revision of the 1935 Nationality and Citizenship Act, brought to the Dáil by James Everett of the Labour Party, Minister for Justice in the Coalition government. This statute saw *jus soli* extended to the six counties of Northern Ireland that is, anyone born in the North was automatically to be an Irish citizen.⁸² Previously people from the North had to register for naturalisation. Introducing his Bill to the Dáil, Everett stated, 'Citizenship is their birth right'.⁸³ The right to inherit citizenship by *jus sanguinis* from both Irish citizen parents was reinstated in Article 6 section 2.⁸⁴ This was a right that had been lost in the 1935 legislation and only the father could pass on citizenship. The position of an immigrant woman marrying an Irish man was also improved in 1956. Instead of having to apply for naturalisation she was allowed, under the Act, to declare her

⁷⁸ Ministère des Armées, *Chemins de Mémoire*, <https://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr/en/french-civilian-victims-battle-normandy>, accessed 9 March 2024.

⁷⁹ Patrick Weil, 'The 1945 ordinances', *Plein Droit*, No.22-23, October 1993, pp. 44-45.

⁸⁰ Simon Green, 'Citizenship Policy in Germany', p. 26. This policy also extended to: Morocco, Tunisia, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia and Turkey.

⁸¹ The *Ausländergesetz*, which came into law in 1991, Simon Green, 'Citizenship Policy in Germany: The Case of Ethnicity over Residence', p. 32.

⁸² Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 1956, Article 6 Section 1.

⁸³ James Everett *DD*, 29 February 1956, Vol. 154, No. 7.

⁸⁴ Originally in the 1922 constitution but restricted to the father in the 1935 Nationality and Citizenship Act.

desire to become an Irish citizen and her citizenship started from the date of her marriage. According to the Department of Justice records, twenty-eight female Europeans, married to Irishmen, claimed nationality under 1956 Act.⁸⁵

Perhaps the most important reform was to 'the absolute discretion' of the Minister for Justice's power to revoke naturalisations.⁸⁶ Although there was still no appeal process to revocation, a person whose naturalisation was to be revoked now had to be told the reason in advance.

Before revocation of a certificate of naturalisation the Minister shall give such notice as may be prescribed to the person to whom the certificate was granted of his intention to revoke the certificate, stating the grounds thereof and the right of that person to apply to the Minister for an inquiry as to the reasons for the revocation.⁸⁷

Everett explained, 'We feel that persons who acquire Irish nationality by process of naturalisation should have a feeling of security in their possession of that citizenship.'⁸⁸ Although this is a statement by a person from a minority party in a short lived government it does represent a change in emphasis and is the first time a Minister for Justice recognised, in the Dáil, naturalised citizens being as deserving of concern as natural born Irish people.

While most of this new legislation could be said to improve the situation of immigrants to Ireland, particularly the change for immigrant women married to Irishmen, it did bring in one new barrier. Anyone applying for naturalisation would have to declare their intention to the Department of Justice a year in advance of application.⁸⁹ Some of the applications after 1956 were held up for this reason.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Naturalisation application files, NAI, JUS,, JUS/2013/50/2632: of these 13 were German, 4 Spanish, 3 Polish, 2 French, 1 each: Austrian, Italian, Yugoslavian and Danish. There were also 2 women who described themselves as stateless.

⁸⁶ 1956, Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 1956, 26 of 1956, Article 19 section 2.

⁸⁷ 1956, Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 1956, 26 of 1956,, Article 19, Section 2.

⁸⁸ James Everett, *DD*, 29 February 1956, Vol. 154, No. 7.

⁸⁹ 1956, Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 1956, 26 (1956), Article 15, part (c).

⁹⁰ Laszlo and Theodora Peter, naturalisation application file, NAI JUS, JUS/2013/50/2355; Bruno and Xenia Schoch, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2507.

The Dáil debate on the bill, in general, was supportive of the new measures but Dr Anthony Esmonde from Fine Gael questioned the desirability of encouraging foreign immigrants when there could be the Irish emigrants who wished to return. 'I feel that this legislation should be directed towards providing Irish citizenship for those whose forebears left Ireland, even though a considerable time has elapsed since they went away'.⁹¹ Esmonde clarified his objections to foreign immigration. 'It is undesirable that we should have people in this country with rights of citizenship who might not be exactly satisfactory, from the standpoint of Irish culture and Irish thought'.⁹² Esmonde was obviously concerned that more immigration might bring a dilution of Irish culture but this was not shared among his colleagues and the Bill passed.

A gap of thirty years elapsed before Ireland's final citizenship legislation of the period of this study, in 1986. These years saw a radical change in Ireland's attitude to outside investment. The Fianna Fáil government's adoption of T.K. Whitaker's ideas in the First Programme for Economic Expansion (1958) marked a recognition that Ireland needed expertise and investment from outside the country for its industry to develop. Section V of the Programme, devoted to industry, stated that Ireland, 'must be prepared to welcome foreign participation, financial and technical in new industrial activities aimed at exports'.⁹³ The Section titled, 'Foreign Participation', stressed the importance of attracting foreign capital and expertise.⁹⁴ The Industrial Development Authority, originally set up in 1949 to encourage the development of export orientated businesses had, by 1959, been involved in the inception of seventy businesses, fifty of which were foreign-owned.⁹⁵ The IDA remained the engine of Ireland's economic development over subsequent decades and legislation was passed to facilitate their work. The Industrial Development Act of 1969 made the IDA an autonomous state-sponsored body and the 1986 Industrial Development Act formally defined the IDA's sphere of influence and its powers to, for

⁹¹ Anthony C. Esmonde, *DD* 29 February 1956, Vol. 154 No 7.

⁹² Anthony C. Esmonde, *DD* 29 February 1956, Vol. 154, No. 7.

⁹³ Programme for Economic Expansion 1958, Section 94 part (d) p. 34.

⁹⁴ Programme for Economic Expansion 1958, Sections 96 and 97.

⁹⁵ IDA Ireland, 'The Art Of Attraction', the nationalities involved included Dutch and German businesses, IDA Ireland, <https://idaireland.com>, accessed 19 November 2023.

example, give grants and low-interest loans.⁹⁶ The Control of Manufactures Act was amended in 1957 and finally repealed in 1964. All these changes improved the position of immigrants to Ireland in that there were now not only no penalties involved in opening a business in Ireland, but instead active encouragement from the government through the work of the IDA.

One piece of legislation that had the potential to impede European migration to Ireland, however, was the 1965 Land Act. The 1935 Aliens Act had enabled any alien to buy property on the same basis as a citizen. This had resulted in a small amount of land being purchased by European nationals. It is hard to quantify how much prior to 1960, as there was no land purchase register, but in June 1962 the Minister for Lands was able to tell the Dáil that only 4,000 acres out of a potential thirteen million acres of arable land had been sold to non-nationals in the year since the Register had been in operation.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, as Mervyn O'Driscoll describes in detail, there was a campaign by back-bench TDs from rural areas to ask questions in the Dáil, the issue was raised in national and local newspapers and in 1965 new restrictive land legislation was passed by the Dáil.⁹⁸ In fact, the original motivation for the Land Act was to help guarantee that no small-holding would be less than forty-four to forty-five acres.⁹⁹ A substantial campaign by Fine Gael, led by Oliver J Flanagan, resulted in the addition of clause 45 specifically concerning purchase by aliens.¹⁰⁰ Article 45 delineated who could buy land in Ireland and, for a non-citizen, the land purchase had to be under five acres or have permission from the Land Commission.¹⁰¹ The penalties for non-observance of the Act were severe, a fine of £10,000 or three years imprisonment.¹⁰² This Act did not in fact deter land purchase by non citizens. As O' Driscoll points out, between March 1965 and July 1969, the

⁹⁶ 1986, Industrial Development Act 1986, 9 of 1986, Part II, sections 10-20, Part III sections 21-37.

⁹⁷ *DD*, 195, col. 23337, June 1962, cited by Mervyn O'Driscoll, 'A German Invasion?', p. 533

⁹⁸ O'Driscoll, 'A German Invasion?', p. 531.

⁹⁹ *DD*, 27 November 1963, volume 206, No. 2.

¹⁰⁰ *SD*, 20 January 1965, volume 58, No. 4.

¹⁰¹ 1965, Land Act 1965, 2 of 1965, Article 45 section 1 part ix. This seems to have been intended to allow the foreign purchaser some space around their house. Professor Stanford in his speech in the Seanad observed that this should be 15 not 5. *SD* 20 January 1965. For permission from the Land Commission see 1965 Land Act, Article 45, Section 2, part (a).

¹⁰² Land Act 1965, article 45, Section 4 (a).

Land Commission agreed 352 sales of land to foreign nationals amounting to 18,494 acres.¹⁰³

The final piece of citizenship legislation came in 1986 because of Ireland's entry into the EEC in 1973. The Programme for Economic Expansion in 1958 had also stressed the need for Ireland to engage with other governments economically. Section 95 had predicted the creation of a European Free Trade Area and recommended that Ireland join this. Ireland, in fact, was a founding member of the OEEC in 1947 which became the OECD in 1961, the year that Ireland began the campaign for EEC entry.¹⁰⁴ This was finally successful in 1973.¹⁰⁵ The implications of membership were reflected in two articles of the 1986 Nationality and Citizenship Act.¹⁰⁶ During the debate the Minister referred to the practices of other EEC countries, which was a new departure for a debate on this issue.

Article 3 of the Naturalisation and Citizenship of 1986 changed the unequal positions of foreign wives and foreign husbands under the 1956 Act.¹⁰⁷ As Nuala Fennell, a Fine Gael TD and pioneer of rights for women, stressed in 1986, in her speech when she presented this Bill, 'legal equality is an absolute pre-requisite to any other action or programme for women's liberation' i.e. men must have the same rights as women.¹⁰⁸ Under the 1986 Act, both foreign husbands and wives had to be married for three years, be still in the marriage and be living as husband and wife, before they could be naturalised.¹⁰⁹ This new law could have made a difference to couples coming to live in Ireland as, prior to the 1986 legislation, in 1985, 513 non-

¹⁰³ Flanagan to Lynch 15 August 1969, NAI DI 96/4/492,, Schedule B, cited by O'Driscoll 'A German Invasion,' p.538.

¹⁰⁴ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development founded in 1961 in France.

¹⁰⁵ Completely free movement between countries in the EEC did not really come in until 1992 and the passing of the Maastricht Treaty which formed the European Union.

¹⁰⁶ The debate in the Dáil on this issue was led by two women, the Minister for Justice Nuala Fennell and fellow Fine Gael TD Monica Barnes, something not noticeable from previous debates on nationality, a sign of the changing times.

¹⁰⁷ This law meant that women married to Irish citizens could be naturalised on marriage, men married to Irish citizens had to go through the normal naturalisation process.

¹⁰⁸ Nuala Fennell, *DD*, 21 March 1986, Vol. 364, No. 12.

¹⁰⁹ 1986, Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 1986, 23 of 1986, Article 3 sections (a) and (b).

Irish women had acquired citizenship under the 1956 law, but only eighty-one non-Irish men.¹¹⁰

The second clause that showed Ireland's awareness of international sensibilities was Article 5. This part of the law added refugees and stateless people to the list of special cases where usual naturalisation practices could be waived by the Minister for Justice and cited United Nations protocols as setting the precedent for the legislation.

Where the applicant is a person who is a refugee within the meaning of the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of the 28th day of July, 1951, and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of the 31st day of January, 1967, or is a Stateless person within the meaning of the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons of the 28th day of September, 1954.¹¹¹

This was the first time that refugees were specifically mentioned in Irish nationality legislation. During the debate Dr. Michael Woods, a Fianna Fáil TD, also asked that there would be a procedure for handling asylum, 'To ensure that such persons receive natural justice', also a first for the Dáil.¹¹²

It should be noted, furthermore, the innovation in clause 15 of the 1956 Naturalisation and Citizenship Act requiring potential applicants to express their intent to apply a year in advance of their application was repealed. In Nuala Fennell's words, 'In practice this provision has been found not to serve any useful purpose and on the contrary to have proved to be a cause of delay in certain cases where there was no other need for delay'.¹¹³ The deletion of this clause provoked no debate.

Motives for seeking naturalisation

¹¹⁰ From Nuala Fennell's speech, *DD*, 21 March 1986, Vol. 364, No. 12.

¹¹¹ Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 1986, article 5.

¹¹² *DD*, 21 March 1986, Vol. 364, No. 12.

¹¹³ Minister of State at the Department of Justice, Nuala Fennell, *DD* Vol. 364 No 12, Friday 21 May 1986.

However much the legislation evolved, very few aliens opted for naturalisation and became Irish citizens. When in 2013 the Department of Justice released the Naturalisation files for the period 1935-1965, it was evident that less than 3,000 aliens had applied for naturalisation out of the 18,000 aliens recorded in the 1991 census.¹¹⁴ What made citizenship unappealing? In the first instance cost must have been an issue. In 1935 the fee payable on receipt of the letter offering naturalisation was ten guineas. In 1938 the average weekly industrial wage was £2.4s. so the application would cost a month's salary and there would also be the added expense of putting an advertisement into the newspaper to declare one's intent.¹¹⁵ So, for an average worker the fee would be at least a month's wages. In fact one applicant, Egidio Squizzoni, an Italian born terrazzo layer asked via his T.D. to be able to pay the fee in instalments or have it waived.¹¹⁶ By 1967 the fee had risen to £20 per person and Ida and Luciana Crivellari, earning £9 and £8.10s a week, respectively, found it hard to pay the fee.¹¹⁷ More recent immigrants, interviewed as part of the oral history process, also gave cost as one of the reasons for not applying for naturalisation. 'I did think about that from time to time but we never had the money, always something better to do with it', from a Dutch woman married to an Irish citizen.¹¹⁸

Sometimes there could be emotional reasons for not becoming an Irish citizen. Two of the people interviewed saw adopting Irish nationality as incongruous. Both felt that, although they had integrated well and felt part of the community, they would never be truly Irish and so there was no point.¹¹⁹ Both Norbert Ilien and Helene Willems had made a place for themselves in their respective communities as food producers, but did not feel it was right to become citizens. For Norbert Ilien, 'I never did that [get citizenship] because I had the feeling it doesn't make sense because people will know straight away that I am not Irish, so what's the point...It

¹¹⁴ NAI JUS, JUS/2013/50 series; CSO 1961 census.

¹¹⁵ CSO Tables, 'Weekly paid hours of industrial workers 1940-2009'; 'Real and nominal average hourly earnings of industrial workers 1938-2009', *Central Statistics Office*.

¹¹⁶ Letter from Michael Keyes TD to Department of Justice, April 1935, Egidio Squizzoni, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/84.

¹¹⁷ Ida and Luciana Crivellari, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2597.

¹¹⁸ Interview with Petra Breannach, recorded 27 April 2022.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Norbert Ilien, recorded 25 April 2022 and Helene Willems, recorded 5 May 2022.

felt like I would be getting myself a label that doesn't quite fit'.¹²⁰ For Helene and her husband it was a question of identity, 'at the beginning we thought why should we, we are not Irish... we're Dutch and we'll stay Dutch'.¹²¹ Another interviewee felt that they did not want to lose that last tie with the country they were born in. This person thought that they could not have dual nationality - their natal nationality was French, which was and is not in fact the case, at least since 1956.¹²² One Swiss woman was so incensed by the treatment she had received at the Aliens Office in Harcourt Street that she refused to become naturalised even though it would have made her life easier, particularly in terms of gaining employment.¹²³

I remember getting to the hatch one year [In the Alien's Office in Harcourt Street] and one of my children had to go to the bathroom. I asked could I just go to the bathroom and go back but they said no I would lose my place...It's just they were so nasty. I decided I didn't want to become an Irish citizen so I still am n't What came into my head was if they treated foreign people like that I did not want to be [a citizen].¹²⁴

But the strongest motive an immigrant might have for not becoming formally Irish was, in most cases, that they did not need to. As we have observed in the previous discussion of the provisions of the Aliens Act of 1935, an immigrant could buy land, open a business, and, particularly from 1973 if they were an E.E.C. citizen, were entitled to reciprocal social welfare and medical care rights.¹²⁵ It is worth noting, however, that if a foreign national wanted to be employed they would need

¹²⁰ Interview Norbert Illien, recorded 25 April 2022.

¹²¹ Interview with Helene Willems, 5 May 2022.

¹²² Interview with 'Annette,' recorded 20 April 2022. According to the *Institut National d'études démographiques* (A public research institute which specializes in population studies) French citizens can carry dual nationality. ned.fr/en/everything_about_population/demographic-facts-sheets/focus-on/double-nationalite-national-identity/#:~:text=French%20law%20permits%20dual%20nationality,the%20nationality%20of%20another%20country. Accessed 10 May 2022.

¹²³ Interview with 'Anna,' recorded April 2022.

¹²⁴ Interview with 'Anna,' recorded April 2022.

¹²⁵ 1972, Accession Treaty, Section IX Social Policy, Articles 25 and 27.

<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:11972B/TXT&qid=1652180513945&from=EN> accessed 10 May 2022.

a work permit issued by the relevant government department.¹²⁶ Key figures in an industry or company did not find this difficult. Gunther Kanis, a quality controller, for example, had successfully had his permit renewed for eleven years before he looked for naturalisation.¹²⁷ Nor did Jacques Lavaud, a double-bass player with the Radio Éireann Symphony Orchestra, have any difficulty and worked for the orchestra for a similar period.¹²⁸ Foreign nationals with humbler occupations often found it difficult to get a permit and hence employment. 'Anna' is Swiss woman who has lived in Ireland since 1986. She describes her experience of trying to find employment. 'Every time [when she went to Harcourt Street] I got a stamp saying I wasn't allowed to work so I couldn't. I remember after being the au pair I got a job in a bookshop here [Anna had worked in bookselling in Switzerland], it was almost impossible because they had to prove that I would do the job better than any Irish or EU citizen to get a work permit...It was very difficult'.¹²⁹

Why then did the immigrants of series JUS/2013/50 seek naturalisation? Almost a third of applicants, twenty-nine of the 145 files investigated, had Irish spouses and thirty-four had children born in Ireland.¹³⁰ These facts alone would not give an immigrant automatic Irish nationality and this situation caused some confusion to applicants. In 1939 Erma Kolma wrote to the Department of Justice asking if marrying an Irishman would give her citizenship, an official from the Department of Justice replied, 'marrying an Irishman will not give you citizenship'.¹³¹ In 1965, Vaclav Litera applied for his wife, Julie, to be naturalised so that they could visit Czechoslovakia. She had been under the impression that her husband's

¹²⁶ 1924-1977 Department of Industry and Commerce; 1977-1980 Department of Industry, Commerce and Energy; 1980-1983 Department of Energy, Commerce and Tourism; 1983-1986 Department of Industry, Trade, Commerce and Tourism; 1986-1993 Department of Industry and Commerce.

¹²⁷ Letter to Industry and Commerce from Brunsregor Ltd. Cabra, 5 February 1963, Gunther Kanis, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2554., Kanis was a quality controller with Brunsregor Limited.

¹²⁸ Application form Lavaud, arrived in 6 November 1956 working for RE since then, Jacques Lavaud, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2518.

¹²⁹ Interview with 'Anna,' recorded April 2022.

¹³⁰ Until 2004 all children born on the island of Ireland had Irish citizenship, Nationality and Citizenship Acts 1935, 1956 & 1986.

¹³¹ Letter from Erma Kolman to Justice, 25 January 1939, Erma Kolma Latvian, born in the Russian Empire, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/339.

citizenship - he was naturalised in 1947 -automatically extended to her.¹³² Thomas Cafolla had not registered as a citizen when he was sixteen as he thought when his father was naturalised on 12 April 1956, he would automatically become a citizen.¹³³ However, having an Irish spouse or Irish children would provide a strong motivation to stay in the country permanently.

For other immigrants the desire to be naturalised was simply that they needed a passport. Before the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 it was impossible to travel without one. Groups of migrants such as stateless people and refugees had no alternative documents to travel. Of the 145 files so far examined there were eleven cases of people made stateless by World War II. Ida and Luciana Crivellari, mother and daughter respectively, were born in Italy but were refugees due to World War II. Under the Treaty of Peace with Italy in 1947, Dalmatia, the area the family were from, was ceded to Yugoslavia and 300,000 Italian nationals became refugees.¹³⁴ The family was brought to Ireland in 1951 by the International Red Cross but Ida and Luciana did not apply for naturalisation until 1967. Luciana initiated this process and, as she would have been twenty-six at this point, one might assume that she wanted to travel.¹³⁵

Some applicants were stateless due to the post-war communist takeover of Eastern Europe: Herman Hrebicek 'Lost his nationality after the Czech law imposed by the communist government, because of illegally leaving the country as a political refugee in 1949'.¹³⁶ János Fürst, who became a cellist in the R  Symphony Orchestra was described in the naturalisation records as, 'No nationality due to 1956 revolution'.¹³⁷ Anthony Malbasha 'lost Yugoslav nationality in 1945 when he refused

¹³² Solicitors Matheson, Ormsby and Prentice, letter to Justice 15 July 1965, Vaclav and Julie Litera, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS,, JUS/2013/50/642.

¹³³ Garda report 21 July 1965, Thomas Cafolla, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2486.

¹³⁴ 1947, Treaty of Paris, Article 12, [jusmundi.com/en/document/treaty/en-treaty-of-peace-with-italy-1947-treaty-of-peace-with-italy-1947-monday-10th-february-1947](https://www.jusmundi.com/en/document/treaty/en-treaty-of-peace-with-italy-1947-treaty-of-peace-with-italy-1947-monday-10th-february-1947), accessed 24 January 2024.

¹³⁵ Application form, 4 June 1967, Ida and Luciana Crivellari, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS,, JUS/2013/50/2597.

¹³⁶ Application form, 3 June 1957, Herman Hrebicek, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2011.

¹³⁷ Letter to Justice, 30 August 1963, and Application form, J nos F rst, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2374.

to return in communist controlled Yugoslavia'.¹³⁸ As with the people displaced by World War II, all of these immigrants were refugees and needed official documentation.

Other immigrants needed passports to travel to visit relatives in their country of origin. Hans Jorgensen, born in Denmark, wrote to the Department of Justice on 26 July 1946.

Would you please let me have the certificate of naturalisation as soon as possible to enable me to get an Irish Passport. The position is that I will get my holidays August 15th and have booked seats for my wife and myself on a plane for the 16th we are going over to celebrate my brother's 25 years wedding anniversary.¹³⁹

Maria Forte, who had lived in Ireland since 1949, applied for citizenship in 1961 so that she could visit her relatives in Casalattico.¹⁴⁰ One applicant for naturalisation, Bruno Schoch, a Swiss acrobat employed by Duffy's Circus, thought that being an Irish citizen would get him a better job. 'And if I can get the naturalisation I would maybe be able to sign as a Artist Manager what would mean a much better position'.¹⁴¹ It is possible that other applicants I felt that Irish nationality would be a passport to better employment.

For some European nationals an Irish passport was a mechanism for easy entry into the United Kingdom. Since the passing of the Ireland Act of 1949 Irish citizens had the right to live in England and to vote in its elections. In 1963 three Greek families, Houlis, Lemos and Xilas, all from the island of Chios, applied for naturalisation within months of each other. From the naturalisation files for the three families, it seems that all three had strong connections with London. The Houlis family had a child

¹³⁸ Application form, Anthony Malbasha, offered naturalisation 16 July 1964, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2433.

¹³⁹ Letter from Hans Kay Jorgensen to Justice, 26 July 1946, Hans Kay Jorgensen, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/622, the form did come in time, a letter from Jorgensen dated 5 August 1946 confirmed that he had received the certificate.

¹⁴⁰ Garda report, 'She is looking for naturalisation so that she can get a passport to visit Italy', Offer of naturalisation 3 July 1962, Maria Forte, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2291.

¹⁴¹ Letter to Justice, September 1965, Bruno and Xenia Schoch, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50 2507.

born in London, the Lemos family two English-born children and the Xilas family were barely resident in Ireland. From the Garda report it was obvious that the Xilas family's Irish address, 95 Mespil Flats, was not where they lived. Their permanent address seemed to be in London and that 95 Mespil Flats was, 'an accommodation address for his [Michael Xilas] own ends'.¹⁴² Stamatios Houlis was naturalised that year, 1963. However, from 1964 onwards he sent in an annual, 'Retention of citizenship' form from a London address until the file closed in 1967.¹⁴³ The Lemos and Xilas families were not granted citizenship.¹⁴⁴ This extract from the Department of Justice summary explains why,

No doubt what Lemos wants is the right to live in Britain and like a number of his compatriots (some of whom we have already naturalised) he is living here only because he can't get permission to live in Britain. Refuse signed BL.¹⁴⁵

It is likely these three families knew each other. They were all from Chios, an island with a current population of around 52,000, two of the families had addresses in Mespil flats and all three families were involved in shipping, Houlis and Xilas as shipping agents and Lemos as a sea captain. It seems apparent that there was at least an information link between them concerning a route into England. However there were no further people from Chios in the records.

The Naturalisation Process

Under the 1935 Naturalisation Act, an applicant for citizenship had to have been living in Ireland for four out of the preceding eight years, the last year continuously.¹⁴⁶ This was not changed by the subsequent 1956 and

¹⁴² Garda Report, 2 November 1963, Xilas Family, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2383.

¹⁴³ Form 11, under the 1956 Citizenship and Nationality Act.

¹⁴⁴ Letter from Justice refusing application, applied 14 March 1963, Pantelis Lemos, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2343, and letter from Justice to Xilas family refusing naturalisation, 26 November 1963, Xilas Family, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2383.

¹⁴⁵ Justice Report, Pantelis Lemos, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2343.

¹⁴⁶ 1935, Nationality and Citizenship Act, Article 4, section 3(b), 'The minister is not authorised to issue a certificate of naturalisation to a person... unless he is satisfied that such person has resided continuously in SE for a period of one year expiring on the date of his application for such certificate and has also resided, during the eight years next preceding the said period of one year, in SE for a continuous period of four years or for a number of discontinuous periods amounting in the aggregate to four years'.

1986 legislation.¹⁴⁷ There were no statutory restrictions on who could apply, once they had satisfied the residency conditions, with the exception of students. Erkin Ersu, a student from Turkey, applied for naturalisation in 1964 and was told to wait until he had qualified before re-applying.¹⁴⁸ Financial concerns appear to have been behind this exclusion as the rule was waived for Lajos Rupp in 1967 who, although he was currently an art student, had maintained himself for ten years.

Although it is general policy not to naturalise students or persons newly graduated until such time as they have secured employment...it is considered that, as Mr Rupp has satisfactorily maintained himself for the last ten years, he will continue to be able to maintain himself without resort to State assistance. Naturalisation is accordingly recommended.¹⁴⁹

For any applicant, a formal application had to be made to the Department of Justice via two forms 13 and 20. Form 20 asked for details of the applicants parents. The forms had to be accompanied by a copy of an advertisement in a national paper, which stated that the person living at such address was applying. The application procedure does not seem to have been common knowledge, as several applications began their life with a letter addressed to the Department of External Affairs or other government departments. German applicant, Paul Schuette's file starts with a letter to the 'Department of the President' and, as late as 1965, Mr. J. Darlys' letter of complaint was addressed to the Department of External Affairs.¹⁵⁰ Many people applied without knowledge of the residency qualifications.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ 1956, Nationality and Citizenship Act, Article 15, section (d); 1986, Nationality and Citizenship Act Article 4, section 15(c).

¹⁴⁸ Letter from Justice, October 1966, to Erkin Ersu, Erkin Ersu, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2577.

¹⁴⁹ Justice Summary, 14 March 1967, Lajos Rupp, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2591.

¹⁵⁰ Letter from Paul Schuette to Secretary of the President, 24 February 1936, Paul Schuette, naturalisation application file NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/129. Letter from Mr. J Darlys to the Department of the President, 18 September 1965, Bruno and Xenia Schoch, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2507.

¹⁵¹ See letters from Justice to: Paul Schuette, from Hanover in Germany, dated 23 March 1936 refusing the application due to lack of residency, Paul Schuette, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/129; Julius Schlesinger, from Prazudy in Poland, dated 28 March 1936, Julius Schlesinger, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/133 and Louis J Warnants, from Antwerp in Belgium, dated 10 February 1936, Louis Warnants, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/138.

It is not surprising, then, that just under a quarter of the cases examined by this research applied via a solicitor.¹⁵² Five applicants hired a solicitor when the application was delayed.¹⁵³ Any communication to the Department of Justice seems to have been answered promptly, whether it was via a solicitor or not, so it is difficult to ascertain what difference this made. For the five people who went to a solicitor because of a delay in their application process, the intervention of a solicitor merely prompted a non-committal answer, such as 'under consideration'.

By 1964 the Department had drafted a one-page leaflet which clarified what was involved in the naturalisation process and what conditions had to be met. This information made the application system seem more transparent. This document detailed: which government department dealt with citizenship applications i.e the Department of Justice, the form that should be acquired and completed, Form 13, and the requisite fee. Form 13 asked for the applicant's name and address, when and where they were born, details of where they had lived since birth, their current nationality and the names and addresses of three referees all of whom had to be native born Irish citizens. The referees had to indicate how long they had known the applicant and had to sign a declaration that the person concerned was a suitable candidate for naturalisation. In 1956 these forms were replaced by a 'form 5' which combined the two earlier forms.

There is a marked difference in the length of time taken for applications to be processed between the inter-war and post-World War Two periods. Before 1939 most applications took at least five years from first inquiry through to naturalisation; only a few, such as Mrs Jeanne Kelly, took less than a year.¹⁵⁴ Abraham Lefcovitch's file was opened in 1931 and only closed in 1966, the longest time for an application to take from when the file was commenced to when it was closed.¹⁵⁵ From 1945

¹⁵² NAI, JUS,, JUS/2013/50 naturalisation application files: numbers 110, 138, 183, 213, 225, 227, 259, 562, 642, 2266, 2277, 2298, 2355, 2404, 2443, 2451, 2538, 2552, 2553, 2574.

¹⁵³ NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50, naturalisation application files: numbers 84, 147, 152, 579, 2377.

¹⁵⁴ Applied 9 January 1937, letter from Justice granting naturalisation 9 March 1937, Mrs Jeanne Julienne Kelly Née Herpigny, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/219.

¹⁵⁵ Abraham Leon, alias Lefcovitch, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS,, JUS/2013/50/363, he was naturalised in 1953, the documents in the rest of the file deal with his retention of citizenship declarations.

onwards more than half the applications were processed in a year. Ones taking longer became the exception.

A politician intervened in the process in fourteen out of the 145 cases examined by this research.¹⁵⁶ Mostly the politicians' letters were answered politely, and the outcome was unaffected. Even when de Valera intervened in the case of an academic, Julius Schlesinger, in 1937 the negative outcome was unchanged. Another intervention delayed an application for seven years. In 1938 Frank Aiken successfully intervened to delay Louis Warnants' application. Louis Warnants was a Belgian arms manufacturer who had offered to build an armaments factory in Ireland and had 'on numerous occasions provided the Department of Defence with information required by the General Staff of the Army with regard to foreign developments in organisation, armaments and equipment'.¹⁵⁷ Aiken however, as Minister for Defence, had grave doubts about the Belgian's suitability.

I have thoroughly investigated this matter and could not as a consequence be a party to the issue of the Certificate of naturalisation. I do not consider it advisable to put in writing the reasons which compel me to adopt this course, but will explain them to you personally when next we meet. They are such that, in my opinion, Mr Warnants naturalisation would not be in the best interest of the state, and that any further extension of his stay here is not desirable. Frank Aiken.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ These were Robert Briscoe for David Eichenstein, naturalisation application file JUS/2013/50/112 ; Thomas Crofts General Secretary of Fianna Fáil for Kalman Windt, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/120; Senator Bill Quirke for Caesar Beckman, naturalisation application file JUS/2013/50/128; Oscar Traynor for Louis Warnants, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/138; Alderman P.S. Doyle and Kathleen Clarke as Mayor of Dublin, Sean O' Gradaigh for Solomon Verby, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/227; The Registrar of Titles for Veronica Martha, Francisca, Maria, Antonia Rudnyanszky de Dezser, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/579; P. Mooney for Zygmunt Satzynowski, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/2307; Paddy Lalor for Lajos Botos, Naturlaisation Application File, JUS/2013/50/2461; Oliver J Flanagan for Erika Lotze, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/2551 and Gerald Dunne for Ted Golding, naturalisation application file JUS/2013/50/2584.

¹⁵⁷ Justice Report, August 1937, Louis Warnants, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS., JUS/2013/50/138.

¹⁵⁸ Note from Frank Aiken, the Minister for Defence to the Department of Justice, 23 March 1938, Louis Warnants, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/138.

In this case the Department of Justice followed the Minister's recommendation at the time but eventually naturalisation was granted in 1945.¹⁵⁹

In the same year, Veronica Martha Francisca Maria Antonia Rudnyansky de Dezsar, the fiancée and then wife of the son of the Registrar of Titles was granted naturalisation in only a few months.¹⁶⁰ De Dezsar applied for citizenship in July 1945 and was naturalised by September of the same year. The instructions from the Department of Justice to the Gardai have Section G, which refers to checking the applicant's referees, crossed out. In other words, the Gardai do not need to check her referees. This was not done in any other naturalisation record examined. Later the same applicant, now a citizen, was able to dictate what the Department of Justice wrote to the Czech government on her behalf. Her solicitor had requested a letter stating when she became a citizen. She then sent the letter back for the date to be changed to when she arrived in Ireland. The Department of Justice complied.¹⁶¹

Once the naturalisation application was received, an employee of the Department of Justice wrote to the Superintendent of the Garda branch nearest to the applicant, looking for an in-depth investigation of that person's conduct since they had entered the state. Appendix A has an example of the earliest version of this letter.¹⁶² Some applications were sent by the regular Gardaí to Branch C3, a part of the Special Branch, although there does not seem to be a pattern in why some files were sent and not others.¹⁶³ From 1945 onwards the letter to the Gardaí was a list of bullet points with a clause (f) on political activity.¹⁶⁴ This clause asked the Gardaí to

¹⁵⁹ Acceptance of Naturalisation, 3 December 1945, Louis Warnants, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/138.

¹⁶⁰ Veronica Martha Francisca Maria Antonia Rudnyansky de Dezsar, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/579.

¹⁶¹ Undated letter 68/1/598 asking Justice to help applicant with the Czech authorities, letter from Justice 21 September 1945, handwritten letter from Michael Rynne asking Justice to adjust the letter, Veronica Martha Francisca Maria Antonia Rudnyansky de Dezsar, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/579.

¹⁶² See Appendix A

¹⁶³ This was an intelligence gathering unit of the Special Branch, now called the CSB, set up in 1923. Vicky Conway, *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland: a History of the Garda Síochána* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 29.; a sample of files sent to C3 are :Garda report, Albert Cafolla, naturalisation Application File, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/418; Garda Report, Mrs Kate Lucks, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/562; Garda Report, Ilona Hefferich Tarjan, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/20/2266.

¹⁶⁴ This was first observed in Louis Warnants file Letter to Gardaí 22 October 1945, Louis Warnants, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/138.

investigate whether the applicant had been involved in political activity or supported any political groups since they had entered the country.

The resulting Garda reports are the most intriguing part of the naturalisation files as one gets a snapshot of the applicant's life and history at the time of application. Examples are: Abraham Lefcovitch's complicated history which included fighting in the Russian army in 1917 and landing clandestinely in Britain in 1928, Louis Warnant's history as an arms manufacturer in the 1930s, Vaclav Litera's business career in the 1940s.¹⁶⁵ As time passed, into the 1950s and 1960s, the Garda reports became less detailed as the process became more formulaic and the Gardaí were given an itemised form which invited yes or no answers. Part of the process could include contacting authorities from other jurisdictions. In 1962, the Norwegian court system was requested to give information about Jonas Hielm's post-war trial for collaboration.¹⁶⁶ The Gardaí compiling the report about Hielm were doubtful of his account. The resulting Garda Report to the Department of Justice confirmed that Hielm had been found guilty of collaboration.

On September 3 1949 Jonas Anton Hielm was sentenced, in accordance with the Treason Felony Act 3 to 1 year of imprisonment, confiscation of kr (Norwegian crowns) 300,000 and loss of civil rights for 10 years.¹⁶⁷

Finally, the Gardaí were also required to give a judgement, based on their investigations, as to whether the person concerned was a fit candidate for naturalisation. The civil servants in the Department of Justice made the final decision, but quite often followed the Gardaí's recommendation.

Simultaneously with their request to the Gardaí, an official from the Department of Justice also wrote to the Department of Industry and Commerce and asked for their opinion on the application of a tradesman or businessman. In most cases, fourteen of the files assessed, the response was neutral 'the Minister wished to offer no

¹⁶⁵ Garda Report, 11 May 1931, Abraham Lefcovitch, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/363; Garda Report, 16 September 1937, Louis Warnants, JUS/2013/50/138; Garda Report, 13 November 1945, Vaclav and Julie Litera, JUS/2013/50/642.

¹⁶⁶ Garda Report, Letter to Justice from the Garda Superintendent in Dublin, 5 November 1962, Jonas Anton Hielm, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2298.

¹⁶⁷ Letter to Justice from the Garda Superintendent in Dublin, 5 November 1962, Jonas Anton Hielm, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2298.

objection'. It is noticeable that the later files all have this response. Sometimes the response was negative, particularly in the early days of protectionism. Occasionally the response was very positive. Here the wording would be that, 'the Minister supports the application'. Serge Philipson, a factory manager, in 1945 benefitted from this approbation.¹⁶⁸ The Department of Justice would normally take note of the Department of Industry and Commerce's opinion when making their final decision.

Occasionally the Department of Justice would ignore the recommendations of Industry and Commerce. In 1951 Charles Bačik applied for naturalisation. A letter from the Department of Industry and Commerce was unqualified in their approbation of his apprenticeship scheme.¹⁶⁹ Unfortunately the success of Bačik's programme nearly became a two-edged sword in that a hand written note from PB (almost certainly Peter Berry) of the Department of Justice on the letter above suggested that this might be a reason to deny Bačik citizenship.

I have heard it suggested that if Bačik is naturalised he will cease his instruction of Irish apprentices etc., in the Waterford Glass Bottle factory and he will no longer be the asset to the community that he is at present. Will you please convey the information unofficially to I and C and ask would they still have no objection to naturalisation if the information were to prove true I have heard that Bačik is only waiting to be naturalised to leave Waterford.¹⁷⁰

In the event PB changed his mind and was one of the three people who signed the Department of Justice summary. An official letter from the Department of Justice was then sent to Charles Bačik offering him citizenship in February 1952.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸Report, 24 February 1936, Abel Chaiet, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/113; Report 15 October 1937, Abraham Witzum, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/259; report, 17 February 1938, Aloyious Kuspish, naturalisation application file, NAI, Department of Justice, JUS/2013/50/99; report 17 February 1938, Frantisek Schwatschke naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/110; report 7 November 1945, Serge Philipson, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/581

¹⁶⁹*Waterford News and Star*, 19 March 1952; letter from Industry and Commerce to Justice, 15 January 1952, Charles Bačik, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1312

¹⁷⁰ Handwritten note signed PB written on the letter from Industry and Commerce to Justice, 15 January 1952, Charles Bačik, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1312.

¹⁷¹ Justice Summary and Letter from Justice to Charles Bačik offering him naturalisation, 27 February 1952, Charles Bačik, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1312.

Officials in the Department of Justice were occasionally open to influence from members of the public who complained about a possible naturalisation. These concerns were not inherently xenophobic but connected to the specific issues raised by the complainant. In 1954 Samuel Verhoeven, a Belgian applicant for naturalisation, was the subject of a letter sent to the Department of Justice from Edward Rooney, Verhoeven's first wife's cousin,, accusing the Belgian of treating his first wife badly. Prior to the letter Verhoeven's citizenship was being considered at least semi-favourably, while Verhoeven may not have been considered a person of good character at one time, he has not come under unfavourable notice since 1939, and I suggest that things which happened 16 years ago should not continue to be held against him'.¹⁷² Justice believed the letter, however, and this meant that Samuel was never naturalised although he had an Irish wife and three Irish children.¹⁷³ In 1965 Bruno and Xenia Schoch's, two acrobats working for Duffy's circus, naturalisation process was held up for two years due to a letter which claimed that the two artists had been working extensively in England. This letter from a rival act of acrobats gave rise to more questioning from Justice about Schoch's time spent out of the country, although Schoch had been advised previously that business trips would not affect his residency qualification.

Mr Schoch had called to the office as Duffy's had offered him a job as Artist manager for the Winter which would mean trips out of the country I told him that short business trips abroad would not be regarded as interruptions 11th Oct 1965.¹⁷⁴

The Department of Justice eventually accepted Mr Schoch's explanation and the couple were naturalised.

When the staff of the Department of Justice had collated all the relevant reports they prepared a summary and made decided on the application. This was usually initialled by three members of the department including the Justice Minister

¹⁷² One of the two Department of Justice reports, 22 September 1954, Samuel Verhoeven, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/147.

¹⁷³ Letter from Edward Rooney, 1 September 1954, Samuel Verhoeven, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/147.

¹⁷⁴ Memo from Justice, 11 October 1965, Bruno and Xenia Schoch, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2507.

of the time. Once the decision was made it was communicated to the applicant and, if positive, they would be sent a form 4 which was a declaration of allegiance to the Irish State which needed to be signed in the presence of a magistrate. The applicant sent in this form with the relevant fee and was then issued with a Certificate of Naturalisation, which was always compiled in Irish. The whole process could take years, during which time the applicant was given no reason for any delay.

Factors which influenced the state decision to naturalise

There was no one central factor which seems to have influenced the decision to naturalise an applicant. Apart from the general guidelines in the legislation about residency, there does not seem to have been a set of rigid criteria for recommending naturalisation. Certainly, in the early days of the state, financial considerations were important. Officials in the Department of Justice wanted to be sure that the individual would be able to support themselves and their dependents. There was also a desire to protect Irish jobs by not naturalising a person who might compete with Irish professionals or artisans. Financial considerations could outweigh compassion. A major thread in the Naturalisation documents, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s was the concern that the new citizen would be able to maintain themselves and their family. Kalman Windt, a Hungarian businessman, was refused citizenship because of his financial situation, 'Memo 68/1/114 Insolvent in 1927 and 1934 paying 1/6d in the pound to his creditors...in a case like this, I suggest that we should not naturalise a man until he can show a long period of satisfactory trading'.¹⁷⁵ He was naturalised in 1946, however, when his financial situation had improved.

Other applicants, with small means, were naturalised in the 1960s, usually for compassionate reasons. Ginzella Pinter, a Hungarian refugee was passed for naturalisation, 'although she has no means beyond her small wages' possibly because her Department of Justice Report included, 'She is very anxious to become a citizen of this country since she does not wish to visit her native country'.¹⁷⁶ Lajos

¹⁷⁵ Justice memo 68/1/114, Kalman Windt, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/120.

¹⁷⁶ Justice Report, 20 February 1964, Ginzella Pinter, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2401.

Botos, another refugee, although unemployed was recommended largely because of his Irish wife and small child, and that 'the applicant seems to have adapted himself to the way of life in this country and is accepted by the local residents'.¹⁷⁷

Being a Catholic could be an advantage to an applicant who might otherwise have been denied citizenship because of their means. Lack of income was still an issue for some candidates, in the mid 1960s when Gonzalo Chapuli applied for naturalisation. The Garda investigation had discovered that his income was only £25 a month at a time, 1966, when the average industrial wage was c £10 a week.¹⁷⁸ Officials in the Department of Justice, therefore, decided it was prudent to wait to grant him citizenship. 'I recommend that we defer the question of naturalisation for, say six months and tell him that the Minister will be prepared to consider his application then, if he has received a substantial increase in salary in the meantime'.¹⁷⁹ However a later note from the Justice Minister dated June 15th 1966 reversed this decision.

I have spoken to Mr J W O Farrell who wrote on Chapuli's behalf. He has thrown a completely new light on the situation compared with what we had been able to deduce from Chapuli's own letter and the Garda report. It appears that Chapuli is a member of Opus Dei (lay religious order of Spanish origin, subject to vows and dedicated to reforming the world by example of good life etc.) and is devoting himself to its work.

Chapuli was naturalised that year.¹⁸⁰

Despite the commonly held view ethnicity, apart from some anti-Semitism in the pre-war period, was not a major factor in granting citizenship. Ties to Ireland, however, were sometimes important. There was a question on the application form which asked for information concerning the applicant's connexion with Ireland. From 1956 onwards several applicants stated that an Irish connection was the reason for

¹⁷⁷ Garda and Justice Reports, 5 February 1965, Lajos Botos, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2461.

¹⁷⁸ CSO 'Real and Nominal Average Hourly Earnings 1938-2009.

¹⁷⁹ Justice Report, 5 November 1964, Gonzalo MurrozChapuli, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2543.

¹⁸⁰ Note, 15th June 1966, Gonzalo MurrozChapuli, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2543.

seeking naturalisation and residency qualifications were sometimes waived for applicants who answered positively, particularly those who were foreign spouses of Irish citizens and parents of Irish-born children. The one year's notice of application was often waived and the residency conditions moderated. Paul Schuette's residency qualification was modified due to having a natural born Irish wife.¹⁸¹ For some applicants, however, such as Julius Schlesinger, this connexion was not enough and they were refused naturalisation even though they had Irish-born children. William Luz, also, who began his application process in 1936 had to wait until 1947 to be accepted for citizenship despite having an Irish wife and four Irish children.¹⁸² His perceived lack of a permanent job proved more significant. Occasionally the connection with Ireland was more important than financial considerations. Johannes Thoma, a Dutch fitter, was offered naturalisation in 1967, purely because he had an Irish wife and two Irish children, although he did not meet the usual residency requirements and was having financial problems.¹⁸³ In 1963 the Department of Justice fast tracked the case of Anthony Malbasha, a refugee with limited means, due to his three Irish children: 'Please deal with as a matter of urgency. As the Malbashes have 3 Irish born children, the year's notice may be dispensed with'.¹⁸⁴ The Malbasha family may have received priority treatment for a second reason. There are some indications that the Irish government looked favourably on refugees from eastern bloc countries in the post-World War II period. Anthony Malbasha, born in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, 'lost Yugoslav nationality in 1945 when he refused to return in communist controlled Yugoslavia'.¹⁸⁵ The reception of the 541

¹⁸¹ Justice memo, 20 April 1936, Paul Schuette, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/129.

¹⁸² William Luz, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS/2013/50/206, Luz was a German engineer who had come to Ireland to work on the Ardnacrusha Dam, he had always worked for the ESB but because his occupation was not deemed permanent enough his naturalisation was not initially accepted. Garda Report, William Luz, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/206 'but as his employment is only temporary, he may eventually become a burden on the state and under the circumstances I do not consider him a fit and proper person to obtain a certificate of naturalisation' Patrick Clare Garda 12138.

¹⁸³ Offer of naturalisation from Justice, 20 February 1967, Johannes Thoma, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2515.

¹⁸⁴ Hand written note in the file from someone PB? Initials are hard to read no date, Anthony Malbasha, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2433.

¹⁸⁵ Application form, Anthony Malbasha, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2433.

Hungarian refugees in 1956 was an obvious instance.¹⁸⁶ There was also a willingness to give asylum to anti-communist exiles from Belgium. As Daniel Leach argues 'What appealed to Irish sympathy was Catholicism and nothing guaranteed solidarity more than the threat posed by a force diametrically opposed to its teachings and power. That force was communism'.¹⁸⁷ Albert Folens and Staf Von Velthoven were given permission to stay and Albert Folens was naturalised in 1953, his wife in 1958, in spite of their pro-Nazi past possibly because of their anti-communist sentiments.¹⁸⁸ Drago and Alicja Radic, from Prague in Czechoslovakia and Budapest, Hungary respectively, were given asylum in 1955. The Department of Justice Report in their file contains the following, 'Drago is said to be the grandson and nephew of Stazan and Pavel Raduc leaders of the Croat Catholic party in Yugoslavia. August 1955, he escaped from Yugoslavia arrived in Great Britain and sought political asylum and was refused, he applied to Ireland and was given permission'.¹⁸⁹

Political activity was considered important particularly from 1945 onwards. From that time the form sent to the Gardai for comment included clause (f) which asked about the applicant's political activity. Immigrants coming from communist-controlled Eastern Europe could be suspected of having communist sympathies although many of them were in Ireland to escape communism.

A thread that runs through the applications that does not change with time is the determination to keep political "undesirables" from becoming citizens. Many of the applications were sent to the C3 force in the Special Branch, although as has been stated previously it is not easy to see the criteria for which ones were selected. Which groups were perceived as politically suspect changed over time. Early targets of scepticism or hostility were both left-wing and right-wing. During World War II Giorgio Favilla, who had been naturalised in 1938, was reported to the Department of Justice in 1944, for antifascist activities, by the Controller of Censorship.

¹⁸⁶ Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, p. 42.

¹⁸⁷ Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 23.

¹⁸⁸ Letter from Justice to Albert Folens offering naturalisation, 21 December 1953, Albert Folens, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1549; letter from Justice to Juliette Folens offering naturalisation, November 1958, Juliette Folens, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2096; for Staph von Velthoven's permission to stay in Ireland see Daniel Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 157.

¹⁸⁹ Spelling of Yugoslavia is as the original. Justice report Drago and Alicja Radic, Drago and Alicja Radic, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2275.

Favilla is publishing a paper L'Italia Libera) published on behalf of the Dublin subsection of the London section of the Italian anti-fascist federation, if this is the case, you may wish to consider the principle involved in permitting émigrés who have found asylum in this country to take advantage of their Irish citizenship for the purpose of carrying on a campaign against the authorities of their country of origin to the prejudice of international good relations.¹⁹⁰

The Department of Justice considered revoking his citizenship and Favilla was questioned in the Bridewell but ultimately he was allowed to stay.¹⁹¹

After World War II there was some concern that applicant Caesar Beckman, a German industrialist, had been spying for Germany during the war. In the Garda report, dated 17 September 1945, detectives noted that, 'he was a close associate of Helmut Clissman, Dr. Maher, Herman Hitter, Dr. Robert Stumpf, all of whom were prominent Nazis regarded as suspicious by special branch but he could not be accused of open activity'.¹⁹² This report held up his application for a short time. Beckman then appeared on the British 'Blacklist', as having traded with the enemy. The response of the officials from the Department of Justice seems to be more concerned with international relations than the possible effect of his politics. At first they decided to, 'hold off naturalisation now but if the blacklist is rescinded maybe then'.¹⁹³ Once Beckman informed the Department of Justice he was off the blacklist, an official memo read.

As a matter of expediency, however, I am to suggest that the actual grant of a certificate of naturalisation to Mr. Beckmann should be postponed for a period of six months, so as to enable a reasonable length of time to elapse

¹⁹⁰ Letter from the Controller of Censorship to Justice, 23 September 1944, Giorgio Favilla, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/81.

¹⁹¹ Letter from Justice to Controller of Censorship, Giorgio Favilla, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/81.

¹⁹² Garda Report, 17 September 1945, Caesar Beckman, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/128.

¹⁹³ Justice memo, 2 November 1945, Caesar Beckman, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS/2013/50/128.

between the date of his removal from the list and his naturalisation as an Irish citizen.¹⁹⁴

William Luz also came under suspicion for having Nazi sympathies. The Garda report in his naturalisation file contained the following.

During the emergency period the applicant attended functions which were held annually in the Red Bank Restaurant under the auspices of the German National Socialist party and was believed to be sympathetic to activity on behalf of the German government in this country.¹⁹⁵

However, a later memo discounted this, 'the functions mentioned were really social affairs for the purpose of keeping the German colony together. Luz was never known to engage in any political activities and Luz was recommended for naturalisation.'¹⁹⁶

As the 1940s progressed officials in the the Department of Justice became more concerned with the perceived threat of communism. In March 1949 an informer told the Department of Justice that Julius Schlesinger, 'defends Red Russia on all possible occasions'.¹⁹⁷ This led to an inquiry by the Gardaí which exonerated Schlesinger, 'neither he nor his wife are members of the communist association here. They have not been known to attend any meetings or express any communist view'.

A fear of communism could be conflated with an anti-Semitic strand in the Department and society in general. There was obviously a thread of this prejudice both in the Department of Justice and Irish society during the inter-war years. In 1939, one of the people writing on Julius Schlesinger's behalf, felt it necessary to point out that Schlesinger was not Jewish, 'typed memo 1938 p.s.Schlesinger by the

¹⁹⁴ Justice memo, 20 November 1945, Caesar Beckman, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS,JUS/2013/50/128.

¹⁹⁵ Garda report, form section f, 14 July 1947, William Luz, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/206.

¹⁹⁶ Letter from Justice to Luz offering naturalisation, 12 September 1947, William Luz, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS,JUS/2013/50/206.

¹⁹⁷ Letter from Justice to the Gardaí, March 1949, Julius Schlesinger, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/133.

way is not a non-Aryan'.¹⁹⁸ Schlesinger himself felt that he had been a victim of anti-Semitic prejudice in a court case of the time. 'Yet only recently I lost a case in court by the fact that I am not an Irishman and because I was mistaken for a Jew'.¹⁹⁹ When David Eichenstein, a Polish Jew working as a cantor in the synagogue, applied for citizenship in 1936 the following remark is found handwritten in his file.

The tendency, if we do not check it, is to increase the Jewish population in this country steadily by bringing new people in as 'Cantors', and thus making Irish citizens of them. We in this department do not like this: we think we have already a quite sufficient population of Jews in this state. Signed DK 1/5/36.²⁰⁰

Eichenstein was not naturalised until 1947 but by this time there had been a change of attitude towards him because he had integrated well. 'Although this man came here originally against our wishes, I suggest that, as he has been resident here and well conducted for over 17 years, he should be naturalised now. DB approved GB 25/11/47'.²⁰¹ However at the same time other Jews were naturalised without comment. In 1937 Wolf Garbarz from Poland, whose sole occupation was as a rabbi, was passed for naturalisation within a year, unusually fast for that period, with no adverse discussion.²⁰²

After the War, while Jews and Communists were still conflated at times, there was more emphasis on communism as a threat than a growing Jewish population. In 1949 the Department of Justice received an anonymous letter concerning the political activities of Abraham Sabin (Zlobinski), who had been naturalised in 1937.

Dear Sir, I have read in the newspaper that you are granting Irish Nationality Certificates to Russian Jews. You should be careful about granting certificates

¹⁹⁸ Typed memo from the Ceann Comhairle, 26 April 1938, Julius Schlesinger, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/133.

¹⁹⁹ Handwritten letter from Schlesinger to Justice, 10 January 1939, Julius Schlesinger, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/133.

²⁰⁰ Justice summary note signed DK, 1 May 1936, David Eichenstein, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/112.

²⁰¹ Final Justice report signed by GB, 25 November 1947, David Eichenstein, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/112.

²⁰² Application, 26 October 1936, offered naturalisation, 4 January 1937, Wolf Garbarz, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/204.

to these people as most of them are Communists. I notice you have made Zlobinski or Sabin of 95 Kimmage Road citizens well these people are communists himself and the daughters are real red they get communist papers every week from London, 'The soviet News and 'Irish Democrat' and they try to get the workers to go to Communist clubs to hear Russian lectures. So Sean be careful, they would not go back to live under Stalin but would back him in other countries.²⁰³

This letter is marked 'URGENT' in Sabin's file. Officials from the Department of Justice asked the Gardaí to investigate the family. This surveillance continued for two years and seems to have been done very closely as one of the reports concerns a private party that Dora, Sabin's daughter, attended in 1950.²⁰⁴ In one of the Garda reports the detective concerned assumed a strong link between Judaism and communism. 'They [that is Abraham and Dora], like most other Russian Jews are sympathetic to the communist regime' Report signed by Thomas Boyle D. Sergt. 12,266.²⁰⁵ Officials in the Department of Justice considered revoking Sabin's citizenship and, while this did not happen, the following memo shows a potential dislike for Sabin whether his race, religion or political views: 'There is little to be gained by revoking the certificate in this case, even if that course were justified. We could not get rid of these people; there is no place we could send them to', signed E.O. 19/5.²⁰⁶

One might consider that a criminal record would deter the Department of Justice from naturalising an applicant. However, it seems that the bigger offence was to hide the existence of a dubious past. Two Norwegians Jonas Hielm and Otto Thoresen applied within three years of each other, Hielm in 1962 and Thoresen in 1965. Both had been charged with collaboration and imprisoned by the Norwegian government after World War II. Not only did Hielm lie about the case taken against him by the Norwegian government stating in his application that he was 'charged in

²⁰³ Anon Letter to Seán MacEoin, the Minister for Justice, 24 March 1949, Abraham Sabin, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/225.

²⁰⁴ Report from Garda Boyle to Justice, 14 January 1950, Abraham Sabin, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/225.

²⁰⁵ Report from Garda Boyle to Justice, no date, Abraham Sabin, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/225.

²⁰⁶ Memo to Justice Minister, no date, Abraham Sabin, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/225.

Oslo with collaborating with Germans case struck out'.²⁰⁷ He also tried to ingratiate himself by inventing an Irish ancestor 'Family tradition that the applicant's great grandfather was Andrew Mitchell British General in Copenhagen whose father and mother were Irish'.²⁰⁸ Hielm also seems to have been involved in dubious business ventures.

In September and October 1959 the applicant advertised in local papers for Irish girls to travel to Germany to work in a canning factory he was given 27s for each girl, parents complained and he was told formally to stop he then recruited Irish men to work on German trawlers this was raised in the Dáil 5/7/1962.²⁰⁹

He was refused naturalisation, although one unnamed person in the Department of Justice was prepared to have him as a citizen and describes him as 'a bit volatile but harmless'.²¹⁰ There was no discussion when Otto Thoresen applied in 1965. He did not hide the fact that he had been tried and sentenced for collaboration after World War II. '13th February 1947 sentenced to 4 years in Norway for fighting in the German Army (Eastern Front) released after 2 years' and he was naturalised within the year.²¹¹

Conclusion

This survey of legislation around immigration and naturalisation practices yields three main findings. First the legislation had in its construction and application the primary objective of establishing Ireland as an independent state, an idea highlighted by the quotation from de Valera above. Esmonde's contribution to the debate on the 1956 legislation shows how strongly some TDs felt about Irishness. Part of this was the project to increase Ireland's native Irish population by discouraging emigration and encouraging people of Irish descent to return. This aim can be seen in the emphasis of the legislation. From the beginning of the state anyone born in Ireland was a citizen. From 1956 onwards, having an Irish

²⁰⁷ Application form, Jonas Anton Hielm, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2298.

²⁰⁸ Application form, Jonas Anton Hielm, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2298.

²⁰⁹ Garda Report, Jonas Anton Hielm, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2298.

²¹⁰ Unsigned note, Jonas Anton Hielm, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2298.

²¹¹ Application form, 26 June 1964, Otto Thoresen, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2544.

grandparent was enough qualification for citizenship, marrying an Irish man was equally efficacious and having an Irish spouse and children enabled some of the rules to be modified. Naturalisation could be revoked by the state but citizenship by birth could only be surrendered by the individual. There was also a sense that this identity had to be protected, so that groups seen as potentially a threat to Ireland's distinctiveness or political reputation were closely monitored. In some cases, this resulted in credibility given to dubious anonymous informers. This could be called xenophobic and sometimes it was, evinced by Boland's response to the Jewish refugee children. But it could also be seen as an important defence for a newly formed state.

Secondly this legislation was an evolving system. In 1935 all non-Irish were aliens, by 1949 there was a reciprocal agreement with the United Kingdom and in 1985 there was a long list of nations which received preferential treatment. The very close system of vetting by the Gardaí that was part of the 1935 Nationality and Citizenship Act, became, in most cases, a series of routine questions mostly answered positively. The bureaucracy in the Department of Justice became slightly more transparent throughout the period with the production of the one page leaflet explaining the process and terms of naturalisation and more efficient, in that most naturalisations were completed within the year. The 'absolute discretion' of the Minister for Justice, outlined in the 1935 Act, was in practice tempered by the Garda reports, the views of the Department of Industry and Commerce and occasionally the opinions of politicians. The groups seen as problematic also changed over time: in the inter-war period it was, for some in government, the Jews, immediately after World War II, Nazi collaborators and in the decades after the war people with communist ideas.

Lastly, however harsh the terms of the Alien's Act might be on paper, in practice these were not always enforced and there was room for compassion as could be seen in the final outcome of Abraham Sabin's case. The result of this relaxed attitude to enforcement gave rise to a situation where only a fraction of resident aliens felt that they needed to apply to be citizens. This had some implications for how the State functions in that there would always be a group of

aliens, even though small, who would only have a partial role in the democratic process as they could only vote in local elections. The next chapter examines the reasons immigrants had for wanting to come to Ireland in the first place.

Chapter Two: The motives behind immigration to Ireland

Migration is often explained in terms of 'push' and 'pull'. The factors which 'pull' or attract an immigrant to a particular country include employment, better wages or safety and those which 'push' or repel the migrant from their native land, a stagnant economy, mass unemployment or war. These terms are most usually used when looking at large bodies of people, such as the movement of the 'displaced' after World War II or the movement of economic migrants from Southern to Northern Europe in the 1950s. As such push and pull factors are helpful in examining the emigration from Ireland in this period but less so when examining the kind of immigration examined in this thesis.

The group of migrants explored in this study are different from the usual groups explored in the study of migration. The Europeans concerned did not come as a big group or a wave, but as individuals with often very personal reasons for immigration. In fact, most of the immigrants investigated came for more than one reason. Push and pull factors for this group were highly individual and exemplify the claim of sociologist Everett Lee that the reasons for migration were almost as individual as the migrants themselves and not always rational.¹

At first sight the Ireland of the early post-war period was not an attractive destination. Economic growth was minimal compared to other European countries.² The population was shrinking in spite of a high birth rate. 1946 showed a net decrease of population of 13,313 despite 602,095 live births.³ There was widespread unemployment, 39% of the potential working population were unemployed according to the 1946 census.⁴ Housing was rudimentary and in rural areas there was still no mains water or electricity.

On the other Ireland, as an unoccupied and non-combatant country, had not known the destruction and food shortages of WWII, for many continentals the

¹ Everett Lee, 'A Theory of Migration', *Demography*, 3, 196, p. 51.

² Cormac Ó Gráda and Kevin Hjortshøj O'Rourke, 'The Irish economy during the century after partition', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 75 Issue 2 May 2022, Table 4 p. 353 'Per capita Growth in Successive periods' In the 'lost decade' of the 1950s Ireland fared worst of *all* the economies listed in table 4'.

³ *Census, 1946*, Table 1.

⁴ Table 1A, people 14 and over unemployed 866,434 out of a potential working population of 2,205, 519.

country represented a welcome relief from the infrastructural destruction and psychological trauma of war. This struck Herbert Rimmel when he came to Ireland as a child as part of the Operation Shamrock project in 1946.⁵ Operation Shamrock was an initiative of the Irish Red Cross to bring German children, badly affected by World War II, to Ireland for rest and recuperation.⁶ Rimmel remembered his first sight of Dublin.

We drive through a big city: no ruins, no rubble, a lot of cars...we are all, staring, dumb and open-mouthed ...at the undestroyed (sic) and undamaged houses...at the displays in the shops...My God I think I have landed in Paradise and it's not even 75 hours since I've taken leave of flattened Cologne.⁷

Herbert Rimmel was also amazed by the amount, if not the variety, of the food available and that he could eat as much as he wanted.⁸ The fact Ireland had little evidence of war damage may well have been comforting for young Germans coming later in the 1970s. Immigrants, such as 'Bertha', who were deeply ashamed of their country's role in World War II would perhaps feel more anonymous in Ireland.⁹ However, Ireland's lack of war damage, physical and psychological, was only one of the reasons for coming to Ireland. Herbert Rimmel came as part of a scheme for German children and 'Bertha's' main motivation for moving to Ireland was a relationship with an Irish man.¹⁰

Obviously the continent eventually recovered from war, reducing the pull of Ireland. At the same time conditions in Ireland improved over the forty-five years of this study suggesting that it could be a viable option for some Europeans. From the early 1960s onwards the economy grew albeit with recessions in 1974 and 1983 due to global conditions.¹¹ The formation of the IDA in 1949, and more importantly its

⁵ Rimmel *From Cologne to Ballinlough*, p. 67.

⁶ Rimmel, *From Cologne to Ballinlough*, pp. 63-4.

⁷ Rimmel, *From Cologne to Ballinlough*, p.72.

⁸ Rimmel, *From Cologne to Ballinlough* p. 118.

⁹ Interview with 'Bertha' recorded 5 May 2022.

¹⁰ Interview with 'Bertha' recorded 5 May 2022.

¹¹ The oil crises in 1974-1975 and 1980-1982.

ability to grant aid in 1969, encouraged the growth of industry.¹² From 1966 onwards the population had started to grow and by 1991 had reached 3,525,719, although many people were still emigrating.¹³ Living conditions were improving in the countryside. The Rural Electrification scheme, which started in 1946, brought mains electricity to 80% of Ireland's households by the mid 1960s. From 1962 government grant aid enabled the formation of group water schemes where mains water was not practical.¹⁴

Apart from the listed countries, it is difficult to ascertain from the census records after 1946 exactly which nationalities came to Ireland during this period. It is clear that there were still thriving if small communities of Europeans. The Polish community, for example, had thirty-seven names in the Dublin phone directory in 1977, from January 1979 a thriving Polish Society and at least eighty-three Polish nationals living in Ireland in 1991.¹⁵ There were sixty-three applications for naturalisation from Polish nationals from 1946-1956. Over the same period there were fifty-nine applications from Russian, forty-six from Czechs and forty-two from Austrians also indicating existing communities.¹⁶ But many of these were probably living in Ireland for many years.

From 1946 onwards it is clear that the communities listed in the censuses are growing despite mass emigration and recessions.¹⁷ Some of the growth in European immigration was caused by industrial development and the demand for highly skilled individuals across a range of fields. Ireland's accession to the European Common Market in 1973 may also have been responsible for part of the growth as EEC nationals would be more aware of Ireland.

From the late 1960s onwards one can see an influx of young European professionals, particularly those from Germany and the Netherlands seeking a

¹² IDA Ireland, <https://www.idaireland.com/our-history/>, accessed 2022 and 2024.

¹³ *Census 1991*, Table 1.

The net amount of emigration in the 1991 census was 134,170.

¹⁴ UisceÉireann, <https://www.water.ie/help/supply/group-water-schemes/>, accessed 10 April 1994.

¹⁵ Jarosław Płachecki, 'Polish Emigration in Ireland in the 20th and Early 21st centuries', *Irish Polish Society*, 2012, p. 23; 1991 figures. The Irish Polish Society commissioned a survey of Polish people living in Dublin qualified to vote in the Presidential election, Płachecki, 'Polish Emigration', p. 26.

¹⁶ Naturalisation records NAI, Department of Justice JUS/2013/50 series.

¹⁷ For details see the chart on pp. 25-26 of the Introduction.

simpler life.¹⁸ This was fuelled by several factors: concern about pollution in Western European industrialised nations, a perception that Ireland was environmentally 'cleaner' and perhaps also information that land was cheaper and easier to buy in Ireland.¹⁹

Immigrants who came by invitation

There was a history in Ireland of importing European expertise.²⁰ In the early twentieth century the Irish government, prompted by Thomas McLaughlin an Irish engineer, approached the German company Siemens to build the Ardnacrusha hydro-electric project.²¹ The result of this was the temporary immigration of hundreds of German workers to the County Limerick area as the Irish labour pool did not include enough potential workers with the relevant skills.²² Some Siemens workers remained after the project closed. William Luz (Lucks), did not return to Germany when the Shannon project was completed. He married a Limerick woman, Delia Phillips, in 1928 and was naturalised in 1947.²³ Siemens continued their presence in Ireland, the IDA report of 1998 lists four branches three in Dublin and one in County Wicklow.²⁴ Similarly, in 1926, the Irish sugar industry needed European professionals. The Irish Sugar Manufacturing Company was set up with financial backing from a syndicate of Belgian investors.²⁵ Franz Schwatschke was recruited in 1926 as the chief electrician for the plant and Aloyious Kuspish as a sugar cook.²⁶ Both men married Irish women and became Irish citizens.²⁷

¹⁸ Ulrich Kockel, 'Counter-cultural migrants in the West of Ireland,' pp.70-83.

¹⁹ Frank Uekötter, *The Greenest Nation?: A New History of German Environmentalism* (Cambridge: MIT, 2014), pp. 79-80.

²⁰ See Introduction p. 22.

²¹ Sorcha O'Brien, *Powering the Nation: Images of the Shannon Scheme and Electricity in Ireland* (Portland: Irish Academic Press, 2017), p. 50.

²² O'Brien, *Powering the Nation*, p.114.

²³ Garda Report 1937 and letter from Justice to William Luz, 12 September 1947, William Luz, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUSJUS/2013/50/ 206.

²⁴ IDA, 'Overseas Companies in Ireland' (Dublin: IDA, 1998), Siemens branches: Glasnevin, Dublin 4, Dublin 2 and Bray, Co Wicklow.

²⁵ Muiris O' Sullivan and Liam Downey, 'Sugar refining' *Archaeology Ireland*, Vol. 31, No. 4, (Winter 2017) p. 50, the syndicate raised £400,000 pints while Irish backers only invested £3,000 pints.

²⁶ Application form, 17 February 1936, Franz Schwatschke, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/110; Garda Report, Aloyious Kuspish, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/99.

²⁷ Letter from Industry and Commerce to Department of Justice, 17 February 1938, Franz Schwatschke, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/110, the other men on the list were: Albert Leyn Belgian,

The period from 1945-1990 was no exception to the previous trend of inviting expertise to Ireland. Immigrants and foreign businesses with proficiency in fields not developed in Ireland at the time were invited to the country.. Classical musicians for the Radio Éireann orchestra, graphic designers, skilled artisans and academics. In some cases the original immigrants recruited other countrymen to bring their skills to Ireland. Charles Bačik, for instance, who founded Waterford Crystal, encouraged other glass workers to move to Ireland.²⁸

The name Bačik first appears in Ireland in 1946 when Charles Bačik and his family arrived in Ireland as refugees from Soviet controlled Czechoslovakia.²⁹ Bačik, was an entrepreneur rather than an expert in glass work. He had owned four glass factories in Czechoslovakia at the time of the Soviet take-over and could see the value of contacts. He had met Bernard Fitzpatrick, an Irish gift-shop owner, previously, in Svetlá where Bačik had a factory.³⁰ When Bačik realised he would have to leave his native country, he successfully approached Fitzpatrick to join him in starting a glass factory in Ireland.³¹ Waterford was not Bačik's first choice. When he arrived in Ireland he was very taken with the similarity between the town name Carlow and the name of his first factory in Karlov. However, his Irish partner Bernard Fitzgerald convinced him that Waterford was bigger and pointed out that there had been an earlier tradition of glass-making there.³²

Bačik then convinced Miroslav Havel to join them in the business. Havel had worked for Bačik previously, in one of his factories, and was a recognised glass engraver.³³ Both the DIB entry and Brian Havel's book about his father infer there was a certain amount of trickery involved in persuading Havel to come to

Edward Chmelar German, Franz Schimek, Karl Zabeňlický, Josef Ratuský, Gotthard Tinkel, Robert Melichar and Ferdinand Liska, all Czech.

²⁷ Catherine Cox, 'Charles Bačik'.

²⁸ Catherine Cox, 'Charles Bačik'.

²⁹ Catherine Cox, 'Charles Bačik'.

³⁰ Bernard Fitzpatrick owned a gift-shop in Dublin and while he was in Czechoslovakia researching suitable products, he met Bačik.

³¹ Catherine Cox, 'Charles Bačik'.

³² Brian Havel, *Maestro of Crystal* (Dublin: Currach Press, 2005), p.110.

³³ He had won a scholarship in 1938 to the glass academy at Zelezný Brod. Terry Clavin, 'Miroslav Havel', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. <https://www.dib.ie/biography/havel-miroslav-paddy-a9686>, accessed 4 November 2023.

Ireland.³⁴ Bačik had written to Havel that the business was already flourishing and that Ireland had a warm climate. When Havel arrived, he discovered that the factory was not built yet and that he was the sole employee. However, the Czech stayed and there is no doubt that his skill benefitted the company. Havel was responsible for the major designs and trained the operatives recruited from the Waterford area.³⁵ Bačik was also responsible for the arrival of other immigrants and this recruitment was also key to the success of Waterford Glass. Bačik recruited skilled glass workers from Germany, although not always obeying the Irish alien employment legislation. These workers in turn helped train local people in their skills.³⁶

Efforts to promote tourism resulted in the enlisting of immigrants skilled in advertising. Tourism became the focus of the Irish government's developmental strategy in the late 1940s. The post-war loan from the Marshall Aid scheme was beneficial to Ireland but it also presented Ireland with a financial problem.³⁷ Ireland needed to generate dollars to repay the advance.³⁸ The Department of Trade and Industry assessed US tourism as probably the best solution and commissioned a group of experts in tourism from the United States to come to Ireland in the summer of 1950 and assess Ireland's potential as a tourist venue. The subsequent report, usually called the Christenberry report put a strong emphasis on advertising.³⁹

One of the leading advertising agencies in early 1950s, Dublin Sun Advertising, run by Tim O'Neill, took the lead in recruiting abroad.⁴⁰ This agency had, among others, Aer Lingus as one of its clients.⁴¹ Prompted by Aer Lingus, Sun Advertising recruited Guus Melai in 1951. Melai was a Dutch graphic designer who

³⁴ Brian Havel, *Miroslav Havel: Maestro of Crystal*, pp.-90-91.

³⁵ Terry Clavin 'Miroslav Havel'.

³⁶ Garda report, 20 December 1951, Charles Bačik, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1312.

³⁷ The Marshall Aid Scheme was a US government initiative to help rebuild Europe post WWII.

³⁸ J. Lee assesses that it accounted for 50% of the inter-party administration's state investment. J. Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 305.

³⁹ Christenberry was the name of the leader of the group, the report's official name was The Synthesis of the Report on Tourism Department of Industry and Commerce DSO 1950.

⁴⁰ Linda King, 'Tradition and Modernity: the Americanisation of Aer Lingus Advertising 1950-1960 in Tiratsoo and Linsky eds., *Americanisation in 20th Century Europe: Business Culture and Politics vol. 1* (Lille Publications de l'institut de recherche historique du Vintieme siècle, 2018), p. .116.

⁴¹ Aer Lingus was a customer of the Sun Agency from 1950, King, 'Tradition and Modernity: the Americanisation of Aer Lingus Advertising 1950-1960', p. 106.

had worked on campaigns for the Dutch airline KLM.⁴² He in turn recruited Jan de Fouw, who had been Melai's assistant on campaigns for the Dutch airline. De Fouw came to Ireland, 'purely out of curiosity'. Conor Clarke describes him as 'a wandering spirit, a nature lover', who was, 'attracted to the clean, green environment'.⁴³ More prosaically, Clarke states that it was easy for de Fouw to get a house and garden, definitely an attraction as there was an acute housing shortage in post-war Netherlands.⁴⁴

Over time Guus Melai and Jan de Fouw were joined by Bert van Embden, Willem van Velzen, Gerrit van Gelderen, Piet Suis, Co Klaasen, Louis Pieterse, Piet Stroethof, Chris Vis and Nick van Vliet.⁴⁵ Piet Sluis was an artist who worked in oils as well as being a graphic designer. He was part of the Dutch COBRA movement in painting. Chris Vis was a later immigrant. He answered an advertisement for graphic artists in 1960, was intrigued by Ireland, about which he knew nothing, and came to Dublin. Vis did not stay in advertising however. Its modus operandi became distasteful to him and he worked for many years, 1974-1997 as Director of Art at St Columba's College in Dublin.⁴⁶ Cor Klaasen was chiefly known for designing book and record covers.⁴⁷ Gerrit van Gelderen first came to Ireland in 1955 recruited by Sun Advertising and worked chiefly as an illustrator working for, among others, *The Farmers' Journal*. Van Gelderen was, first and foremost, a naturalist and worked for RTE on programmes such as 'To the Waters and the Wild'.⁴⁸ It is significant to note that almost all of these Dutch designers stayed in Ireland for the rest of their lives building diverse careers. Only Guus Melai left after a few years, in 1956.⁴⁹

Design was not the only artistic field that was seen to be lacking in expertise. There was a perception in the new state that Ireland lacked quality in the performance of classical, particularly orchestral, music. This was first voiced in 1923

⁴² The Dutch airline.

⁴³ Conor Clarke, *Oranje and Green* (Amsterdam, BIS Publishers, 2002), p. 10

⁴⁴ ICOMOS Netherlands, 'The Netherlands post-war Housing Schemes, *Heritage at Risk 2002-2003*'.

⁴⁵ List from Conor Clarke *Oranje and Green* p. 12

⁴⁶ Interview with Chris Vis, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0xk_W80_v5Q, accessed 11 November 2022.

⁴⁷ Cor Klaasen retrospective exhibition article <https://corklaasen.squarespace.com>, accessed 17 November 2022.

⁴⁸ Patrick Long 'Gerrit van Gelderen', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. <https://www.dib.ie/biography/van-gelderen-gerrit-a8784>, accessed 11 November 2022.

⁴⁹ Conor Clarke, *Orange and Green* p. 11

by John Larchet, 'one of the most notable and powerful of the native musicians working in Ireland'.⁵⁰Larchet wrote,

Our system of music education is not merely wrong, it is fundamentally unsound. From the primary and secondary schools all the way up through the circuitous paths and byways of private endeavours of individual teaching and private endeavours, the whole mental attitude is at variance with common sense...music is generally pushed into the darkest corner of the curriculum.⁵¹

Pre-nineteenth century Ireland had been very much part of the European musical milieu. However, by the late nineteenth century and the Celtic revival, there was a bias in some circles against music that was not seen as part of the Irish music tradition.⁵² This dichotomy between music excellence and the need to promote Irish culture in music was recalled in 1973 by Brian Boydell, a native Irish composer,

There was an accent upon what almost became chauvinism, a period during which ...Irish composers were expected to write specifically Irish things...If you look back at the composers of the late forties you will find we were more or less equally divided into two camps. There were those...the Stanford-Harty Anglo-Irish tradition, in which Irish folk songs were married in a curious mésalliance to Brahmsian ...harmonies. Again there were those of us who wrote in a more international idiom. And here arises the difference between what one wants to write and what one is told to write.⁵³

The result of the dichotomy was that the quality of musicians available to 2RN, the first Irish radio station and, from 1938, Radio Éireann, was uneven. An unnamed guest conductor, probably the French composer and conductor Jean Martinon, assessed the RE orchestra of 1946 as follows,

I must say that in the orchestra there are at present many musicians who are not sufficiently qualified to take their place in it. The second violins are not led

⁵⁰ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p.3.

⁵¹J. F. Larchet, 'A plea for music' in W. Fitzgerald ed., *The Voice of Ireland*(1923) cited in Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p.36

⁵² Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, pp. 10-14.

⁵³ Brian Boydell, 'An interview with Brian Boydell', in G Cox et al. (eds.) *The Life and Music of Brian Boydell* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003), p. 80

properly...The viola section can only be redeemed if a good solo viola player is found...In the cello group Miss Lang is completely lacking in interest in her work and in discipline.⁵⁴

The conductor's recommendation was, 'Since the facilities for musical education and training are not yet developed to a high degree, one must engage foreign musicians...In order to be able to engage and retain good musicians one must pay them well.'⁵⁵

This assessment was accepted and acted upon by P.J. Little.⁵⁶ Little was the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs who had originally requested the report as part of his plan to upgrade and enlarge the orchestra.⁵⁷ Over the next two years Little sent the musical Director of the time, Michael Bowles, to continental Europe to interview and audition musicians.⁵⁸ This process did not go without comment. Some TDs questioned the wisdom of employing foreign musicians. In June 1947 Oliver J Flanagan asked Little, 'if he is aware of the dissatisfaction among Irish musicians regarding the decision to recruit foreign musicians to fill certain vacancies'.⁵⁹ However, the quality was not available locally. Recruitment in England and Ireland had produced 332 applicants, of whom only sixteen were suitably qualified.⁶⁰ By the late 1940s a third of the orchestra were native Europeans: eleven Italians, eight Belgians, one Pole, and three Swiss.⁶¹ This high representation still prevailed in the late 1950s when Radio Éireann replied to a query from the Department of Justice, 'A considerable percentage of the personnel of the RE Orchestra consists of Continental

⁵⁴ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p.98, he was certainly the guest conductor in 1947. Martinon was a leading French conductor and composer of the mid twentieth century.

⁵⁵ ©RTÉ Document Archives Copy of an unsigned letter, dated 20 October 1948 addressed to the Musical Director.

⁵⁶ Pine describes Little as 'a deeply cultivated man with a very strong interest in radio and particularly in music'. Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p. 100.

⁵⁷ The Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs was responsible for RÉ until 1960 and the establishment of RTÉ as a separate entity.

⁵⁸ Patrick M Geoghan, 'Michael Bowles' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. <https://www.dib.ie/biography/bowles-michael-andrew-a0820>, accessed 18 November 2022; Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, pp. 99-100.

⁵⁹ DD 107, 26 June 1947, cited in Richard Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p.106.

⁶⁰ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p.105.

⁶¹ ©RTÉ Document list of orchestral players undated but named 'details of the 1948 orchestra' email from Tina Byrne RTE archivist dated 6 April 2022.

musicians and because of the unavailability of suitable Irish players most of the vacancies have to be filled by musicians from abroad'.⁶²

European players were still needed in the late 1970s. An academic who played in the orchestra as a young man, 1979-1984, Niall Ó Ciosáin, remembers the composition of the RTÉ Orchestra; noting the lack of opportunities in their home countries.

There was no real conservatoire in Ireland, so there were a lot of Europeans in the Symphony Orchestra particularly in the wind and brass (sections)...displaced people had come in the 1950s and conservatoire graduates who couldn't get a job at home. The majority of the conductors were European. The first permanent conductor was a Yugoslavian, he was appointed in 1954, two years after the controversy around the soccer game, his nationality was no big deal.⁶³

One of the attractions for the European musicians may have been that they were well-paid. The comment in the unknown conductor's assessment about paying the musicians well also seems to have been taken to heart. In order to secure the services of Marcel Mirouze, a French conductor, the Department was prepared to offer him £130 a month plus his travel expenses.⁶⁴ In comparison, at that time, a university lecturer was earning £92 a month.⁶⁵ The European musicians who were in Ireland on a temporary basis were paid a 'foreigner allowance' to help them maintain two homes.⁶⁶ Maurice Meulien, a cellist, was earning £21.10s a week in 1963 when the average industrial wage was £12. 5s.⁶⁷ Wages were still competitive

⁶² RÉ to Department of Justice, no date (Pine guesses 1958) cited Pine *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p.206.

⁶³ Interview with Dr. Niall Ó Ciosáin, recorded 4 May 2022. Pine's account confirms that all the principle conductors of the Symphony Orchestra during this period were continental: Paul Tabor 1961-1967, Albert Rosen 1969-1976, Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p. 421 Paul Tabor and Albert Rosen, 1967-1976, p. 447.

⁶⁴ © RTE Document Archives Letter from Fachtná Óh-Annracháin to Marcel Mirouze, 31 March 1949.

⁶⁵ Connor Cradden, 'Old' University Academic Staff Salary Movements since 1949', *Higher Education Quarterly*, 1998.

⁶⁶ Pine,, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p. 134.

⁶⁷ Garda report, Maurice Meulien, offered naturalisation 13 February 1963, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2332 ;average wage figures 1973, *Central Statistics Office*.

in 1979 when Dr. Ó Ciosáin began playing in the orchestra. Even as a part time player he earned enough to pay for his college education.⁶⁸

Some of the continental musicians made their permanent home in Ireland and sought naturalisation. Richard Pine lists four: Victor Malil, Gilbert Berg, Arthur Nachstern and JánosFürst.⁶⁹ There are also two more names in the Department of Justice's records, Jacques Lavaud and Maurice Meulien. Arthur Nachstern, a violinist, was born in Odessa in 1911 and studied music there and in Warsaw. When he was thirty-five his father, who was a lawyer, wrote to lawyers in Cork and Dublin offering them a fee of £200 if they could introduce his son to an orchestra.⁷⁰ Nachstern applied in 1946 was assessed, without undue favour, and given a post in June 1947. Nachstern spent thirty years in the Radio Éireann Symphony Orchestra as deputy leader.⁷¹ Jacques Lavaud, a double-bass player, arrived in Ireland on 16 November 1956 to play in the RÉSO. Lavaud, who was a French citizen, played in the orchestra for many years in spite of a disagreement with the principal conductor of the time, Tibor Paul, over his French style of bowing.⁷² Lavaud immigrated with his wife and son in 1956. By 1965 the whole family had become citizens including his son's Tunisian wife.⁷³ Maurice Meulien, a French citizen and winner of the premier prix at the Paris conservatoire, was one of the earliest recruits to the newly expanded orchestra, arriving in Ireland in 1950.⁷⁴ Perhaps the best known of this list was Hungarian Janos Fürst. He was a refugee from the 1956 invasion of Hungary and lived for a while in Brussels and Paris before coming to Ireland in 1958 on the recommendation of Rudolphe Soiron, the cellist, who at that time was Director of the Conservatoire of Music in Louvain.⁷⁵ Fürst was recruited as a second violin.⁷⁶

⁶⁸ Interview with Dr. Niall ÓCiosáin, 4 May 2022.

⁶⁹ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p.135.

⁷⁰ Arturo Nachstern to Messrs McCracken, Dublin 5 January 1946, cited in Richard Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p.134.

⁷¹ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p.134.

⁷² Pine *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p. 444; Tibor Paul was principal conductor of the RTESO from 1961-1967, at which point he returned to Australia.

⁷³ Jacques Lavaud, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2518.

⁷⁴ Garda report, Maurice Meulien, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2023/50/2332.

⁷⁵ Information on Soiron from The University of Edinburgh, <https://www.reidconcerts.music.ed.ac.uk>, accessed 8 November 20

⁷⁶ Letter to Department of Justice, 30 August 1963, and Garda report, 4 October 1963, Janos Fürst, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2374 .

Musicians were not the only specialists recruited by the Free State. During and immediately after the war Eamon de Valera invited a small group of European academics to form the core of the Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies. de Valera's vision was to have two schools initially; Celtic Studies and Theoretical Physics.⁷⁷ There was some dispute in the Dáil about the need for the second school but de Valera prevailed and Erwin Schrödinger and Walter Heitler were given refuge in Ireland in 1939 and 1941 respectively and became directors of the D.I.A.S.⁷⁸

Recruitment continued after the war. A Polish mathematician, Jan Łukasiewicz, was invited to Ireland in 1946. Łukasiewicz, had emigrated to Switzerland in 1944 'In 1944...in the face of the approaching war storm from the East, we decided... to leave Warsaw and dreamed of going to Switzerland'.⁷⁹ The couple moved from there to Brussels where they met, 'a Polish speaking Irishman in the uniform of a Polish officer'.⁸⁰ He told them that refugee academics were being given appointments in Ireland and so Łukasiewicz and his wife moved to Dublin in March 1946, liaised with the group in UCD, led by Professor Michael Tierney and Dr. Aubrey Gwynn, which had been helping academic refugees since 1938, and met de Valera in July.

In July I received a summons to appear in the Taoiseach's office. I went with my wife and we were both received by Mr de Valera very kindly. We talked about mathematics because he himself was once a mathematics teacher. He told me that he would take care of my fate and he kept his word.⁸¹

The Irish government created a post for the Polish academic as professor of mathematical logic at the Royal Irish Academy which he held until his death.⁸²

Łukasiewicz's work was recognised, at the time, as ground-breaking by the British

22.

⁷⁷ 1940, Institute for Advanced Studies Act, 1940, 13 of 1940, section 2.

⁷⁸ Patricia Byrne, 'Erwin Schrödinger', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.<https://www.dib.ie/biography/schrodinger-erwin-a7947>, accessed 12 November 2022; Patricia Byrne, 'Walter Heitler', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.<https://www.dib.ie/biography/heitler-walter-a3913#>, accessed 12 November 2022.

⁷⁹ Jan Łukasiewicz, *Diary 1949* entry, cited *The Life and Career of Professor Jan Łukasiewicz: Polish Genius of Logic, Philosopher and Post-War Refugee in Ireland* (Dublin: Polish Embassy, 2022), p.10.

⁸⁰ Łukasiewicz, *Life and Career*, p. 14.

⁸¹ Łukasiewicz, *Life and Career*, p. 12.

⁸² Łukasiewicz, *Life and Career*, p. 14.

mathematician Alan Turing who invited him to Manchester in 1950 and, since then, by many computer scientists.⁸³ Though the numbers of the academics given asylum were small, the DIAS and UCD together provided a significant refuge for academics in the 1930s and 1940s that added to Ireland's expertise and preserved a body of work. Norman Bentwich, the Jewish historian, ranks Ireland's contribution as one of five, 'remarkable group rescues' in his book on refugee academics.⁸⁴

Immigrants who came to start a business

Some people in the post-war to Maastricht years saw Ireland as a good place to start a business, whether manufacturing, service or agricultural. By 1998 there were 431 European-owned businesses in Ireland.⁸⁵ Some entrepreneurs were responding to strong financial incentives offered by the IDA. Others, the people from Casalattico for example, or the restaurateurs, were filling in a gap in the market. For a small group of farmers it was a place where they could buy land. For other farmers it was a question of being able to make a living ethically as well as profitably. The Irish government certainly aided inward investment by their low corporation tax policy and also the incentives offered by the IDA. However, most people had more than one reason for siting a business in Ireland and some of these were personal not economic.

Many European entrepreneurs had started businesses much earlier in spite of the protective legislation of the 1932 and 1934 Control of Manufacture Acts and the ethos that generated them. In fact in 1928 there were 459 foreign-owned businesses in SaorstátÉireann and European entrepreneurs circumvented the 1932 and 1934 Acts by appointing Irish directors.⁸⁶ Under these Acts a foreign owned

⁸³ Dr Eoin Kinsella, 'Jan Łukasiewicz Professor of Mathematical Logic at the Royal Irish Academy', Royal Irish Academy, blog 7 November 2022; <https://www.ria.ie/blog/jan-lukasiewicz-professor-of-mathematical-logic-at-the-royal-irish-academy/>, accessed 27 August 2024.

⁸⁴ Norman Bentwich, *The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars 1933-1952* (New York: Springer Dordrecht, 1953), p. 43.

⁸⁵ IDA, *Overseas Companies in Ireland* (Dublin: IDA, February 17 1998).

⁸⁶ 'Lemass Foreign Policy Frank Gallagher Papers MS 18339 cited Mary Daly, 'An Irish-Ireland for Business?' p.252.

business had to have a board of directors of whom at least half were Irish born.⁸⁷ Giorgio Favilla, an Italian national who arrived in Ireland in 1928, set up Terrazo Marble and Concrete Products in 1935 with six Irish directors and himself as technical manager, thus being able to run the business legally.⁸⁸ Karl Tichauer, a German citizen, established Betiselle Ltd., a clothing manufacturing business, in partnership with an Irish national.⁸⁹ These two businesses were obviously not seen as a threat by the Department of Industry and Commerce at the time as both received a positive recommendation from the department and both men had no problem becoming Irish citizens.⁹⁰

The pattern of immigrants coming to Ireland to set up businesses continued after 1945. The war had boosted long-standing chain migration from Italy. There had been Italian-owned businesses in Ireland since the boom in ecclesiastical building in the nineteenth century.⁹¹ But in the early twentieth century a new phenomenon emerged: immigration from a small (approximately 800-900 inhabitants) *comune*, a division similar to a townland in Ireland, in the province of Frosinone approximately 125 kilometres South of Rome, Casalattico.⁹² This was a poor area, relying on subsistence agriculture. In the first few decades of the twentieth century people left looking for a better life. Barbato Borza describes part of his grandfather's journey, 'they were tramping over the Alps trying to get into France illegally to get work'.⁹³ From there many emigrants seem to have travelled to the north of England and then finally to Ireland to open catering businesses, most notably fish and chip shops, cafes and ice-cream parlours.⁹⁴ It is claimed that the

⁸⁷ Article 2 section 1 Control of Manufactures Act no. 21 of 1932.

⁸⁸ Letter to the Department of Justice from Giorgio Favilla on headed notepaper with the list of directors, 24 October 1935, Giorgio Favilla, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/81.

⁸⁹ Garda report, 18 January 1936, Karl Tichauer, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/107.

⁹⁰ Letters from Industry and Commerce: Giorgio Favilla, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/81, 9 January 1936, Karl Tichauer, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/107, positive recommendations in each case.

⁹¹ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, pp. 184-185.

⁹² Tropiano N., Chippers (2008), <https://www.imdb.com>, accessed 2022, 2024; Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, pp. 184-5.

⁹³ Curator of the 'Italians in Ireland' exhibition in Dublin Castle March 2017 Barbato Borza, in Nino Tropiano *Chippers*.

⁹⁴ The RTE Documentary, 'The Biggest Foreign Community in this Country' RTE, 1972, <https://www.rte.ie/archives/exhibitions/1665-immigration/370199-the-Italians/>, accessed 8 December 2022.

immigrants learnt their trade in the North of England where fish, chips and mushy peas were popular.⁹⁵ It is not clear when exactly this business trend first began but Silvio Morelli's anecdote about his mother's arrival in Ireland, just before the Rising, puts her in Dublin in 1915 working in a relative's fish and chip shop.⁹⁶ Although most of the immigrants from Casalattico settled in Dublin several opened businesses in other parts of the country, Francis Malocca in Athlone and Angelo Forte in Kilkenny for example.⁹⁷

Casalattico suffered serious damage in World War II as it was situated near Monte Cassino a site of heavy Allied-Axis fighting. When its inhabitants returned after the war they found a devastated landscape and so there was a new wave of emigration some of whom came to Ireland.⁹⁸ In fact the immediate post-war period 1945-1953 saw the highest level of naturalisation applications of people from Casalattico, twenty-four out of a total of thirty-two applications.⁹⁹ Two of these applicants were young people who had migrated in their teens, Rudolfo Caira born in 1931 and Anna Rosa Nardone born in 1932. They both arrived in Ireland in 1947, Rudolfo to work in his aunt's cafe and Anna Rosa as a companion for her uncle's wife.¹⁰⁰

Not all European entrepreneurs were in the service industry. One German, Hans Liebherr, saw a future in Ireland for manufacturing. There are several narratives about why Liebherr sited his crane factory in Killarney, in 1958, his first factory outside of Germany. One, from a recent book by one of his employees, is that he came to Killarney in 1957 and was entranced.¹⁰¹ Another, reported in the *Irish Independent* that he was originally planning to site the factory in Mallow but

Guiseppe Cervi is reputed to be the first Italian to open a fish and chip shop in Ireland 1886. This was situated in Great Brunswick Street, Dublin. He was not however from Casalattico Fitzgerald and Lambkin *Migration in Irish History*, p.185.

⁹⁵ 'The Biggest Foreign Community in this Country'

⁹⁶ Tropiano *Chippers*

⁹⁷ Solicitor's letter 1 October 1946, Frances Malocca, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/445; application form, 16 November 1938, Angelo Forte, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/374.

⁹⁸ Interview with Domenico Morelli, *Chippers*.

⁹⁹ See appendix B table of applications from Casalattico.

¹⁰⁰ Garda report, 17 June 1953, Rudolfo Caira, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1467.; garda Report, 13 August 1953, Anna Rosa Nardone, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1502.

¹⁰¹ Tom Foley, *The Liebherr Story* (Killarney: Liebherr Cranes, 2022), Frontispiece.

the local business men in Killarney, where he was staying, forestalled this by showing him Killarney and promising support.¹⁰² His manager for many years, Klaus Nölke, explained in an interview that Liebherr wanted to open in an English-speaking country but was wary of the 'English sickness', a tendency for unions to strike, so he sited his factory as close to England as was possible, in Ireland.¹⁰³ Tom Foley's explanation is probably closest to the truth. Liebherr Cranes in Germany were getting substantial orders from England due to postwar reconstruction and Hans Liebherr wanted a factory closer to his customers, although Foley agrees with Nölke that Liebherr was wary of the English unions.¹⁰⁴ Whatever the reason, Liebherr began building his factory in 1958 and despite union problems and trade down-turns it is still there.

In 1958 T.K. Whitaker, Secretary for the Department of Finance, produced a blue-print for the future development of the Irish Economy, *Economic Development*. This paper was adopted by Lemass' government and became the focus of the White Paper, *The Programme for Economic Expansion* in 1958. This document saw a move away from protectionism and an acknowledgement that Ireland's industrial future lay with outside investment.¹⁰⁵ While the government's main focus of interest was the United States and the United Kingdom, even at this early stage Ireland was also looking towards Europe. To quote from the *Programme for Economic Expansion*, 'We must bear in mind the probable emergence in the near future of a European Free Trade Area'.¹⁰⁶ European companies represented a significant percentage of foreign direct investment throughout the mid to late twentieth century and the IDA's policy was directed towards Europe as much as it was towards the United States.¹⁰⁷ The IDA advertised in German, French and Dutch newspapers. One might note that the enticement in the headlines for the Netherlands and France, was the 'welcome'

¹⁰²Thomas Molloy and Majella O'Sullivan, 'Hans Liebherr sentiment kept company in this unlikely location', *Irish Independent*, 16 January 2014.

¹⁰³ Klaus Nölke, The Story of Liebherr Cranes Killarney, *Irish Life and Lore Podcasts*, Series 4, Episode 2, 16 April 2021. <https://shows.acast.com/irish-life-and-lore-voices-from-thearchive/episodes/624eeafaa24400001471a9a1>, accessed 10 January 2024

¹⁰⁴ Tom Foley, *The Liebherr Story* (Killarney: Leibherr Cranes, 2022), p.39.

¹⁰⁵ 1958, Programme for Economic Expansion 1958, section 94 (d).

¹⁰⁶ 1958, Programme for Economic expansion 1958, section 95.

¹⁰⁷ The 1969, Industrial Development Act 1969, no. 32 of 1969, Sections, 8, 11, 15 and 17 Gave the IDA, The Industrial Development Agency power to employ consultants, issue grant aid and set up industrial estates.

perhaps echoing the Bord Fáilte posters of the 1960s and 1970s. By contrast the focus of the advertising for Britain was the tax advantages. But more importantly, the organisation sent out financial experts to negotiate with target businesses in European countries and from 1970 onwards had offices in among others: Paris, Cologne, Brussels and Amsterdam among other cities.¹⁰⁸ From 1960 to 1973 the IDA sponsored recruiting drives in thirteen different countries including Sweden to attract whole companies to Ireland.¹⁰⁹ By 1970 the IDA could offer a 15-year export tax exemption and multiple grants towards development, research and training.

These initiatives seem to have been effective and resulted in immigration to Ireland. In 1970, Lars Bjoerk, a Swedish citizen, came to Ireland to set up The Irish Cable and Wire Company in Athlone. This business traded successfully for twenty-two years until it was sold to the French communications multinational Alcatel.¹¹⁰ While it is not clear whether Bjoerk was one of the entrepreneurs contacted by the IDA on their exploratory trips to Sweden, he certainly was aware of the supports offered by the development association. Bjoerk received €207,000 as a set up grant in 1970, two expansion grants in 1976 and 1977, and €8,550 as a process and product development grant in 1979.¹¹¹ The Swedish businessman seems to have regarded Ireland as 'a business-friendly environment'.¹¹² However Bjoerk's chief motivation for siting his business in Ireland seems to have been personal. The business was a means to an end. Bjoerk was an event riding enthusiast and wanted to buy land to raise horses. He achieved this in 1982 when he bought and developed the Dollanstown Stud with his Irish-born wife.¹¹³

European-born restaurateurs took advantage of the increased disposable income to open establishments in Ireland. There were several indicators that Irish people were potential customers. The annual growth rate in the Irish economy improved from 1% (1950 to 1958) to 4% (1959-1973) and exports rose.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ IDA, *Annual reports 1970, 1975, 1976*. (Dublin: IDA, 1971, 1976, 1977)

¹⁰⁹ IDA, *Annual report 1972-1973* (Dublin: IDA, 1973), p. 17.

¹¹⁰ Madelaine Lyons, *Irish Times*, 12 June 2018.

¹¹¹ IDA, *Annual Report 1970*, p. 68 table 8.1.4, IDA, *Annual report 1976*, p. 32, IDA *Annual Report 1977*, p. 47, IDA *Annual report 1979*.

¹¹² Lars Bjoerk, Questionnaire 1.

¹¹³ Lyons, *Irish Times*, 21 June 2018.

¹¹⁴ Joseph Lee, *Ireland 1912 to 1985* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 354-355.

Emigration fell from 43,000 per year for the period 1956 to 1961 to 16,000 between 1961 and 1966.¹¹⁵ Average weekly earnings rose from £9.11 to £20.70 in the ten years from 1959 to 1969.¹¹⁶ CSO expenditure figures show that people seemed to be spending less on basics and more on non-essentials.¹¹⁷ The 1960s and 1970s saw the emergence of more high-grade restaurants particularly outside of Dublin. Hans Peter Matthiae and his wife opened their restaurant, Chez Hans, in Cashel in 1968. When the restaurant opened, there were few independent restaurants outside of Dublin, with exceptions such as The Arbutus Lodge in Cork and Ballymaloe House, and most chefs worked in hotels.¹¹⁸ Matthiae had emigrated from Germany in 1966 to Ireland to work as a chef in the Cashel Palace Hotel.¹¹⁹ But he had an ambition to become a restaurateur.

One night I was walking up to the Rock [of Cashel] with my wife, and heard the band playing, and I thought, 'Wouldn't that be a nice place for a restaurant'. So I approached the pawnbroker [who owned the building], and he said £900 was the asking price, and I was chef at the Cashel Palace at the time and I thought, 'OK, we have that much in the savings, so we bought it.'¹²⁰

Gerard Morice arrived in Ireland due to a game of golf. Morice was a student chef in the LycéeHôtelier de Strasbourg when one of his professors heard from a golfing partner that the Newport House Hotel needed a chef. He recommended Morice and so, aged nineteen with no English, he began his career in County Mayo in 1971. He met an Irish woman, Imelda Corbett and they were married in 1975. They opened La Petite France in 1978 in Castlebar and ran it successfully until the recession in 1981 when they moved to France.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Lee, *Ireland 1912 to 1985*, p.359.

¹¹⁶ 'Average weekly Earnings', Adrian Redmond, *This was Then This is Now: Change in Ireland 1949-1999; a Publication to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the Central Statistics Office* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 2000), p.137.

¹¹⁷ 'Ireland: Household Expenditure, 1951-1995' in Redmond, *That was Then This is Now*, p.77.

¹¹⁸ Hans Peter Matthiae, 'Thirty years a-growing', *Irish Times*, 4 April 1998.

¹¹⁹ Catherine Cleary, 'Cafe Hans', *Irish Times*, 10 June 2016.

¹²⁰ Hans Peter Matthiae, 'Thirty Years A-growing', *Irish Times*, 4 April 1998.

¹²¹ Deirdre McQuillan, 'French Connection: a chef moves to Ireland to follow the family tradition', *Irish Times*, 23 November 2021.

The first solely Italian restaurant was probably Nico's which opened in Dame Street, Dublin in 1963. Until then Italian food was not as well represented as French cuisine.¹²² Ruggero Nico, who was born in Verona, came to Dublin in 1949 to work as a butler in the Italian embassy because he wanted to avoid military service.¹²³ He left the embassy after four years and worked in the Dublin Macaroni factory for six years until 1961 when he opened small coffee bar. In 1963 he and his wife, whom he had met in the embassy where she worked as a waitress, opened Nico's in Dame Street. Nico's menu was Italian food cooked with authentic ingredients, many of which Ruggero grew himself in their four acre garden.¹²⁴ By the time the couple were interviewed by RTÉ in 1972, Nico's was very successful, catering to the Italian community, visiting Italian musicians and local politicians. He and his wife ran the restaurant for ten years before returning to Italy in 1973.¹²⁵

Europeans also came to farm. A person did not have to be a citizen or even have long-term residential rights to live in the country in order to buy land or property. Otto Skorzeny, the high-ranking Nazi, had no problem buying a farm in 1959.¹²⁶ Many of the registered aliens who had other problems in becoming citizens were able to buy property in their own name.¹²⁷ Even after 1965, when all purchases of agricultural land over five acres had to be agreed by the Land Commission, this seems to have been a formality.¹²⁸ Helene and Dick Willem, a couple from the Netherlands, were able to buy a sizeable farm in Ireland in 1978 with very little official interference. Their solicitor handled the transaction very quickly. By contrast, in 1972, they had been unable to buy a similar farm in France.¹²⁹ The Traas family

¹²² There were restaurants, the Unicorn was one which served Italian food along with its French menu.

¹²³ Conor Pope, *Irish Times*, 20 October 2018; RTE 'The Biggest Foreign Community in this Country' 1972 RTE 'The Biggest Foreign Community in this Country' 1972.

¹²⁴ 'The Biggest Foreign Community in Ireland.'

¹²⁵ 'The Biggest Foreign Community in Ireland.'

¹²⁶ Peter Crutchley, BBC Digital & Learning NI, 30 December 2014, accessed 2021.

¹²⁷ For the ability to buy houses see NAI Department of Justice Garda Report 11 May 1931 Abraham Lefcovitch, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/363 and Garda Report 13 November 1945, for the ability to buy a farm see Vaclav and Julie Litera naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/642.

¹²⁸ O'Driscoll, 'A German Invasion?', p. 538.

¹²⁹ Interview with Helene Willems, Dutch farmer and cheesemaker from Ballyvourney, recorded 5 May 2022.

came to Ireland in 1968 from the Netherlands because there was a shortage of arable land in their native country and they wanted to start an apple farm.¹³⁰

Land prices also seem to have been competitive for Western Europeans. In an interview 'Hans', a German man who came to Ireland in 1971 explained how he acquired his house and land.

I was here for the holidays, Easter holidays and I met someone who was selling this place 4.5 acres at a price that I could afford because I had invested with a building society and I felt I had the money and there was kind of a ruined cottage, hardly any windows, a clay floor, no electricity no running water.¹³¹

Anne Korff, another German who had moved to Ireland in 1967, bought a house and land in 1979. 'So, in other words, I knew that you could buy a house, Jeff O'Connell's house for example was bought three or four years earlier for £4,000'.¹³²

Frede and Elna Jorgensen, from Denmark, were early pioneers. This couple and their four children, one of whom, Ib, later became a fashion designer, came to Ireland in 1948 intending to farm. Initially they rented a pig farm in County Cavan. However this project was not successful and by the time the family applied for citizenship in 1954, Frede was working as a farm manager for a Mr Shakleton in Blarney in County Cork. The Minister for Industry and Commerce did not 'offer any objections' to the family's citizenship although Frede's expertise was in 'pigs and tillage', which would have put him in competition with local farmers.¹³³

In 1954 land seems to have been a good enough investment for a Belgian family to buy it as a business, which seems to have been successful. Two members of the second generation of the family, the brothers Gabriel and Raphael moved to Ireland. The following is part of the Garda report from the naturalisation records of Gabriel and Paula Hemeryck, the second generation of the agricultural concern:

¹³⁰ The apple farm of Tipperary, <https://www.theapplefarm.com>, accessed 28 December 2023.

¹³¹ Interview with 'Hans', recorded 5 January 2022.

¹³² Interview with Anne Korff, 8 January 2022.

¹³³ Letter from Industry and Commerce, 12 February 1954, Frede and Elna Jorgensen, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1578.

In 1954 his father bought a farm in Lucan £17,000 [for] 165 acres. Farm is owned by the Laraghcon Estate Company the directors are his father and mother, his two brothers who live in Belgium, his brother Raphael who is a naturalised Irish citizen and himself. Gabriel farms 100 acres and pays £600 rent per year to the company annual turnover of £2,500.¹³⁴

Henerik de Muckadell, a Danish citizen, immigrated to Ireland to work with pigs. De Muckadell and his family arrived in Ireland in 1956 and for the first three years he worked as a pig farmer for Messrs. Cement Ltd until he was replaced by an Irish national. At this point de Muckadell rented his own farm, specialising in dairy and tillage, in Ballingarry County Limerick. This seems to have been a successful enterprise, as by the time he applied for naturalisation in 1966, he had a ten-year lease and was deemed by the local Gardai to be in 'good financial circumstances'.¹³⁵

Not all European farmers took the same approach to farming, some as the migrants detailed above came to farm conventionally and others in an environmentally ethical way. The seventies and eighties saw a new group of farmers making Ireland their home. Mostly from heavily industrialised countries such as Germany and The Netherlands, they saw Ireland as, if not a rural idyll, a place where it would be possible to grow food and rear animals in a less polluted environment. Environmentalism had started early in Germany, some years before the publication of Rachel Carson's pioneering work, *Silent Spring*, there was a campaign to save the Wutach Gorge in the Black Forest in 1952.¹³⁶

Many of these farmers came as couples. Helene and Dick Willems came to Ireland in 1978. 'So, I got married, I was 21, from that day on Dick, my husband, and myself, we had this thing about leaving Holland'.¹³⁷ However, they ran a catering business in Holland for several years until their children were six and eight before they decided to leave. Initially they wanted to settle in France but as it was

¹³⁴ Letter to Gardaí from Justice, 2 November 1964, Garda report, Gabriel Remi Madelaine Hemeryck, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2451.

¹³⁵ Garda report, 20 April 1966, Henerik de Muckadell, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2552.

¹³⁶ Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (New York: Fawcett Books, 1962); Frank Uekötter, *The Greenest Nation?*, pp. 60-61.

¹³⁷ Interview with Helene Willems, recorded 5 May 2022.

impossible for them to buy land there, due to French Land Commission regulations, they looked elsewhere. Dick had been to Ireland for a holiday and, 'fell in love straight away'.¹³⁸ Although Dick's background was not agricultural, he had an ambition to be a farmer, partially fulfilled by the small sheep farm they ran in the Netherlands. They decided to move to Ireland to buy a farm in 1978. They found quite a large farm in Coolea, West Cork, and began a dairy business. Helene started to make Coolea cheese in 1979, which became an internationally recognised brand.¹³⁹

In 1983 Josef and Marianne Finke, German nationals, and their friends, Richard and Sylvie Auler and Helmut Borchers left their farm in Bad Kreuznach to become organic growers in Ireland. They brought all their farm equipment, including tractors, with them.¹⁴⁰ The group began to grow organic grains, wheat and oats, and rear sheep organically and with their own organic vegetable garden they were almost self-sufficient.¹⁴¹ Josef's motivation for the move is very clear. Both he and Marianne were worried about the levels of pollution and its effect on their children, in fact he called their home in Germany a 'hostile environment'.

You develop an awareness of organics in a polluted country — we lived in the Frankfurt area and it was a hostile environment. We were near an American air base and the children would run into the house holding their ears. There were no fish left from pollution and we were told not to use public water for babies — it had high nitrate levels and led to blue baby syndrome. The first time we came to Ireland, we liked it, but it was a major decision for the family — not an easy one. But with this life we achieved more than we ever could have achieved in Germany.¹⁴²

Self-sufficiency was not the only aim of the Finke family. They were interested in being successful entrepreneurs. Over time they developed a flour and oat milling

¹³⁸ Interview with Helene Willems, recorded 5 May 2022.

¹³⁹ 'Who we are', <https://www.coolea-cheese.com>, accessed 14 April 2022.

¹⁴⁰ The Organic Food Family Company, <https://ballybrado.ie>, accessed 2021.

¹⁴¹ <https://www.ballybrado.ie>

¹⁴² Josef Finke, interview with Rose Martin, *Irish Examiner*, 12 September 2012.

business which exported oats for organic foods. Josef had a marketing background which would have been beneficial to the business.¹⁴³

People who came to take up employment

The European investors who created businesses in Ireland also attracted their compatriots, as workers, in some cases. One of these businesses was Liebherr Cranes. In her 1997 study of Germans in County Kerry, Elisabeth Bauer isolates two main areas where many Germans settled. One of these is in the Killarney area where Liebherr built his factory in 1958 and then proceeded to bring over sixty workers from the home plant in Kirkdorf, southern Germany. These personnel were to build the factory and then be involved in manufacture.¹⁴⁴ Initially Liebherr built a housing estate near the factory for their workers and even though many of the Germans who came no longer work for Liebherr they still live in the area.¹⁴⁵ The other concentration of German immigration was in Killorglin where there were two multinationals and 'a number of German-owned businesses'.¹⁴⁶

It is also probable that Hans Karl Brendell came to Ireland for work. When he communicated his intention to apply for citizenship in 1962 he had been living in Ireland since 1954.¹⁴⁷ As the company he came to work for as factory manager, 'Sligo Models,' was registered in 1954, it is reasonable to infer that they recruited him. Brendell came to Ireland with a German-born wife and two children. His third child was born in Ireland. He also worked for Platt Ltd. as a production manager and

¹⁴³ *Irish Examiner*, 12 September 2012.

¹⁴⁴ Brendan Griffin, an early Irish employee of Liebherr, 'The Story of Liebherr Cranes Killarney, *Irish Life and Lore Podcasts*, Series 4, Episode 2, 16 April 2021, accessed 10 January 2024.

¹⁴⁵ Bauer, 'Recent foreign immigration to Ireland', p. 67; 'German Owners', *Cork Examiner*, 27 March 1961.

¹⁴⁶ Bauer, 'Recent foreign immigration to Ireland,' p. 67

¹⁴⁷ Part of the requirements of the 1956 Naturalisation and Citizenship Act; Application form, 5 November 1963, and Garda Report, 3 December 1963, Hans Karl Brendell, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2389; Sligo Models reg. 1954 Reg No 15220 Companies Registration Office Company Registration Office, <https://core.cro.ie/>, accessed 29 August 2024.

at time of application was a company representative for Messrs. Capelin, a Geneva based engineering firm.¹⁴⁸

Other Europeans came to work in domestic service. Although the census category, domestic service, changed to service work which was defined somewhat differently, it is clear that it was a sizeable sector in the postwar period. Even as late as the 1981 census, 20,000 people were working as maids and housekeepers.¹⁴⁹ While there is no indication in the census as to how many of these people were European immigrants, the naturalisation records indicate that a few people came to Ireland to work in this capacity. Jytte Hunter, a Danish national, came to Ireland in 1949 to be a live-in nurse for George Hunter's wife, who was an invalid. When Mrs Hunter died, Jytte stayed as a housekeeper and then married her employer in 1957.¹⁵⁰

Some young women from Casalattico came to Ireland to work in a domestic capacity, usually for a family member. Emma Lucia Aprile, born in Casalattico in 1926, came to Ireland in 1948 to work as a 'mother's help' for her sister and brother-in-law. It seems that she was not paid very much but lived with the family who supported her.¹⁵¹ Anna Rosa Nardone, born in Casalattico in 1932, was brought to Ireland by her uncle in 1953 to work as a companion for his wife. In her case she was paid no wages, but did have prospects according to the Garda report in her naturalisation file.

Since her arrival in Ireland applicant has not taken up employment or engaged in any business. She resides with her uncle Guiseppe Nardone and his wife Rosa, Irish citizens by naturalisation...He has no family and brought this girl from Italy as companion for his wife and intends making over

¹⁴⁸ Application form, 5 November 1963, and Garda Report, 3 December 1963, Hans Karl Brendell, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2389.

¹⁴⁹ In the 1926 census 65,584 people were described as 'servants living in', 39,207 in 1951, in 1961 there were 61,207 working in domestic service but there was no differentiation between people living where they worked and people commuting. 1971 the classification changed to service workers which included professions such as the Gardai and chefs. However 22,036 people were described as maids and 6,818 as housekeepers. The 1981 census listed 18,877 maids and 1,652 housekeepers.

¹⁵⁰ Garda Report, 21 August 1963, Jytte Hunter, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2358.

¹⁵¹ Garda Report, 24 December 1954, Emma Lucia Aprile, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1694.

his business to her at a later date. She has no banking account or other private means and is maintained solely by her uncle who stated he will be responsible for her financially.¹⁵²

Another immigrant from Casalattico, Rosa de Angelis, however, was paid a reasonable wage, £3 a week plus board and lodgings, as a housekeeper for L. Salvete.¹⁵³ Mr Salvete seems to have been a family member or close family friend as in his reference for Ms Angelis he says that he had known her 'since birth'.¹⁵⁴

Since the 1940s Irish households had employed young European women as au pairs, a more modern equivalent of domestic service. The au pairs came from several European countries including France.¹⁵⁵ Yan Fouéré managed an already established au pair recruitment agency when he first arrived in Ireland in the late 1940s.¹⁵⁶ This trend was still apparent in the 1980s. One of the interviewees for this study, 'Anna', a Swiss national worked in this capacity when she first came to Ireland. 'Anna' had tried to get a position as an au pair from an agency in Switzerland before she left the country. However the agency seemed to be ignorant of Ireland.

I thought I could go to Ireland to learn [English]. But then I was told, (I was looking to be an au pair here because everybody else went to England and I did not want to go there where everybody went) I was told there were no au pairs in Ireland because everybody lived in thatched houses. The biggest agency was a Catholic agency.¹⁵⁷

In spite of this discouragement Anna made her own enquiries and found work. 'Then of course I discovered there were lots of au pairs'.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Justice Summary, 5 August 1954, Anna Rosa Nardone, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1502.

¹⁵³ Garda Report, 24 October 1955, Rosa de Angelis, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1818;

the average industrial wage was £7 in 1955. Real and Nominal average weekly industrial earnings 1955, CSO.

¹⁵⁴ Application form - References, Stanislaw Salvete, Rosa de Angelis, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1818.

¹⁵⁵ Migrant Rights Centre, *Part of the Family*, https://emn.ie/files/p_201301161255102012PartofTheFamily.pdf, accessed 11 July 2023.3.

¹⁵⁶ Fouéré, *La maison du Connemara*, p. 110-111.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with 'Anna', recorded April 2022.

¹⁵⁸ Current research shows that 58% of au pairs in Ireland are from Europe. Part of the Family

A small number of Europeans appear to have come to work in the fishing industry. Fishing had been seen by the Free State as an area that was under-developed and in need of expansion. Indeed part of the 'Programme for Economic Expansion' in 1958 included a section on the future of the fishing industry.¹⁵⁹ Bord Iascaigh Mhara had been set up in 1952 to encourage the improvement of infrastructure such as harbours and slipways and to encourage the Irish fishing fleet to modernise. Under the aegis of BIM, a boat yard was built in Killybegs and a new slip way constructed.¹⁶⁰ This investment laid the groundwork for the boom in the 1970s and 1980s. Many fishermen from the Continent were attracted to Killybegs by the fishing boom although very few ultimately settled there. There was, however, a strong link with Northern Europe, Michael McGuinness, the local school teacher during the 'boom', recalled 'oh yes there would be various people who came from Scandinavia. I know various men who came and were very successful here. They are still here and their families continue with the fishing'.¹⁶¹

Immigrants who came for personal reasons

'I came to Ireland for James Joyce and fishing'.¹⁶² Belgian photographer Nutan Piraprez first came to Ireland in 1969 influenced by a fellow photographer who had visited Dublin in 1966. Nutan describes both of them as 'Joyceites', two young men who had read Ulysses and wanted to capture the atmosphere of Dublin displayed in the book.¹⁶³ Nutan Piraprez's motivation for coming to Ireland, then, was clearly very personal. During his first visit in 1969 he produced a collection of photographs inspired by Joyce's Dublin.¹⁶⁴ Piraprez was very attracted by the Irish light, 'as a photographer I found the light very beautiful'. 'After that, (1969) wherever I was, I

<https://emn.ie>, accessed 11 July 2023.

¹⁵⁹ Programme for Economic expansion 1958, Part III fisheries pp. 28-31. Some developmental work had been accomplished by the Congested districts board in 1895 when two 'zulu' boats (demersal trawlers) were given to Teelin (a parish of Killybegs) Pat Conaghan, *Bygones* (Killybegs: Pat Conaghan, 1989), p. 6.

¹⁶⁰ Donkersloot and Menzie, 'Place-based fishing livelihoods and the global ocean: the Irish Pelagic fleet at home and abroad', *Maritime Studies* 14:20, 2015, p. 4.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Michael McGuinness, the local school teacher, recorded April 2022.

¹⁶² Nutan Piraprez was born in Belgium he applied successfully for Irish citizenship in 1978.

¹⁶³ Interview with Nutan Piraprez, recorded 13 July 2022; Nutan published a book of their photographs Guy Jungblut and Jacques Nutan Piraprez *Irlande 66-69* (Bruxelles: Yellow now- Les carnets, 2016 reprint). <https://tur.ie/nutan-jacques-nutan-piraprez/>, accessed 12 July 2023.

¹⁶⁴ Nutan Piraprez, *Irlande 66/69: Images of Ireland in the late 1960's* (Bruxelles: Yellow Now- Le Carnets, 2016).

came back every year to fish. I kept a boat here'.¹⁶⁵ Piraprez made his home in Ireland in 1974.¹⁶⁶

The Belgian was not alone. Ireland represented what one might call a mythical place for other European immigrants. 'Lise', a Dutch woman, had grown up with stories about Ireland from her father who had worked there in the 1950s. These stories captured her imagination, and this positive image of Ireland was further enhanced by her experience of attending a Catholic girls' school where Irish folklore and images were part of her education. 'I was a very Catholic little devout girl so I was really into these stories [of Irish missionaries in early medieval times] and I loved those Celtic crosses.' As soon as 'Lise' finished secondary school she worked in a swimming pool for six weeks to earn enough money to come to Ireland on holiday with a group of friends. This experience confirmed her in her belief that Ireland meant something special to her, 'it was an amazing week, when we needed water we would find a well or a stream...I grew up in the middle of fields and slowly all the new houses were encroaching on us'.¹⁶⁷ 'Lise' felt that the Netherlands she had grown up in particularly her home village was becoming too urban and densely populated. After this trip 'Lise' returned to Ireland every year she could, staying mostly on the Aran Islands and latterly with a school friend who had married an Irishman. She did try going to Brittany one year, 'it was so disappointing because I thought it would look like Ireland and it didn't. I just wanted to get back to Ireland again.' 'Lise's' dream was to live in Ireland but this proved to be difficult due to her situation as a single parent and it was not until 1984 she moved to Ireland permanently to a small village in the West.¹⁶⁸

Ireland as an 'Eden' of cleaner air, water and soil, was a common theme among some of the immigrants who came to Ireland to buy land and farm. It was as important to Josef and Marianne Finke and their German friends Richard and Sylvia Auler as creating their organic farm.¹⁶⁹ Josef and Richard visited Ireland twice to investigate Ireland's potential as the site of an organic farm and felt that Ireland was

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Nutan Piraprez, recorded 13 July 2022.

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Nutan Piraprez, recorded 13 July 2022.

¹⁶⁷ Interview with 'Lise', recorded 27 April 2022.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with 'Lise', recorded 27 April 2022.

¹⁶⁹ *Cork Examiner*, 6 April 1985.

as unspoilt as they had hoped.¹⁷⁰ Bauer found that almost all her German respondents in County Kerry came to Ireland for a better quality of life: more space, fewer rules and less pollution.¹⁷¹ A sense that Ireland might be safer than mainland Europe in a nuclear war scenario may have informed some immigrants' views.¹⁷² None of Bauer's subjects mentioned this as reason for migrating but the Swiss government took this issue seriously and bought the Liss Ard estate in Skibbereen in 1976 as a safe place in case of nuclear war.¹⁷³ The fear of nuclear war in Europe was very real during the cold war.¹⁷⁴ The Dane, Kevin Jacobsen, who later founded Mary's Followers of the Cross, was also drawn to Ireland by its perceived quality of life. His view of the country was informed by the film 'The Quiet Man'. The film reminded him of his childhood experiences with his relatives on the Faroe Islands. Similarly to 'Lise,' he came to Ireland looking to recapture the simplicity and connection with nature he had known as a child.¹⁷⁵

Visual artists were also attracted to Ireland in the late twentieth century. Some came for the light in the West of Ireland. Claudio Viscardi the Swiss painter, settled in Beara in County Cork for that reason.¹⁷⁶ Some artists came for the artistic environment. The arrival of the four yearly ROSC exhibitions in 1967 may also have helped to introduce Ireland as a suitable environment to European artists as well as the expressed intention of familiarising Irish audiences with international art.¹⁷⁷ Gerda Frömel, the Czech sculptor, lived in Ireland briefly in 1953 and felt Ireland was a country she could work in.¹⁷⁸ She returned in 1955 with her husband, Werner

¹⁷⁰ Ray Ryan, *Cork Examiner*, 6 April 1985.

¹⁷¹ Bauer, 'Recent foreign immigration to Ireland', p. 75.

¹⁷² There was an article in *Esquire* in 1962 which included Co. Cork among the 'Nine places in the World to Hide'. *Esquire Magazine*, January 1962.

¹⁷³ Liss Ard Estate, official site, <https://www.lissardestate.ie/overview/brief-story>, accessed 7 April 2024.

¹⁷⁴ Stefan Bargheer, 'Apocalypse adjourned: the size and decline of cold war environmentalism in Germany', *Environmental Politics*, 2018, Vol. 27, No. 6 pp 973-993, p. 974.

¹⁷⁵ Gabrielle Kirby, *Kevin: My Memories* (Wicklow: SOL Productions Ltd, 2020), p. 3, Mary's Followers of the Cross was an independent Catholic community which became the Servants of Love in the late 1980s.

¹⁷⁶ Claudio Viscardi <http://www.claudioviscardi.net/biography.html>, first accessed April 2022 and https://www-extradich.translate.google/project/claudioviscardi/?_x_tr_sl=it&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=sc, accessed 11 July 2023.

¹⁷⁷ Terence Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History 1922-2022* 4th Edition (London: Harper Collins, 2004), p. 307.

¹⁷⁸ Rebecca Minch, 'Gerda Frömel' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. <https://www.dib.ie/biography/fromel-gerda-a3379>, accessed 11 July 2023.

Schurmann, who had been offered work in the National College of Art and Design teaching metalwork.¹⁷⁹ Her work is haunted by images of World War II and she herself could in some ways be described as a refugee as she and her parents, were among the ethnic German speakers expelled from Czechoslovakia after the war.¹⁸⁰

The West of Ireland especially proved attractive for artists from the 1960s onwards. This is particularly true of the Beara peninsula which has hosted an Arts Festival every year since 1992.¹⁸¹ While many of the artists on Beara were Irish or English, there were also European artists living in the area such as Joanna Kempen who is Dutch, Nadette Charlet who is Belgian and Claudio Viscardi who is Swiss. Petit Buchel is a Dutch cartoonist and graphic artist also drawn to the West of Ireland, in this case County Mayo. He first came to Ireland hitchhiking with a friend in 1972. They found a house in Polranny County Mayo which became the artist's West of Ireland base.¹⁸² While any artists interviewed talk about the light and the community in Ireland, the tax free status artists enjoyed since 1969 and the stipend from Aosdana might also have been an incentive.¹⁸³

Other immigrants came because of a family relationship. It could be said that the prime involvement of these migrants is with their spouse not with the country. 'Helga', who grew up in former East Germany, married her Irish husband there and only came to Ireland because her spouse felt that he was needed there politically. There was no sense of her deliberately choosing Ireland or wanting to leave the GDR.¹⁸⁴

After we got married we didn't go to Ireland, we went to Prague where N was asked to represent the Irish Communist Party at the World Marxist Review. So we spent 3 years there. Then in 1985 we moved to Ireland. This was not

¹⁷⁹ Aidan Dunne 'Was sculptor Gerda Frömel too subtle for success'. <https://imma.ie>, accessed 10 February 2022. Gerda Frömel remained in Ireland for the remainder of her short life, she died in a swimming accident in 1975. Her husband returned to Germany in 1966 to become an opera singer.

¹⁸⁰ Rebecca Minch, 'Gerda Frömel'.

¹⁸¹ *Irish Examiner*, July 25 2016.

¹⁸² Petit Buchel, <https://www.petibuchel.com>, and Polranny Pirates, <https://polrannypirates.nl>. accessed 11 April 2022 and 12 July 2023.

¹⁸³ Charles Haughey's Finance Act of 1969 clause 2 which gave tax exemption to artists living in Ireland.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with 'Helga,' recorded 14 February 2022.

because we didn't like it in the GDR but because N who was originally from Belfast and ...there are not very many left-wing people in Ireland, he needed to return to Ireland.¹⁸⁵

The Department of Justice's records of women married to Irish men, compiled in 1958, two years after the 1956 Naturalisation and Citizenship Act made naturalisation very simple for immigrant female spouses, show women from Germany, Spain, France, Austria, Poland, Italy, Yugoslavia and Denmark accepting their Irish husband's nationality.¹⁸⁶ While many of these women were living abroad, mostly in England, five had married in another country and had moved to Ireland purely because of their husband. Jean Marie Dunoyer, French, had married her husband, Michael Moylan, in Manchester, but the family was living in Sandymount, Dublin. Jyette Betson, a Dane, met and married her Irish husband Edward in Copenhagen in 1956 but by 1958, when she applied, the family was living in Donnybrook.¹⁸⁷

'Bertha' grew up in Kiel in Germany. Because of a difficult childhood she left home as soon as possible once she had taken her school leaving exam and supported herself by giving English lessons. Her dream was to save up and move to Scotland, where her first boyfriend lived and which she had visited several times. 'Bertha' went on holiday to Ireland in 1978 to stay with a friend in Dublin who was studying in Trinity College Dublin, 'She lived in a house, sharing with others and the third day I was there I met Fred Lynch'. Fred became her partner and she has lived in Ireland since then.¹⁸⁸

It was not only women who moved to Ireland for a relationship. 'Gino', an Italian, met his wife M, who was born in Tuam, in England, where they were both working. They returned to his family home in Rome to get married in the late 1960s but 'Gino' was unhappy raising their children in Italy and they decided to move to

¹⁸⁵ Interview with 'Helga', recorded 14 February 2022.

¹⁸⁶ See Chapter One for details of the 1956 Nationality and Citizenship Act.

¹⁸⁷ Acceptance of citizenship by foreign wives 1958, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2632.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with 'Bertha', recorded 5 May 2022.

Ireland in 1970 although 'Gino' had never been there.¹⁸⁹ Joannes Thoma, a Dutchman, met his wife Mary Keating, born in Waterford, in the Netherlands and they married there in May 1962. By 1963, they had moved to Waterford, presumably at Mary's request, as Joannes was a skilled workman, a fitter, and would have been able to get work easily in his home country.¹⁹⁰ 'Harry', born in 1958 in the Netherlands, came to Ireland in 1977. He was living in a Nurses' Home in North Holland, training to work with people with disabilities, when twenty young Irish girls moved into the Nurses' Home. The young women were in the Netherlands for the summer picking mushrooms. 'Harry' fell in love and when his girlfriend had to return to Ireland in October, he bought a ticket for Ireland. He observed, 'At 19 years old, you are afraid of nothing'.¹⁹¹

Immigrants who came for political reasons

Many people who came as political exiles in this period would much rather have stayed in their country of birth, if circumstances were different. The exiles were in Ireland because it was unsafe or unpalatable to remain where they were. One can discern three main phases of European political exiles in this period: the French and Belgian nationals who were seen to have collaborated with the fascists, the refugees from Hungary in 1956, and individual people from Soviet controlled-countries who were fleeing communism.

'Ireland's Nazis' is a term used by the journalist Cathal O Shannon in his 2007 documentary to describe some of the European immigrants who came to Ireland in the immediate post-war period.¹⁹² While Austrian Otto Skorzeny, and Croatian Andrija Artuković, Croatian, were indeed guilty of serious crimes, other Axis collaborators who came to Ireland such as Breton and Flemish nationalists, were more minor players. These political exiles had to a greater or lesser extent supported the Axis powers in exchange for promises of self-determination if the Axis side won.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with 'Gino', 24 May 2023.

¹⁹⁰ Garda Report, 31 January 1967, Johannes Thoma, NAI, naturalisation application file, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2515, Thoma did in fact find it hard to get suitable work initially in Ireland and spent his first few years working as a gardener for Power's seeds before he got work as a fitter.

¹⁹¹ Interview with 'Harry', recorded 25 July 2022.

¹⁹² Cathal O Shannon, 'Ireland's Nazis' Tile Films for RTE 2007, <https://tilefilms.ie/productions/irelands-nazis/>, accessed 21 April 2022

Their views on their past collaboration varied. Yann Fouéré, the author of *La maison du Connemara: histoire d'un Breton*, portrayed the collaboration as minimal and claimed that very few Bretons joined the SS groups that hunted members of the Resistance.¹⁹³ By contrast, Gustaaf Van Velthoven, a Flemish nationalist, was proud to have served in the *Allgemeene SS Vlaanderen*, the SS troop formed of Flemish nationalists, the first SS troop to be formed by foreign volunteers.¹⁹⁴

After liberation the nationalists were condemned as collaborators and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, loss of civil rights and in some cases death. Van Velthoven was condemned to death in Belgium, a sentence that was commuted to twenty years imprisonment.¹⁹⁵ Fouéré lost his civil rights in France. He was condemned for collaboration in absentia, a sentence which he describes as a kind of 'civic death'.¹⁹⁶ Some of the exiles, usually with false passports, made their way to Ireland and looked for asylum. Most of these immigrants were men or in couples, although Fouéré does mention one single woman in the group of Breton exiles, Helen Delgany, who later married an Irishman.¹⁹⁷

How these exiles came to Ireland and how they were received has been described in detail by Daniel Leach.¹⁹⁸ It is noticeable that the Catholic Church was instrumental in aiding some of the exiles. Fouéré hid in a Dominican monastery in France before escaping to England.¹⁹⁹ Van Velthoven and Albert Folens were able to pass from Belgium to The Netherlands through a Trappist monastery that straddled the border.²⁰⁰ Leach does make clear, however, that the nationalist separatists were condemned by the Church hierarchy in both Brittany and Belgium.²⁰¹

¹⁹³ See, for the sentence, Fouéré, *La maison du Connemara*, p. 266 and for his description of the verdict p. 21

¹⁹⁴ Roger Phillimore, *Agonizing Choices: Unpublished memory of 'Staff'*, (Kinvara: Roger Phillimore undated) Roger lived next to Van Velthoven in Kinvara Co. Galway. The manuscript given to this writer by Roger Phillimore.

¹⁹⁵ Phillimore, 'Agonizing Choices' see also Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 169.

¹⁹⁶ Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, p.21. He was convicted of collaboration and sentenced to hard labour for life and the seizure of all his past and future assets. His sentence was annulled in 1955. Patrick Maume, 'Yann Fouéré, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. <https://www.dib.ie/biography/fouere-yann-a9986>, accessed 7 July 2023.

¹⁹⁷ Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, p.116. Unfortunately this is the only mention of her in Fouéré's book, she does not appear in Leach or the DOJ Naturalisation records.

¹⁹⁸ Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, particularly pp. 44-62 & 134-157.

¹⁹⁹ Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 168.

²⁰⁰ Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 175.

²⁰¹ Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 166.

Ireland was not, in fact, the first choice for some of the political exiles. Fouéré felt it was a last resort for him and his family, when Wales had proved to be unsafe, as Ireland was a country he knew little about.²⁰² After living in Ireland for some time, he and his family considered moving to America as they felt it would be easier to make a living there although they did, ultimately, remain in Ireland.²⁰³ Maurice Lemoine had come to Ireland via Austria, Switzerland, England and Wales.²⁰⁴ Van Velthoven was one of the few who claimed that he had always seen Ireland as his destination.

I was told that some of our people had gone to Ireland and that they had been given asylum, and what did I think about that? Now, very early on in our movement we had discussed sooner or later we might have to take up weapons...So my first idea was Ireland:IRA. I can learn something there.²⁰⁵

Ireland was indeed offering asylum. In 1951 officials in the Department of Justice calculated that there were forty Belgians, eighteen Bretons and four Dutch here as 'political refugees'.²⁰⁶ An unsigned chart in Joseph Gourlet's naturalisation records shows that most of the Bretons were in Ireland under assumed names. The Department of Justice knew who they were, their marital status and their occupations and all their aliases.²⁰⁷

In terms of the global experience in the second half of the twentieth century, the number of European refugees who found asylum in Ireland was very low. After World War II there were several attempts to give children some respite in a country that was relatively unscathed by the war.²⁰⁸ Operation Shamrock, organised by the Irish Red Cross, was the most successful. Between 1946 and 1947 almost 500

²⁰²See, for Ireland as a last resort Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, p. 116, and for the idea of emigrating to America p. 128,

²⁰³Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, p. 82.

²⁰⁴Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, p. 122.

²⁰⁵ Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 178. Van Velthoven in fact contacted and aided the Official IRA, Leach *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 211.

²⁰⁶ Handwritten chart and note, 26 July 1952, Joseph Goulet, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1300.

²⁰⁷ .Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Interdepartmental Conference, 24 September 1945, NAI DT S1107A.

children were given refuge in Irish homes.²⁰⁹ The children concerned had to be younger than ten and preference was given to Catholics. Herbert Rimmel was one of the first to arrive in Ireland. Rimmel was lucky in that he fulfilled both conditions.²¹⁰ It was, however, unusual for a child to be selected who still had two parents, as was the case with Rimmel. Most of the children selected were either orphans or only had one parent. This preferential treatment was because Rimmel's father had been persecuted during the war for being an anti-Nazi.²¹¹

A group of 350 adult refugees from Baltic countries were not as fortunate. In September 1949 a Swedish boat, *the Victory*, arrived in Cobh harbour.²¹² The people on board, who were mostly Estonians, were escaping from the Soviet takeover of their countries.²¹³ Their destination was Canada. However, it was obvious that the boat would not survive the Atlantic.²¹⁴ This was the fifth boat that had docked in Ireland carrying refugees from Sweden, although the first two, the *Walnut*, in 1948 and the *Gladstone*, in August 1949, had been seaworthy and had reached Canada safely.²¹⁵ The Irish government approached the Canadian government which agreed that any refugee with a Canadian visa would be allowed entry.²¹⁶ By November 1949 223 of the *Victory's* passengers had obtained visas. The Lutheran World Federation and the Irish Red Cross paid the fares to Canada for those who could not afford them. This left fifty-seven people remaining in Ireland. The Irish government were prepared to allow residency for this much smaller group, although lack of local facilities meant that they found it hard to find accommodation.²¹⁷

Ten years later, in 1956, the Irish government admitted 541 Hungarian refugees who had fled the Soviet suppression of the 1956 revolution. They were unfamiliar with Ireland, although several other Hungarians already resided in Ireland

²⁰⁹ Embassy of Ireland, Berlin, Germany, <https://ireland.ie/en/germany/berlin/news-and-events/news-archive/9-march-1800-the-children-of-operation-shamrock-photo-exhibition-and-talk-with-special-guests/>, accessed 10 February 2024.

²¹⁰ Rimmel, *From Cologne to Ballinlough*, p.64.

²¹¹ Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, p. 11.

²¹² Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 154.

²¹³ Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, p. 14.

²¹⁴ Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, p. 16.

²¹⁵ Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, p. 14.

²¹⁶ Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, p. 17.

²¹⁷ Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, pp. 21-22.

and had been naturalised. Three of these Hungarians applied before the communist coup in 1947.²¹⁸ Eighteen more Hungarians applied after 1947 but before 1956.²¹⁹ However, few of the refugees admitted in 1956 would have made Ireland their first choice of refuge. Given its record of high unemployment and emigration, Ireland was not an obvious destination for adults who were, mostly, skilled industrial workers.²²⁰ Many of them agreed to come to Ireland on the mistaken understanding that they would be able to move on rapidly to Canada or Australia, countries with developed economies which were looking for immigrants. As the Irish Red Cross statement from December 1956 explains. 'All the refugees were under the impression that they were only coming to Ireland in transit for the USA or Canada'.²²¹ In the event, it was up to two years before most of the refugees could move elsewhere and only 60 stayed in Ireland.²²²

Some individual refugees from Soviet expansionism also chose to make their home in Ireland. A Slovak table-tennis champion and his family arrived in Dublin in 1949.²²³ Josef Veselsky, his wife Katarina and their two children had intended to migrate to Australia. Josef and Katarina had been concerned about Soviet-inspired interference in their lives for some time. When the new Czechoslovak Republic had

²¹⁸ Application form, 16 September 1940, Kalman Windt, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/120;

application form, 19 July 1945, Veronica Rudnyanszky, naturalisation application file NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/579;

application form, Jenő Kuntz, naturalisation application file, NAI, Department of Justice, JUS/2013/50/728.

²¹⁹ Stephen Remenyi, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/944; Hans Vadja naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/955; Honorius Werzberger, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1032;; Bela Troyko, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1216;; Janos Sohegyi, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1386; Kende Gabor de Kolsce, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1391; Colman Ladislav Covary, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1421 and his wife Eva Rose Covary, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1422; Bella Lukac, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1534 and his wife Vera Lukac naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1535; Erzsebet Karolyi, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/154;; Emil Josej Szauer, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1558; Antal Droba, naturalisation application file JUS/2013/50/1569;; Geza Budai, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1585; Sieffrid Dobrowitsch, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1599; Maria Blaschitz, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1636; Moinar Piroška, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1648; Anna Bredoczki, naturalisation application file, JUS/2013/50/1657.

²²⁰ 'Red Cross list of occupations', *Irish Independent*, 27 December 1956.

²²¹ Red Cross statement, 8 December 1956, 'Hungarian Refugees in Clare', *Clare Champion*, 19 January 1957.

²²² Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, pp. 157-160, 177.

²²³ Claire O'Dowd, Documentaries on Newstalk : 'No ordinary Joe', *Newstalk*, 29 November 2020, [Newstalk, https://www.goloudplayer.com/episodes/no-ordinary-joe-documentary](https://www.goloudplayer.com/episodes/no-ordinary-joe-documentary), accessed 30 November 2021; application form, August 1954, Josef Veselky, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1664.

been formed in March 1945, Josef had a role in the regional government based in Bratislava and continued to represent Slovakia in table-tennis tournaments. His triumphs were recorded in the national newspaper. However, in a tournament in February 1948, the Slovakian team was drawn against Yugoslavia and won. Some of the coverage in Yugoslavian newspapers suggested Veselsky supported Tito. Two weeks later 'political security' came to the Veselsky's flat in Bratislava and in Josef's words, 'took it to pieces'.²²⁴ When Veselsky's team beat the Czech team in the final in Prague, the Slovak KGB interrogated Katarina in Josef's absence and the couple decided to leave. Through contacts in the Swiss embassy, they were able to get a visa for Switzerland. This was forwarded to them in Budapest where Katarina's mother was living. When they arrived in Zurich the family applied for a 'landing permit' for Australia. Five months later there was still no reply from Australia but a chance meeting with a fellow countryman, who had moved to Ireland previously, made the decision for the couple. Two weeks later they obtained an Irish visa and the family moved to Dublin. Their fellow-Slovak had a business, the Machine and Tool Company Ltd. in Cabra and offered Josef work and a place to live.²²⁵

The Czech academics, Petr Skrabánek and Vera Capkova, were in County Sligo on holiday when the Russian tanks invaded Prague in 1968.²²⁶ Skrabánek had already worked in Ireland as part of his medical training, specifically a month in Galway University Hospital in 1967 and a month in Richmond Hospital, Dublin, in 1968.. 'We went to the West of Ireland...just before the end of the holiday we heard that the soviets had invaded Czechoslovakia...There were no flights or trains going into Czechoslovakia, so the Czech authorities extended our exit visas'.²²⁷ The couple decided to stay in Ireland despite having little means and no immediate employment. By 1969 both had been able to get employment, Capkova teaching linguistics in UCD and Skrabánek as a research fellow in the Medical Research

²²⁴ 'No ordinary Joe', *Newstalk*, 29 November 2020.

²²⁵ 'No ordinary Joe', *Newstalk*, 29 November 2020; Garda Report, Josef Veselsky, naturalisation application file, NAI, Department of Justice, JUS/2013/50/1664.

²²⁶ Cathy Hayes and Patricia Byrne, 'Petr Skrabánek', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/skrabanek-petr-a8113>, accessed 10 July 2023.

²²⁷ Vera Capkova in Katie Donovan, 'Looking Eastwards in hope and fear', *Irish Times*, 24 April 1990.

Council's laboratories in TCD. The couple were sentenced *in absentia* for being illegal exiles and so could not return to Czechoslovakia to visit relatives until 1990.²²⁸

Conclusion

Although it might not have been seen as such, particularly in the 1950s, Ireland was attractive to European immigrants.²²⁹ However, many of the lifestyle migrants were from Germany or the Netherlands, this is perhaps not surprising given the history of early environmentalism in Europe, particularly in Germany.

The classic migration causes of 'push and pull' factors, do not really apply in Ireland. Migrants came for multiple reasons some emotional and some practical. Indeed many individual immigrants came for more than one reason, Nutan Piraprezinspired by James Joyce's vision of Ireland but also for the fishing or Lars Bjoerk who came to Ireland to start a business but also because it was the best country to rear horses. However it is possible to isolate four major trends. First, Irish governments and institutions, as early as the 1940s saw the need for imported expertise and invited European individuals to Ireland to work there in many fields. Many of these migrants made their home there and some sought naturalisation.

Second, Ireland was deemed a good place to start a business. As early as 1958, as in the case of Hans Liebherr and Liebherr Cranes, European entrepreneurs set up enduring enterprises which after 1969 were supported by I.D.A. grant-aid towards business development. In some cases European businesses encouraged fellow citizens to come to Ireland to work in their enterprises and some of these people stayed. Ireland, despite high unemployment, was also seen as a good place to find work for certain occupations.

Third, some migrants were drawn by the perception that Ireland was a better place to live and bring up children than where they had been born whether in terms of work opportunities, cheaper land or a cleaner environment. For some of these migrants Ireland seems to have achieved the status of a mythical place. This motivation was more obvious in the 1960s and 1970s.

²²⁸ Hayes and Byrne 'Petr Skrabánek', and 'Looking Eastwards in Hope and Fear'.

²²⁹ Dermot Keogh, Finbar O Shea and Carmel Quinlan eds., *The Lost Decade: Ireland in the 1950s* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2004).

Finally some, Europeans came to live in Ireland by default either because they had relationships with Irish citizens or for political reasons. The first group were more likely to be wives, but there were still a significant group of European men who came to Ireland because their wives were Irish. In the second case Ireland became a refuge for European nationals who were either no longer welcome in their place of birth or fleeing a regime they feared or disliked, although often Ireland was not their first choice. For its own reasons, which at this point included establishing its independent identity internationally, Ireland was prepared to ignore their past and illegal entry and gave them asylum once they only came individually or in discrete groups.

Chapter Three The European migrants' experience of Ireland

While people came to the country for many reasons, they all, in different ways, hoped that their experiences in Ireland would be as good if not better than their homeplace. This chapter will show that in most cases, the immigrants investigated did feel that their experience in Ireland was positive, particularly the welcome they received from the host community. Even the few who found the culture difficult in terms of women's rights and children's education, still wanted to stay in the country. Nevertheless, some structural challenges existed for the Europeans who came to Ireland over this period.

The first part of this chapter investigates practical issues such as finding a job and accommodation and starting a business. For much of the period unemployment was high and the economy was weak and so finding a job could be difficult unless one had already been recruited. This was further exacerbated by the fact that until 1997 many European qualifications were not recognised in Ireland and thus highly qualified immigrants had to accept that they would have to either retrain (which could be costly in both time and money), work in another field or start a business. Ireland was also a country built on networks, family and political, and so a newcomer did not necessarily have the contacts to find a job or a place to live. As the immigrants' sojourn in Ireland lengthened other issues appeared. Lack of family in Ireland, which might not have been an issue when the migrants first came, became one when they had small children and later when parents in the home country were older and needed support.

These emotional issues raised by migration to Ireland are the theme of the second main part of this chapter. Missing family and feeling unsupported were only part of the spectrum of emotions that immigrants felt as newcomers to the country, especially for those nationalities which did not have the security of an existing community of co-nationals. Montserrat Guibernau argues that all humans have a deep need to belong whether it is to a nation, a family or a church, 'Belonging involves a certain familiarity; it evokes the idea of being and feeling 'at home'- that is within an environment in which the individual is recognised as 'one of us', he or

she matters and has an identity'.¹ Some immigrants interviewed felt immediately at home, some preferred to remain at a remove and some were home-sick. Whatever their immediate response, most migrants wanted to feel they had a place in the communities they lived in, that is some degree of integration into Irish society.

Exactly what the word integration means has been a cause for debate. Victoria Robinson, the UK sociologist, called the word, 'a chaotic concept used by many but understood differently by most'.² Sarah Spencer defined integration as a process, an interaction between government policy and individual experience.³ Others have defined the word as, 'The ways in which migrants and a receiving society live together'.⁴ This thesis will favour the last two definitions taken together addressing the relationship between immigrants and both government and society.

Since the 1920s there has been a debate about integration and assimilation in sociology, the discipline that, historically, had addressed the subject of migration most fully. In 1921, Robert Park and Ernest Burgess defined assimilation as follows:

Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. (...) assimilation denotes this sharing of tradition, this intimate participation in common experience.⁵

Park and Burgess discussed the importance of this process but also stressed that the process of assimilation should only proceed at the pace of the newcomer and that it was a two-way process.⁶ By 1945 Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole brought a different emphasis to the discussion. For these writers the aim of a society, in this case American Society, should be to integrate the newcomers totally into the 'American

¹ Montserrat Guibernau, *Belonging: Solidarity and Division in Modern Societies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), p. 32.

² V. Robinson, 'Defining and Measuring Successful Refugee Integration', *Proceedings of the ECRE International Conference on Integration of Refugees in Europe* (Brussels: ECRE, November 1998), p. 118.

³ S. Spencer, *The Migration Debate* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2011), p. 203.

⁴ C. Oliver and B. Gridley, *Integration of Migrants in Europe* (Global Exchange on Migration and Diversity: COMPAS, September 2015), p.1.

⁵ Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 735.

⁶ Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 735.

Way of Life'.⁷ This remained the expectation for some time with some commentators arguing for a 'melting pot' approach with 'Anglo-Saxon' culture as the dominant model to which others needed to conform. In opposition to this another view emerged, especially within the context of the black activism of the 1960s, that favoured a separate but equal model of development.⁸

In Europe, the debate on integration began after World War II when vast numbers of refugees and displaced people were seeking refuge.⁹ Public bodies such as the CECC were concerned about integration but, among academics, only historians initially, Alan S. Milward for example, looked at the issues involved.¹⁰ With the increase in migration in Europe after the break-up of the Soviet Union (1991) and after Maastricht (1992) however, concerns arose that these large groups would not integrate into the host societies. As with the US the preference was for assimilation.¹¹ Friedrich Heckmann, in his article of 2004, quotes Otto Schily, the German politician, 'The best form of integration is assimilation'.¹²

The group studied by this research responded in many different ways to the challenge of integrating into Irish society. Some, particularly Bauer's retired Germans chose to ignore the surrounding culture and created a German-speaking social group. Another group interacted in some ways with their Irish host society, while continuing to speak their own language at home. A third embraced Irish culture, speaking English and some even learning to speak Irish. As Chapter One noted, some became Irish citizens, although that did not always signify or result in integration.

⁷ W.I. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), cited by Olivier Asselin et al., 'Social Integration of Immigrants with Special Reference to the Local and Spatial Dimension', in Rinus Pennix et al eds., *The Dynamics of International Migration and Settlement in Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), p. 134.

⁸ For the 'melting pot' approach, see Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964) for the separatist approach, see N. Glazer and D. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1963).

⁹ Moch states 30 million - Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 169.

¹⁰ Alan S Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1984* (London: Methuen, 1984), p. 75. CECC was the Committee of European Economic Co-operation.

¹¹ Olivier Asselin et al, 'Social Integration of Immigrants with Special Reference to the Local and Spatial Dimension', p. 136.

¹² F. Heckmann, 'Integration: Conceptual Issues and Definitions', paper presented at the IMISCOE Cluster B5 Conference in Lisbon, 16-17 July, 2004, p. 4.

During this period, Ireland became a fairer country for women. The rise of the Women's Liberation movement and accession to the EEC meant changes in legislation, among them: the right to a deserted wives allowance in 1970, the end of the marriage bar in the civil service in 1973, and equal pay legislation in 1974.¹³ Exactly how these changes affected these immigrants is difficult to map. Changes in the economy are less likely to impact on a person recruited to a specific role. A woman running her own business might not be as aware of the effects of the equal pay legislation and of the marriage bar as one working in the public service.

Choosing a Place to Live

The 1911 census, the last for which the individual records are available, gives a clear picture of where in Ireland Europeans had settled at that time and what occupations they were pursuing.¹⁴ The occupations for the 5,739 Europeans enumerated in 1911 were recorded as follows: 459 seamen, 289 teachers, 238 fishermen, 227 drapers, 224 servants, 174 religious, 162 tailors, 157 shop-keepers and 135 pedlars.¹⁵ The 5,739 Europeans enumerated were spread across all four provinces. Seventeen out of the nineteen countries recorded in 1911 had some nationals in each. These European nationals were not all concentrated in one province. Eight countries: Austria, Belgium, the German Empire, Roumania, Russia, Spain, Switzerland and Turkey had their highest numbers in Leinster. Six: Denmark, Finland, France, Norway, Portugal and Sweden were highest in Munster. Four: Greece, Holland, Italy and Poland had their highest numbers in Ulster.¹⁶

This pattern changed from the 1946 census onwards. Looking at the census results for 1946, 1971, 1981 and 1991 it is clear that throughout the period of the later twentieth century the majority of Europeans came to live in Leinster. From 1971 a proportion, varying from country to country settled in Munster and very few in

¹³1970, Social Welfare Act 1970, 12 of 1970, section 22 ;1973, Civil Service Employees and Married Women Act of 1973, 17 of 1973.; 1974, Anti-Discrimination (pay) Act 1974, 15 of 1974, section 2 onwards.

¹⁴*Census of Ireland, 1911* (London: HMSO, 1912) Table 2. <http://www.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/>, accessed 11 November 2023.

¹⁵*Census, 1911*, (London: HMSO, 1912), General report, p. 1111. <http://www.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/>, accessed 11 November 2023.

¹⁶ Ulster at this point prior to the formation of the Irish Free State contained all nine counties.

Connacht and in Ulster.¹⁷ In 1946 of the largest group, those from the USSR, only a handful lived outside Leinster in the other provinces with none at all Ulster. Many of these migrants from the USSR will have arrived earlier in the inter-war and pre World War II periods and were mainly Jews.¹⁸ 353 of the next largest group, the Germans, were living in Leinster out of a total of 460. There was however a large contingent of French people in Munster, 106 out of 422. Italians were almost exclusively in Leinster. The only communities that had stayed mostly in Leinster are the Italians and the Greeks. Overall while the majority of Europeans were still living in urban areas and near Dublin there was an increasing progression out to the other provinces and more rural areas over the period. In 1971 only six countries were enumerated separately. While over half the Germans are still living in Leinster there was a sizeable group in Munster, 538 out of 2,066, which probably reflects the influx of Germans to the Killarney area due to the foundation of German owned companies such as Liebherr Cranes in 1958. All of the remaining five nationalities are found almost exclusively in Leinster. By 1981 Greece and Luxembourg were also added to the list of countries counted separately and both of these communities were mostly situated in Leinster. In this census a third of Germans were then living in Munster, some Italian and French émigrés have settled in Munster, Connacht and a few in Ulster. The final census of this period in 1991, which now included Portugal and Spain, shows almost half of the resident Germans living in Munster, half of the French migrants living in Connacht and Munster with a quarter in each and more people from the Netherlands living in Munster than Leinster.

¹⁷ The number of French people in Munster dropped between 1971 and 1981 although it rose again in 1991. There was also a drop in people from The Netherlands from 1981 to 1991.

¹⁸ Department of Justice JUS/2013/50 series: a sample of naturalisation applications from 1945-1946 shows that all arrived pre-1945. Naturalisation application files, JUS/2013/50/575, 1936; JUS/2013/50/579, 1938; JUS/2013/50/581, 1937; JUS/2013/50/599, 1933.

| Years | Leinster | | | Munster | | | Connacht | | | Ulster | | | Totals | | |
|----------------|----------|-------|-------------|---------|------|-------------|----------|------|-----------|--------|------|-----------|--------|-------|-------------|
| | 1946 | 1971 | 1981 1991 | 1946 | 1971 | 1981 1991 | 1946 | 1971 | 1981 1991 | 1946 | 1971 | 1981 1991 | 1946 | 1971 | 1981 1991 |
| USSR | 582 | | | 62 | | | 9 | | | 0 | | | 653 | | |
| Germany | 353 | 1,318 | 1,961 2,593 | 66 | 538 | 1,016 2,084 | 33 | 119 | 390 895 | 8 | 51 | 115 220 | 460 | 2,066 | 3,482 5,792 |
| France | 269 | 533 | 1,158 1,837 | 106 | 114 | 44 1,460 | 32 | 37 | 340 1,121 | 15 | 17 | 58 92 | 422 | 701 | 1,997 4,512 |
| Italy | 236 | 871 | 1,049 1,143 | 36 | 116 | 204 251 | 16 | 26 | 78 93 | 10 | 9 | 19 20 | 298 | 1,022 | 1,350 1,507 |
| Poland | 159 | | | 13 | | | 1 | | | 2 | | | 175 | | |
| Belgium | 110 | 180 | 304 365 | 27 | 52 | 136 181 | 6 | 7 | 38 35 | 6 | 1 | 12 19 | 149 | 240 | 490 600 |
| Austria | 115 | | | 15 | | | 12 | | | 5 | | | 147 | | |
| Netherlands | 99 | 452 | 644 829 | 23 | 233 | 926 885 | 2 | 21 | 121 238 | 1 | 6 | 19 33 | 125 | 712 | 1,710 1,985 |
| Czechoslovakia | 54 | | | 13 | | | 18 | | | 0 | | | 85 | | |
| Switzerland | 63 | | | 14 | | | 5 | | | 3 | | | 85 | | |
| Spain | 61 | | 1,453 | 12 | | 236 | 2 | | 85 | 4 | | 27 | 79 | | 1,801 |
| Greece | 45 | | 77 117 | 26 | | 23 49 | 2 | | 4 26 | 0 | | 5 3 | 73 | | 109 197 |
| Denmark | 19 | 141 | 209 293 | 12 | 18 | 154 132 | 6 | 11 | 40 30 | 0 | 5 | 7 6 | 37 | 205 | 410 463 |
| Hungary | 14 | | | 2 | | | 1 | | | 2 | | | 19 | | |
| Roumania (sic) | 16 | | | 2 | | | 0 | | | 0 | | | 18 | | |
| Norway | 11 | | | 3 | | | 3 | | | 0 | | | 17 | | |
| Sweden | 10 | | | 4 | | | 2 | | | 1 | | | 17 | | |
| Portugal | 8 | | 110 | 2 | | 27 | 2 | | 8 | 2 | | 2 | 14 | | 147 |
| Luxembourg | | | 16 8 | | | 2 2 | | | 0 | | | 2 0 | | | 20 34 |
| Other European | 17 | | | 2 | | | 4 | | | 1 | | | 24 | | |

Finding accommodation

One can divide the European immigrants who came to Ireland into two groups in terms of their search for accommodation: first, the vast majority who just wanted somewhere convenient to live and second the small group of people who were intending to farm on a small scale or live sustainably on a small piece of land. Most of the second group arrived in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

For the larger group, those who were only looking for somewhere convenient to live, the standard of accommodation available varied very much according to location and time period. Most of the immigrants found it inferior to their home country. This was particularly true of those from urban environments. When Yann Fouéré, the Breton exile, moved to the West of Ireland, Cleggan in Connemara, in 1947, his rented cottage had no electricity, gas or running water and the sanitary facility was a shed with a hole with planks over it.¹ As a professional coming from urban France, this level of accommodation surprised Fouéré and the fact that he included the details in his memoir suggests that he expected his readers to be surprised. Miroslav Havel, the glass craftsman from Czechoslovakia, was shocked by the living conditions when he arrived in Waterford in 1946. His first lodgings, with a Mrs. Catherine Cronin, had no running water or indoor sanitation and the cooking facilities were in a shed in the garden.²

Here it is important to differentiate between rural and urban accommodation. Census reports on living conditions from 1946 to 1986 show a marked difference between the standard of dwellings in towns and the countryside. The situation in rural areas was twice as bad as in urban places. In 1946 the percentage of houses with indoor sanitation was under 50% for all provinces, with Ulster the lowest at 21%, but the percentage of houses with no sanitary facilities at all was 73.3% in aggregate rural areas and 43% in aggregate town areas. The other major difference was the electricity supply. The Shannon scheme had seen 170,000 urban consumers connected to electricity by 1939, rising to 240,000 by 1946 but this left the 400,000

¹Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, p. 165. Fouéré does point out that this kind of sanitation would have been common in rural Brittany when he was a child p. 155

² Havel, *Maestro of Crystal*, pp. 134-136.

rural dwellings 'virtually untouched'.³ By the early 1960s most homes had electricity but there were still over a third that had no sanitation or running water.⁴ In fact, in 1960 the Irish Countrywomen's Association spearheaded a campaign for the provision of running water, particularly in rural areas.⁵ While this campaign was undoubtedly successful, the 1970s still saw a rural-urban divide in terms of domestic facilities. In 1976, a French woman, 'Annette' moved back to Ireland with her Irish husband to a modern housing estate in Galway with full facilities while in a rural part of County Galway 'Hans' was renovating a cottage that had no running water or electricity.⁶

Houses were, however, much cheaper in Ireland than in mainland Europe. One of Jan de Fouw's main reasons for staying in Ireland was that he could buy a house with a garden which would have been impossible for him in The Netherlands.⁷ This was particularly true in rural areas. Anne Korff describes how she bought her house in Auginish, Co Galway.

First of all houses were way cheaper than they are now... at that time I bought it in '79 I thought 'It's a holiday house'. Anne became seriously ill at this point and decided that, 'if you are going down hilly you'd better go down hill in the countryside than in the city... I knew you could buy a house, Jeff O Connell's house for example was bought 3 or 4 years earlier for £4,000. This house was £10,000 because it was almost 5 years later.'⁸

There were also times when it was hard to find accommodation and landlords exploited the situation. This affected young Europeans trying to find somewhere to live. In Dublin in the early 1970s renting agencies were charging c£100 'key money'

³ Initiated in 1929, Michael J Shiel, *The Quiet Revolution: The electrification of Rural Ireland 1946-1976* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press 1984), p. 22; see also The McLaughlin Report on Rural electrification 1929, this showed that of the 221 towns and cities 193 had a supply while of the small villages under 200 inhabitants only 80 had a supply and of the 1.7 million people living in scattered rural accommodation only 18,000 had a supply pp. 264-268.

⁴ CSO 1961 census volume 6 section 22A and 25A

⁵ Irish Water, <https://waterschemes.ie/2018/09/10/turn-on-the-tap-ica-campaign-for-rural-water-supplies/index.html>, accessed 28 March 2023

⁶ Interview with 'Annette,' recorded 20 April 2022. Interview with 'Hans,' recorded 5 January 2022.

⁷ Conor Clarke, *Orange and Green*. 10

⁸ Interview with Anne Korff, recorded 8 January 2022.

per let. This was in addition to the normal deposit and month's rent in advance.⁹ Rents could also be high for the accommodation offered. In her *Irish Times* article of 9 November 1973, Elgie Gillespie described a damp ill-furnished room that was costing a young waitress £7 a week. The young woman was earning 40p an hour.¹⁰ The landlord-tenant situation had not changed very much in ten years when 'Anna', a Swiss woman, came to Ireland in 1986. She describes living in rented accommodation in Dublin,

My flat was shared with three other girls and that was tough because we could only afford to have two showers a week each. There was no heating because we couldn't afford it, there was no washing machine, we had to wash everything by hand.¹¹

The second group, people who came looking for a simpler life-style, benefitted from several factors. The drop in population in rural areas evident from 1945 to the early 1960s, due to out-migration, had resulted in many empty properties. The 1946 census shows 30,000 uninhabited properties.¹² This fact meant that, in rural areas, small amounts of land and empty derelict houses were not expensive. Dirk and Hania Flake were able to buy five acres of land for £4,000 in 1981.¹³ This group of immigrants, perhaps because they saw themselves as a kind of pioneer, were prepared to accept that they might be living without electricity and running water for some time and that they may well need to rebuild or build the accommodation they needed. 'Hans', the German man living in County Galway, described his living conditions.

I was here for the Easter holidays and I met someone who was selling this place with 4 ½ acres at a price I could afford because I had invested with a

⁹ Personal testimony; see also 'Property to let 4 bedroom house key money to Box 581 this office', *Irish Times*, 9 June 1970; 'Article on Dublin Corporation and various property wanted or to let', *Evening Echo*, 4 April 1973; '£250 key money offered', *Evening Herald* 15 May 1973.

¹⁰ Elgie Gillespie, *Irish Times*, 9 November 1973.

¹¹ Interview with 'Anna,' recorded April 2022.

¹² Uninhabited properties by province: Leinster: 10,452, Munster 10,000, Connacht 5,465 and Ulster 5231. *Census, 1946*, Volume 4 table 3., see also Mary Daly, *Sixties Ireland: Reshaping the Economy, State and Society 1957-1973* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 21, 112.

¹³ Interview with Anne Korff, recorded 8 January 2022., the average industrial wage in 1981 was £112 a week, CSO.

building society and I felt I had the money. There was a kind of ruined cottage, hardly any windows, a clay floor, no electricity no running water.¹⁴

Although he had no formal training 'Hans' rebuilt his own house by learning by doing: 'I believe if you think about things long enough you can work them out'. 'Hans' renovated the cottage and put in electricity and plumbing, scouring the local dumps for materials. 'For years I only had gas light and you just had to cope. I had a Tilly lamp'.¹⁵

Europeans who came to Ireland to farm experienced similar conditions. Helene and Dick Willems, who came from The Netherlands, also lived in a way unfamiliar to them when they first moved to Ballyvourney in 1978. As in the case of Fouéré, Helene and Dick had been living in a city with modern facilities. Damp housing was new to them.

There was a cottage on the land in which we lived for about 5 years it was very damp... upstairs in our bedroom there was a chimney breast you could see the water seeping out from the walls...the bats would fly through the roof'.¹⁶

By 1983 they were able to build their own house. This, in itself, was not without incident in that they had problems with the man who was building their house.

Then in 1983 we moved into this house. We wanted a timber frame house. There was a local teacher who had just changed his profession who said he could do it but when the building was ready for the roof he went bust...so from that time on we had to get other people in to finish the house.¹⁷

The German group who came to farm in 1983 and formed Ballybrado foods had a different experience. They decided to buy 'Ballybrado House' between the five of

¹⁴ See Josef Finke's speech to the Organic Trust in 2014, <https://ballybrado.ie>, first accessed 11 April 2021, 'Being associated to the pioneer years of this movement, was, with hindsight, a privilege. The process of finding the own organic identity brought you into contact with extraordinary people from all walks of life...What all had in common was the hunger for fundamental change.'

¹⁵ Interview with 'Hans,' recorded 5 January 2022.

¹⁶ Interview with Helene Willems, recorded 5 May 2022.

¹⁷ Interview with Helene Willems, recorded 5 May 2022.

them and shared it. This hundred-year-old mansion, originally owned by the Denny family, was in good repair.¹⁸

The relatively relaxed attitude of the planning authorities was also helpful to the European newcomers. Prior to the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act of 1963 there was no coherent planning law in Ireland.¹⁹ There had been two acts, in 1934 and 1939 respectively, which gave local authorities some planning powers, but by 1952 only seventeen out of the twenty-seven County Councils had planning departments.²⁰ People building in rural areas before 1963 could go ahead once there were no complaints about the proposed structure. Fouéré points out that in 1950, when he built his house, that there were no rules about planning if your neighbours did not complain.²¹ While the 1963 law did bring planning regulations, there was no obligation to seek planning permission if there was a structure already on your land, however old or ruined. Neither Anne Korff nor 'Hans' had problems rebuilding and extending their respective dwellings.²² The purchase of agricultural land was not a major problem for Europeans wishing to farm in Ireland. Although the intention of the 1965 Land Act had been to limit purchases of agricultural land to under five acres, Helene and Dick Willems were able to buy their sixty-seven acre farm in 1978 in Ballyvourney in West Cork without any difficulty.²³ Helene recalled: 'There were no problems really. I know there was a Land Commission at the time but either we were lucky with our solicitor...there was never a word that this is hard or whatever'.²⁴

Finding employment.

Until 1973 all European immigrants were like all non-national arrivals, except those from the UK, in that they needed a work permit. In the early days of the state, due

¹⁸ 'There is more to Life than money', *Cork Examiner*, 6 April 1985.

¹⁹ 1963, Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, No 28 of 1963; Sean O Leary, 'Cranks and Idealists: the emergence of the planning profession in local government following the Local Government (Planning and Development At 1963)' *Tom O Connor Working Paper Series*, No. 38. (Cork: Department of Government UCC, 2014), p. 4.

²⁰ O'Leary 'Cranks and Idealists,' p.6

²¹ Fouéré, *Lamaison du Connemara*, p. 180

²² Interview with 'Hans', recorded 5 January 2022.

²³ Email from Helene Willems, 11 April 2023.; for ease of foreigners buying land see Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland* (London: Profile Books, 2005) pp. 547-8..

²⁴ Interview with Helene Willems, recorded 5 May 2022.

to the high levels of unemployment, this was carefully monitored. The prospective employer had to make a case to the Department of Industry and Commerce. From 1945 onwards all naturalisation applications from employees or business owners were sent to the Department of Industry and Commerce for their comments. In the 1930s and 1940s officials of the department might make recommendations.²⁵ By the 1950s this had become more of a ritual and the referral seems to have been discontinued in the early 1960s.²⁶ The demand for work permits seems to have been more relaxed in rural areas. Fouéré was able to work for M. Samzun for many years before Ireland joined the EEC without any problem, although he was registered as an alien under an assumed name.²⁷

Once a person was naturalised as an Irish citizen they did not need a work permit. An excerpt from a letter from one applicant shows the value of being a citizen to an immigrant who wanted to work. Although this letter was written in 1938 the situation remained the same for most Europeans until 1973.

My age is 38, I have graduated as a civil engineer in Germany, speak and write in English, German, Polish, Russian and French. I have studied for some time at the University of Dublin, and have been teaching modern languages in this city for the past 4 years. I could fill a post as an engineer, secretary, interpreter, teacher a.s.o, but as long as I am not naturalised I am not

²⁵ See memo from Department of Industry and Commerce, application dated 24 October 1935, Giorgio Favila, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/ 81; letter Department of industry and Commerce, 17 February 1938, Aloyious Kuspish, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/99; letter from Department of Industry and Commerce to Justice, 17 February 1938, Frantisek Schwatschke, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/110; letter from Department of Industry and Commerce, 25 November 1937, Mario Alberici, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, 2013/50/183 .

²⁶ Quite often the memo from Department of Industry and Commerce would only say 'does not wish to offer an objection'. ; letter from Department of Industry and Commerce to Justice, 27 September 1954, Josef Veselsky, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS 2013/50/ 1664; memo Department of Industry and Commerce, 1 July 1957, Herman Hrebicek, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2011; the last naturalisation file to be referred to the Department of Industry and Commerce in this series is, Memo from Department of Industry and Commerce, 6 November 1963, Ursula and Gertrude Donath, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2377.

²⁷ Handwritten chart Department of Justice chart of Bretons in Ireland with pseudonyms on letter dated 17 January 1953, Joseph Gourlet, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS 2013/50/1300; Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, for example p. 154, p. 176, p. 179.

allowed to take up a proper and lucrative position except the work I have been doing.²⁸

Lack of naturalisation did not stop Stephen Szanto, a Hungarian immigrant who arrived in 1961, from qualifying and practising as a doctor in Meath County Hospital, but he did feel that his alien status was preventing him from obtaining a permanent position. 'Dr Szanto will want a certificate of naturalisation promptly if it is approved- so that he can apply for a permanent appointment in the hospital'.²⁹

The position for Europeans from EEC member countries and employment changed somewhat once Ireland joined the EEC in 1973. Ireland recognised the 1612/68/EEC directive which meant that EEC nationals were able to work in a member state without needing a permit. They were also entitled to claim unemployment benefit and assistance.

Article 1 Any national of a Member State shall, irrespective of his place of residence, have the right to take up an activity as an employed person, and to pursue such activity within the territory of another Member State.³⁰

Indeed all the EU nationals who were interviewed, who were not self employed, hadnot needed a work permit.³¹

Professionals from all other countries who had qualified abroad had a further barrier to getting employment in their chosen field. Many foreign professional qualifications were not recognised in Ireland. 'Gino', who arrived from Italy in 1978, was a qualified engineer, but, because this was not recognised in Ireland, he took on several lower paid factory jobs until eventually he arrived in Galway and opened a successful restaurant, a course of action he had never wanted to take.³²

The lack of recognition of qualifications was further amplified by other difficulties caused by war and the Soviet take-over of Eastern Europe. One

²⁸ Julius Schlesinger, letter to Duchy of Lancaster dated 9Aug 1938, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUSJUS, JUS/2013/50/133.

²⁹ Handwritten note, application, 3 February 1965, Stephen Francis Szanto, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, , JUS/2013/50/2530.

³⁰ 1612/68/EEC passed in 1968, articles 1,7&9. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/> Accessed 8 April 2023

³¹ That is: Hans, Anne Korff, 'Annette', 'Helga', 'Lise', Petra, 'Harry'.

³² Conversation with 'Gino', May 2023.

Hungarian refugee, Ilona Tarjan, was working in her chosen profession, that of a physiotherapist, but was unable to either be paid appropriately or to obtain a permanent position because the Hungarian authorities would not release her diploma. This situation meant that she could only be accepted as a trainee, making her position tenuous. Her employer, the National Association for Cerebral Palsy, wrote that, 'difficulty in maintaining her position here as trainee may increase'.³³ As the memo from an official in the Department of External Affairs of 3 November 1956 shows, several of the Hungarian refugees had qualifications: the memo includes seven electricians, nine lawyers and six teachers in the first group of refugees to arrive in Ireland.³⁴ Peter Laszlo, a Hungarian refugee who had been a solicitor in Hungary, could not practise in Ireland and worked in a factory.³⁵ Mutual qualifications were not recognised until 1997 when the Lisbon Recognition Convention was adopted by the EU.³⁶

Luck and contacts were also factors which helped some migrants to find work. 'Helga', who grew up in the GDR, was able to get the second job she applied for in 1985 when she and her husband came to live in Ireland. 'One of the people said to me, 'Here's a job that would suit you', which was the job I then applied for in Galway and I got'.³⁷ 'Helga' had previously applied for a position in Belfast and had been shortlisted, 'I applied for one other job, in Belfast, which was with the Worker's Education Authority I think, and I was second on the list. They gave it to someone else. I think it was an inside person who had been teaching there already'. 'Helga' was not surprised that she had been able to get a job so quickly, 'I think because I was highly qualified that it was likely that I was going to find a job'.³⁸ 'Helga's' confidence in her ability to find suitable work in Ireland was probably based on the

³³ Letter from National Association for Cerebral Palsy In Ireland, 1st February 1962, Ilona Hefferich Tarjan, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2266.

³⁴ Memo, 3 November 1956, Department of External Affairs NAI, cited by PálmaiBánki, 'Crossing Borders from Hungary to Ireland: the Cross-Cultural adaptation of Hungarian refugees from the 1940's and their Compatriots from the 1956 Hungarian revolution', PhD thesis (Dublin: Dublin City University, 2009), p. 125.

³⁵ Garda Report, 1 July 1963, Peter Laszlo, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS,, JUS/2013/50 2355.

³⁶ <https://www.enic-naric.net/page-lisbon-recognition-convention> Accessed 12 April 2023. The current situation as at Jan 2023 is that the following professionals are obliged to contact NIRAC Ireland to check if they can practise in Ireland Electricians, Teachers, Architects, Doctors, Accountants, Pharmacists, Estate agents, Gas Installers, Dental Hygienists and security Guards. <https://www.citizensinformation>, accessed April 12 2023.

³⁷ 'Interview with 'Helga,' recorded 14 February 2022, 'Helga' worked in Galway for many years.

³⁸ 'interview with 'Helga,' recorded 14 February 2022.

fact that there was a history of academics from Europe working in Ireland and that she grew up in a country where work was guaranteed if you were appropriately qualified.³⁹

The artist Anne Korff was also very skilled and fortunate. She had trained as an artist in Berlin in the early 1960s and the skills she had really helped her when she came to Ireland. At first this helped to finance living in the West of Ireland,

I had brought a fully packed dark room, an enlarger, the dishes and a camera that took black and white photographs and I flogged them in the hotels in Lahinch for £5 each... and you needed about £10 a week or less to live on.⁴⁰

Later when she moved to Dublin she worked for a small advertising agency. During this career she met a woman from the Royal Irish Academy who put her in contact with Gill and Macmillan who needed an illustrator. This work could be done remotely and enabled her to move and live in the West of Ireland. 'The pay was fantastic...that job was very good because you could do it here (in Kinvara)...and send it off when it was ready'.⁴¹

Not all immigrants were as lucky. Most people had to improvise. 'Hans' had qualified in Germany as a PE instructor but he was not able to earn his living from his qualification due to lack of opportunities. Instead he did many jobs throughout his working life,

we had a garage and I repaired lawn mowers and chain saws. I was in the local community centre as care taker...I was a diver...I worked in fish farms in Connemara... I thatched one or two houses, I did carpentry and once I worked as an electrician.⁴²

Interestingly, 'Hans' did feel that his previous working life gave him skills that were helpful to him in other ways, helping him integrate into the community.'I did keep fit classes for the VEC, and somebody saw me and asked me could I do the

³⁹ Interview with 'Helga,' recorded 14 February 2022.

⁴⁰ Interview with Anne Korff, recorded 8 January 2022.

⁴¹ Interview with Anne Korff, recorded 8 January 2022.

⁴² Interview with 'Hans,' recorded 5 January 2022.

training for the hurlers in Ardrahan and so I did the fitness training, so everybody knew me anyway'.⁴³

Being an illegal immigrant or working illegally made getting a job difficult and was also very stressful. 'Anna', a Swiss woman, came to Ireland as a very young woman. She arrived in 1986 following a half promise of working in translation, 'We sometimes had readings by authors, but this one was by a lady who translated Irish books into English, she was probably sixty-five and she said she needed a successor...I was thinking, 'wow I love writing...So I decided I really would'. 'Anna' came to Ireland and took several courses to improve her English while working as an au pair. But the job in translation did not materialise and she had to try and find work elsewhere. 'Anna's' nationality meant that she was not covered by the 1973 EEC legislation and would have needed a work permit for each job she took. She was covered as an au pair but after a bad experience in one home she was working in she moved out and was no longer legal.

In the meantime 'Anna' had also fallen in love with an Irishman, 'Of course I had fallen in love in the meantime. Yes and I needed the space. I stayed here as an illegal basically'. The result of this was that 'Anna' felt that she could not draw attention to herself, so she stayed with untraceable jobs such as childminding. At one point when she was looking for translation work she went to the German embassy, 'I ended up in the German embassy looking for jobs. They offered me a PPS number and I felt that was a bit too far'.⁴⁴ Although this would have solved her immediate problems 'Anna' was too scared to take up the offer in case the Irish government found out. The one mainstream position she did get, in a bookshop, became untenable when the owner tried to get her a work permit.

I remember in the beginning after being the au pair I got a job in a bookshop here but it was almost impossible because they had to prove that I would do the job better than any Irish citizen or EU citizen to get the work permit.⁴⁵

⁴³ Interview with 'Hans,' recorded 5 January 2022.

⁴⁴ Interview with 'Anna,' recorded April 2022.

⁴⁵ 'Anna' had done an apprenticeship as a bookseller in Switzerland.

When, later, 'Anna' married and her children were at school she did a 'post-leaving certificate course connected with the school.

They had parent courses and they gave us access to this plc course. I loved it so I applied to finish it...I had to do work experience in workshop for disabled people which I loved but you had to get Garda clearance...it asked where you had lived...I remembered where I really lived but not where I pretended to live...I was very nervous.⁴⁶

The plc course led to other work in the community, 'I worked for the School Completion Programme for a few years...but then of course the next recession came and all these jobs went'. Anna believed that at some point the law changed as she no longer had to sign on as an alien every year but she felt at that point it was too late to start a career, 'it was too late really, too much time had elapsed since I had worked to be much good for me, you know. It was difficult to find a job anyway'.⁴⁷

Starting and running a business

Many Europeans either arrived as or became entrepreneurs, whether because their qualifications were not recognised or they saw an opportunity. From 1969 onwards, Ireland was an attractive place into which to import or where to start a business. The IDA could promise a European entrepreneur: grant aid including a purpose-built factory on an industrial estate, help with Research and Development, the purchase of equipment and a fifteen year tax holiday on exports.⁴⁸ Both Lars Bjoerk, Irish Metal and Wire, and Josef Finke, Ballybrado Foods, received IDA grants.

Charles Bačík arrived in 1946, considerably before the IDA received its full powers, but his project, Waterford Glass, still received official help. Waterford Corporation gave permission for the proposed site in Ballytruckle to this unknown foreigner and the Waterford Chamber of Commerce was supportive.⁴⁹ There seem to have been no planning objections as the factory progressed and grew in size. Bačík's

⁴⁶ Interview with 'Anna,' recorded April 2022.

⁴⁷ The Bilateral Agreement of 1999 allowed Swiss citizens to live and work in EU countries EU–Switzerland mutual recognition agreement (MRA) [https://eur-lex.europa.eu › legal-content › summary](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/summary/); interview with 'Anna,' recorded April 2022.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 2.

⁴⁹ Catherine Cox, 'Charles Bačík'.

programme of taking on local men as apprentices was viewed very favourably by the local authorities and came to the attention of the Department of Justice when the Czech applied for citizenship in 1951.⁵⁰ The success of the business, Waterford Glass, seems to have been more important to the government than concern about Bacik's infringement of the Aliens Act. The discovery that he had lent two of his German employees Czech passports only resulted in a caution rather than the fine or possible imprisonment under the legislation.⁵¹

However, entrepreneurs could face problems as well as support. Irish bureaucracy nearly lost Ballybrado Foods their first growing season. When the Germans arrived in Rosslare with all their equipment in August 1983, two containers were turned back by the port authorities and sent to Le Havre where the German business accrued fees of £4,500 for port storage.⁵² The two containers held seeds for the first autumn planting and specialised equipment. The young Germans had also used all their resources to buy the farm, house and the equipment they needed to set up and so could not afford a fee of that size. There was an impasse until early October when the Minister for Transport instructed Irish Continental Lines to bring back the containers and negotiated payment of the fees by the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Department of Agriculture and the Insurance Corporation of Ireland.⁵³

Industrial action could also cost businesses time and money. At least one European company, Liebherr Cranes, experienced the problem of on-going union conflict. It is possible this was caused by a clash of working cultures. As mentioned earlier Liebherr was wary of unions and expected Irish workers to be less troublesome than English ones. His experience in Ireland was rather different to his expectations. He and his management team seem to have expected the work force to accept what the management felt was necessary for the business without

⁵⁰ Application form, 30 September 1951, Charles Bačik, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1312.

⁵¹ Section (d) Garda report, 20 December 1951, Charles Bačik, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1312.

⁵² 'German Farm Row', *Irish Press*, 1 October 1983, the Department of Agriculture inspectors said that the Germans had not complied with disinfectant regulations.

⁵³ 'Minister to Rescue of German Farmers', *Nationalist and Munster Advertiser*, 8 October 1983.

negotiation. This reaction is surprising, given the German tradition of collective bargaining. His colleague Nölke does not seem to have been well disposed towards unions and union activity either. In 1980 he was reported as saying that, 'Ireland had everything going for it...if people would get off their bottoms and there were less strikes'.⁵⁴ Later, in 1982, Nölke spoke out about increases in social welfare payments making workers lazy.⁵⁵

From the beginning the culture of the company valued getting necessary work done regardless of official hours. Brendan Griffin, recruited in 1958, remembers the ethos. 'He[the German foreman]would bring in a box of sandwiches and a couple of dozen beer and we'd work an extra hour'.⁵⁶ There were no unions at the beginning. By 1960 the plant was unionised and the the first industrial action happened in October 1960. This was solved within hours, although not without a threat of factory closure.⁵⁷

In 1961, Liebherr's Irish work force of 180 went out on strike over the dismissal of ten men. Liebherr had made a private arrangement with ten employees from the crane works that if they worked on his new hotel they would still have jobs in the crane factory when the hotel was complete. Ten other men were dismissed to make room for the ten from the hotel. The company was adamant that it had the right to dismiss workers if there was no need for them.⁵⁸ The dispute was unresolved for two weeks until Patrick MacMonagle, chairman of the Killarney Tourist Company, mediated between the two sides. The strike was settled on 17 April with the temporary loss of fourteen jobs. This was a complete victory for neither side; on the union side fourteen rather than ten jobs were lost, although with a company guarantee that the men would be reinstated if orders improved; on the other side the management had to concede that the union had a voice in redundancy issues

⁵⁴ Val Dorgan, 'Attack on trade union workers', *Cork Examiner*, 2 May 1980.

⁵⁵ 'Too much going for Nothing', *Cork Examiner*, 4 May 1982.

⁵⁶ Brendan Griffin, who started in Liebherr in 1958, *Story of Liebherr Cranes' Irish Life and Lore Podcast*.

⁵⁷ 'First strike at Factory in Killarney', *Kerryman*, 15 October 1960.

⁵⁸ *Cork Examiner*, 5 April 1961. Liebherr had given the men working on the hotel an undertaking that they would still have jobs when the hotel was finished, *Cork Examiner*, 5 April 1961.

even if the redundancies still happened.⁵⁹ There was further industrial action in October 1976, a short-lived unofficial strike over imported machine parts.⁶⁰

The most significant industrial action and certainly the longest was the strike which began in July 1981 as a work to rule over 'lay-offs' and ended as an official strike.⁶¹ Liebherr's response to the initial work to rule was to 'permanently lay-off' the workers concerned rather than negotiate. In fact the local union branch officer Patsy Cronin described the lay-off as a 'lock out'. 'Quite honestly they treated senior people with utter contempt'.⁶² The Labour Court intervened in late July and it seems that both sides accepted the ruling on the application of the national wage agreement. The Labour Court ruled that:

The Court takes the view that the Company should pay the terms of the National Agreement on Pay Policy from the due date, but in the circumstances the impact should be alleviated as far as possible. The Court therefore recommends that the arrears due should be paid on the 1st February 1982.⁶³

The issue of long-term layoffs instead of redundancies was not resolved, however and, on 30 September twenty of Liebherr's Irish staff staged a sit-in in the factory which lasted until 5 November 1981.⁶⁴ This issue was again settled by the Labour Court. The workers concerned did get redundancy payments, rather than long-term layoffs but not the six weeks per year of service the union had applied for. However the three weeks per year of service awarded by the Labour Court was better than the Liebherr offer of two weeks.⁶⁵

Despite their hostility to unions, Liebherr Cranes invested in their workers by instituting properly attested apprenticeship schemes which gave them a qualification

⁵⁹ 'Killarney Factory Strike Settled –Work Resumed', *Kerryman*, 22 April 1961.

⁶⁰ 'Liebherr Protest', *Evening Echo*, 8 October 1976.

⁶¹ *Cork Examiner* 3 July 1981; 'Liebherr Crane dispute official', *Irish Press*, 14 July 1981; 'Liebherr sit-in called off', *Cork Examiner*, 5 November 1981.

⁶² '300 hold strike at Liebherr factory in Killarney', *Irish Independent*, 20 July 2011.

⁶³ 'Liebherr Talks Today', *Cork Examiner*, 20 July 1981; Labour Court Recommendation No 6572 8 September 1981. Liebherr represented by the FUE v ITGWU.

⁶⁴ 'Sit-in at Crane Plant', *Evening Echo*, 30 September 1981; 'Liebherr sit-in called off', *Cork Examiner*, 5 November 1981.

1.

⁶⁵ Labour Court recommendation 6852, 22 January 1982.

which would be recognised outside of the factory. Workers also stayed with them. One of the men involved in the 'sit-in' had been in the company since 1958.⁶⁶ Pat Cronin, the local ITGWU official was critical of Liebherr's lack of adherence to Labour Court recommendations but counselled against picketing the Liebherr hotels during the 1981 strike.⁶⁷ The workers themselves, while seeing the union as their way of redressing grievances, were not impetuous. They were willing for example to abandon their 'sit-in' to facilitate the Labour Court. The history could best be described as a clash of cultures between people who recognised the need for unions as a way of settling issues and those who did not. Liebherr Cranes continued to have union problems into the twenty-first century.⁶⁸

Gender Roles and Childcare

For some European immigrant women, working outside the home felt like a right. 'Annette' had grown up in France with the idea that women worked, even after they were married, 'I was floored. This was 1976 and no matter what the economics were, working for women was a given in European societies'.⁶⁹ This perception was certainly true for France. State-funded crèches had been available in France since the end of World War II.⁷⁰ From 1962 to 1990 the number of mothers working in France rose by 34% in 1962 for women with one child and by 40% for women with two children.⁷¹ By 1987, 32% of children under two and 95% of three-five year old children in France were in publically funded childcare.⁷² Eastern bloc countries also had good state-funded childcare provision.⁷³ In the GDR 80% of the under three

⁶⁶ Mike O Mahony, 'Factory sit-in protestors want their jobs back', *Kerryman*, 16 October 1981.

⁶⁷ 'Pickets Placed on Factory', *Evening Echo*, 14 July 1981.

⁶⁸ William K Roche, case study Liebherr Cranes, 'The emergence of a dual system of dispute resolution: private facilitation in Irish industrial relations', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 46:4, 2015, Appendix Table A1, pp. 309-310.

⁶⁹ Interview with 'Annette,' recorded 20 April 2022.

⁷⁰ 'Early Childhood, Education and Care Provision: International Review of Policy, Delivery and Funding', *Health and Social Care*, (Government of Scotland, 2013) Section 8:2.

⁷¹ Figures from INSEE Recensement de la population (1990) cited by Beatrice Muller-Escoda and Ulla Vogt 'France the institution of plurality', in Kaufmann, Kuijsten, Schulze and Stromen eds. *Family Life and Policies in Europe Vol. 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 63.

⁷² Janet C Gormick et al, 'Supporting the Employment of Mothers: Policy Variation Across Fourteen Welfare States', *Journal of European Social Policy*, 1997, Vol. 7 (1), p.56.

⁷³ Hartmundt Wendt, 'The Former German Democratic Republic: the Standardized Family', trans. F. Dasko in Kaufmann et al. eds., *Family Life and Family Policies in Europe Vol.1* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1997) p. 114

year olds and all children from three-six were covered by this service.⁷⁴ The emphasis, at least in the GDR, was on families having a large number of children but both partners working.⁷⁵ Families with more than three children had several privileges including priority for childcare facilities, free school meals and summer camps.⁷⁶

This was not the case in Ireland. From 1945 to 1973 there was a legal marriage bar in the civil service meaning that women who had worked in the public service had to give up their jobs on marriage. Culturally there was a strong emphasis on married women remaining in the home, partly informed by *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XI's encyclical from 1931, which stressed the importance of a living wage for men so that they could support their families.⁷⁷ The post-war period also saw high levels of male unemployment which made the idea of married women working unpopular.

Although the marriage bar had gone in both the public service and private enterprise by 1973 and 1975, respectively, not much had changed in childcare provision by the late 1970s. The first state-run preschool had opened in 1969 in Rutland Street in Dublin, but state aid for pre-school education did not really develop until the late 1980s and early 1990s.⁷⁸ Childminding was unregulated and largely done by relatives.⁷⁹ Prejudice against married women working still remained. 'Annette's' neighbour was shocked in 1976 to find that the family were employing a childminder and asked her, 'do you have to work?'⁸⁰

'Helga', who came to Ireland from the GDR, was able to get a well-paid job so her husband looked after their children.⁸¹ Not all European women had the expectations of a French or GDR national regarding childcare. Facilities varied

⁷⁴ Wendt, 'The Former German Democratic Republic: the Standardized Family', trans. F. Dasko p. 114

⁷⁵ Wendt, 'The Former German Democratic Republic: the Standardized Family', p. 115

⁷⁶ Wendt, 'The Former German Democratic Republic: the Standardized Family', p. 129.

⁷⁷ Pius XI *Quadragesimo Anno* 15 May 1931 https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19310515_quadragesimo-anno.html, accessed 15 May 2023

⁷⁸ 'Historical Development of the ECEC sector in Ireland <https://www.gillmacmillan.ie>, for Rutland Street see p. 4 and for development see p.1 , accessed 13 May 2023.

⁷⁹ 'Historical development' p.2 regulation of ECEC services did not come until 1997.

⁸⁰ Interview with 'Annette,' recorded 20 April 2022.

⁸¹ Interview with 'Helga,' recorded 14 February 2022.

throughout Europe. The Federal Republic of Germany had no nation-wide guaranteed childcare in 1987, although 2% of zero- to two-year-olds and 78% three- to five-year-olds were in publicly funded facilities, while Denmark, Germany and Italy had no tax relief for money spent on child-care.⁸² Most couples improvised. 'Lise', a Dutch single mother living in rural South Galway found it difficult to find someone to look after her four-year-old son when she got a job in Galway for three or four days a week. She and her neighbours, a couple with two small children, decided to try joint child-care, each adult looking after all three children for two days each week. This arrangement worked until 'Lise' moved house three years later.⁸³

Some couples used *au pairs*. This system had been in place for many years. When Fouéré and his wife, French citizens, first arrived in Dublin in 1946, childcare was difficult to find.⁸⁴ The couple had to resort to French *au pairs* whom Yann was helping place in Irish families and he was not enthusiastic about their expertise: 'they were mostly French *au pairs* who seemed to be unable to perform even simple tasks'.⁸⁵ Not everyone could afford an *au pair*. Petra, a Dutch woman married to an Irishman, felt very isolated in Dublin when her first child was born.⁸⁶ She was used to a very busy life when she first came to Dublin, upgrading her Dutch qualifications and working in a laundry with working-class women. Now she was isolated with a small baby, her mother-in-law was ill and it was too expensive to go to her parents in the Netherlands. 'I remember feeling so lonely. I used to say this house is a prison. I tried putting up ads in a shop that I wanted to do a swap with other mothers, to share babysitting, but no-one replied. I didn't know where to start'.⁸⁷

Encounters with Ireland's School System

Once children were school age, education was an issue. From the foundation of the state the Irish education system was principally denominational and, at secondary

⁸² Janet C Gormick et al, 'Supporting the Employment of Mothers: Policy Variation Across Fourteen Welfare States', *Journal of European Social Policy*, 1997, Vol. 7 (1), p. 56.

⁸³ Interview with 'Lise,' recorded 27 April 2022.

⁸⁴ Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, p.127

⁸⁵ Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, p. 127

⁸⁶ Interview with Petra, recorded 27 April 2022.

⁸⁷ Interview with Petra, recorded 27 April 2022, it cost the family £1000 in air fares to go to The Netherlands when their second child was just over 2. (Interview with Petra recorded 27 April 2022).

level, gendered. At primary level the national school system, inherited from the time of British rule, was based on local patrons applying to run a school and, given that in 1922 the majority of the population, 2,751,269 out of a population of 2,971,992, was Catholic, the obvious local patron would be the Catholic church.⁸⁸ There was a small proportion of non-Catholic, mostly Church of Ireland, sponsors based on Church of Ireland parishes. Second-level education was divided into vocational schools, first set up in 1930, which were mixed and secondary schools largely run by religious orders and gendered.⁸⁹ Up until the Free Education scheme of 1967, secondary education was fee-paying.⁹⁰

The dominance of the Catholic ethos was an advantage for many European migrants. The majority of Italians from Casalattico were Catholics and so felt more comfortable in Ireland than in England.⁹¹ Fouéré, a Catholic by conviction, was enthusiastic about the standard of education offered to his older children in Ireland. The St Vincent de Paul Society had organised free places for them in Dublin and later in County Kerry. Fouéré also respected the Benedictine ethos in Glenstal Abbey boarding school where he taught for some months.⁹² He, however, did point out that the Irish students did not enjoy thinking critically and were not used to dealing with abstractions in the way that French students were.⁹³ Michel Déon, the French writer, also admired the Irish educational system. Although Déon joked that his son was occasionally locked in a cupboard, one's overall impression is that Déon approved of the discipline in the local school.⁹⁴

Some continental immigrants, however, were uncomfortable sending their children to local schools, due to the Catholic influence. 'Annette' had grown up in France where mainstream education was secular and so when their daughter was primary school age, 'Annette' and her husband decided to send their children to the

⁸⁸ *Census of the Population of Ireland, 1926*, Vol. 3 (Dublin: Stationary Office, 1929), Table 1A.

⁸⁹ The Vocational Education Act 1930 No. 6 of 1930

⁹⁰ *SE debates* 9 February 1967 Vol. 62 No.11.

⁹¹ Tropiano, *Chippers* (2008).

⁹² Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, for his religious convictions see p. 27, for his gratitude to the St Vincent de Paul Society, see p.90 and for his experience in Glenstal Abbey, see pp. 153-4.

⁹³ Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, p.145.

⁹⁴ Déon, *Horseman pass by*, p. 15.

local Church of Ireland primary school because of its tolerant ethos.⁹⁵ Neither of their children was baptised and 'Annette' did not want them to feel excluded from the religious side of the local Catholic-orientated national schools, 'Excluding a child from the activities of the school is a negative in my book anyway but it was also the ethos behind it, that you have to conform'.⁹⁶ The Church of Ireland school was a small school and the children were happy there. However, when the family came back from a stay the United States in 1986 they had a further problem. Their daughter was now of secondary school age. All the secondary schools in Galway had a Catholic ethos and none of them were mixed. Therefore 'Annette' and her husband felt that their only choice was to send their children to a Quaker boarding school in Waterford. This decision involved a long journey, but 'Annette' felt that the children had a good experience in the boarding school and she felt that it helped them learn to think for themselves.⁹⁷

Other immigrants, who shared such reservations about Catholic schools, found them in practice less problematic. 'Helga' who had grown up in the GDR, and her Irish husband, also a communist, were like 'Annette' and her husband, concerned about the ethos of the local national schools. 'I felt very strongly about them [her children] not being indoctrinated...my husband more strongly than me'. 'Helga' and her husband sent their children to a Catholic school nonetheless but it was a *gaelscoil*.⁹⁸ 'Helga' felt that this was a good decision in that the children became fluent Irish speakers and were never pressurised into joining in any religious activities.⁹⁹ Although 'Anna', a Swiss woman who had married an Irishman in 1989, had grown up in a secular household and had married into a Dublin Protestant family she sent her children to a local Catholic primary school. Her children participated in the religion classes, including the preparation for first communion,

I suppose the Catholic priest wasn't too happy. He was trying to get, 'his', kids to go to church on Sundays. Part of this was Bible quizzes and of course the team of the 'others' [non-Catholics] always won. Not because we did any

⁹⁵ Interview with 'Annette,' recorded 20 April 2022.

⁹⁶ Interview with 'Annette,' recorded 20 April 2022.

⁹⁷ Interview with 'Annette,' recorded 20 April 2022.

⁹⁸ A *gaelscoil* is a national school where Irish is the first language and everything is taught through Irish.

⁹⁹ Interview with 'Helga,' recorded 14 February 2022.

religion at home but maybe they listened more because they didn't have to. He always gave them money [as a prize] so he got fed-up.¹⁰⁰

'Anna's' children did not make their communion and while the others were at church 'Anna' supervised her own and the other children who weren't Catholics. When she was in fifth class 'Anna's' younger daughter transferred to Newpark, a Protestant school. This experience really helped her daughter who was finding it hard to cope in the DEIS school where she was being teased for being quite middle-class. The DEIS (Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools) schools were an initiative of the Department of Education to give schools in vulnerable areas more resources. 'Anna', however, did not find the same sense of community she had experienced in the local DEIS school. 'When my daughter switched to the other school I thought I should do something there but it was so different. It was dead, there was a real clique...so that put me off and I never really made friends in that school'.¹⁰¹

Integrating into Irish society

Not all immigrants were equally welcome. As part of his work on prejudice in Ireland, the sociologist MichéalMacGréil organised just over 2,000 interviews with Dubliners from different income groups in the late 1960s.¹⁰² The interviewees were asked to rate how close they felt to different groups. Part of McGreil's research results was the production of a Bogardus table which showed how people felt about each category. The chart showed different degrees of connection ranging from admitting someone to your family to feeling they should be expelled from the country. The extract below shows that Dubliners were reasonably happy to accept some European nationalities into their family, with a slight preference for French people over German, Italian and Spanish. It is noticeable that Russians were less acceptable than other Europeans as in-laws or friends probably due to the mistrust of communists. Communists in fact score lower than Irish travellers and, given the general level of prejudice against travellers, at this time, the response is telling.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with 'Anna,' recorded April 2022.

¹⁰¹ Interview with 'Anna,' recorded April 2022.

¹⁰² MichéalMacGréil was a Jesuit sociologist who 'helped usher in a more progressive Ireland' Obituary *Irish Times* 4 February 2023; MichéalMacGréil, *Prejudice and Toleration in Ireland* (Dublin: Research Station, College of Industrial Relations, 1977).

Communists are the only group that a large amount of people interviewed wanted expelled, 27.2%, as opposed to most of the other categories where the percentage was under 5. It is also interesting to note that Africans score lowest of all as in-laws or friends. However fewer people wanted them expelled than they did communists and the interviewees were happy to have Africans as friends. So Dubliners at any rate were quite happy to live next door to Europeans, accept them into their families and socialise with them, with the proviso there might be some anti-communist feeling.

| Category | kinship | friendship | Neighbour | Co-worker | Citizen | Visitor | expel |
|---------------------------|---------|------------|-----------|-----------|---------|---------|-------|
| Africans | 21.5 | 36.9 | 12.7 | 7.4 | 5.7 | 12 | 3.8 |
| Asians | 25.6 | 33.5 | 13.1 | 6.1 | 4.7 | 12.7 | 4.4 |
| Itinerants ¹⁰³ | 29 | 22.1 | 13.2 | 11.2 | 17.9 | 2.8 | 3.8 |
| Communists | 22.9 | 18.4 | 11.5 | 4.7 | 6.6 | 8.8 | 27.2 |
| French | 74.1 | 13.6 | 4.7 | 1.4 | 1.7 | 3.8 | 0.7 |
| Germans | 69.7 | 13 | 5.1 | 2.0 | 2.8 | 5.6 | 2.0 |
| Swedes | 67.8 | 14.4 | 5.4 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 6.2 | 1.6 |
| Spaniards | 66.5 | 15 | 5.3 | 2.2 | 2.8 | 6.4 | 1.8 |
| Italians | 62.2 | 17.1 | 5.5 | 3.2 | 2.9 | 6.3 | 2.7 |
| Russians | 50.8 | 16.8 | 8.4 | 3.1 | 3.7 | 9.9 | 7.3 |

All figures are percentages.¹⁰⁴

Chart 4. extract from Bogardus Table.

In fact, Irish people had, historically, showed great generosity towards Europeans coming into the country. In the immediate aftermath of the war, in 1946, Irish people opened their homes via the Red Cross scheme 'Operation Shamrock' to 500 German children for periods up to five years for rest and recuperation. Herbert Rimmel described this much later as the, 'best 3 years of his childhood'.¹⁰⁵ The initial response to the Hungarian refugees after the Soviet invasion of 1956 was also generous. For a poor country the £724,250 raised for their upkeep was impressive.¹⁰⁶ This would be worth €21 million in today's terms. Crowds of people

¹⁰³ This was the term used for Irish Travellers in the late twentieth century.

¹⁰⁴ Figures are extracted from MacGréil *Prejudice and Toleration in Ireland*, pp. 232, 233.

¹⁰⁵ Rimmel, *From Cologne to Ballinlough*, p.3.

¹⁰⁶ *Irish Press*, 17 November 1956.

came to Shannon airport to welcome them in September 1956 and many people gave individual gifts.¹⁰⁷

There are a few examples where the local attitude was unwelcoming. When the German fisherman Rainer Krause came to Kinvara with his boat in 1964, he was not met with a welcome because he wanted to fish in a more traditional way.¹⁰⁸ Fishing was a marginal occupation in the 1960s and the local fishermen were possibly anxious that their livings were threatened. He was called 'The German' and local fishermen resented him. Rainer recalls head to head confrontations out in the bay over fishing rights, 'You have to stand your place. There would be certain people who would say this is my fish. I was an outsider'.¹⁰⁹ However Rainer did settle in Kinvara, reared a family with his wife Mary, an Irish woman he met as a young man, and continued to fish out of Kinvara until he was forced to retire through ill-health. He died in 2024.¹¹⁰

At the same time, the 1960s, there were some grass roots actions against foreign investors buying land in Ireland, particularly agricultural land.¹¹¹ There was still residual bad feeling about Europeans buying land in 1985. Although the initial response to Josef Finke and his group buying Ballybrado House and the surrounding land was positive in 1983, when another local farm was sold in 1985 Josef Finke and his partners received concerned and angry phone calls that the land in question had been sold to them.¹¹² The hostility in both cases could be seen as rooted in concerns that livelihoods were at stake or seen to be threatened. In the second case land had been a sensitive issue since the formation of the state and so the perception that wealthy foreigners were buying up all the available land caused hostility. The 1965 Land Act was brought in to silence the opposition, but the issue only died out

¹⁰⁷ *Irish Press*, 17 November & 26 November 1956.

¹⁰⁸ Chris Sweeney, 'The German' <https://vimeo.com/140458869?ref=fb-v-share&fbclid=IwAR2Dyo6ng8TjB9ZfHrCDacOOp7aUhZrdRD2c0wKGFgXtrhrwDMtLbCOBE#>, accessed April 2022.

¹⁰⁹ Chris Sweeney, 'The German'.

¹¹⁰ Lorna Siggins, 'Obituary: Rainer Krause: shellfish farming pioneer who had a deep love for his community in south Galway,' *Irish Independent*, 9 June 2024.

¹¹¹ See chapter 1.

¹¹² 'Germans worried by phone calls', *Nationalist and Munster Advertiser*, 23 February 1985.

nationally in the 1970s and as in the case of Josef Finke was still a problem in the 1980s in rural County Tipperary.

Many Europeans settled in rural areas. Irish rural life is often seen to be fairly closed to strangers and inward-looking. Blow-in is a term that has been used quite frequently since the 1970s to describe people from outside the community and it has also been used interchangeably with 'hippy'. However the term does not seem to have been used to describe European immigrants.¹¹³ The only apparent occasion of the term being definitely used to denote a person from outside the country as opposed just from another part of Ireland is by Liam Cosgrave in 1977 at the Fine Gael Ard Fheis when he castigated a journalist from the UK.

And remember those people who comment so freely and write so freely...some of them aren't even Irish...no doubt many of you are familiar with an expression in some parts of the country where an outsider is described as a blow-in. Some of these are blow-ins. Now as far as we're concerned they can blow out or blow up.¹¹⁴

Did the Europeans themselves feel welcomed? This varied greatly on the circumstances of their coming. Herbert Rimmel talks about the kindness shown to him and the other Operation Shamrock children and kindness is a theme echoed by most of the Europeans.¹¹⁵ In his oral history interview, 'Hans', a German man living in Co Galway and now in his seventies, described the kindness of his neighbours. It was his first Christmas. He had bought a ruined cottage and some land. He was basically living on a building site and he became ill. He was rescued by his neighbours who brought him cake and hot food.¹¹⁶ Anne Korff, the artist would not have survived her first trip to Ireland, in the early 1960s without the 'kindness of

¹¹³ The term 'blow-in' is in fact quite old. It was first used in the *Monaghan Argus* in 1951. 'So this is Monaghan (being the Random Observations of a Newcomer), *Monaghan Argus*, 14 July 1951. The word may have been used colloquially before 1951 as the Oxford English Dictionary lists it as being used in 1908 to describe settlers in Australia. There were many instances of the use of the term, usually meaning a person not born in the locality. In some cases it was used humorously, a Ballincollig team called themselves 'the blow-ins' for example. *Cork Examiner* 8 July 1982. Occasionally, 'blow-in' was used as a term of abuse, *Evening Echo* 5 June 1981.

¹¹⁴ Liam Cosgrave, Fine Gael Ard Fheis 1977, *Sunday Independent*, 22 May 1977, and *Irish Times*, 24 May 1977.

¹¹⁵ Rimmel, *From Cologne to Ballinlough*, pp.74, 96-98.

¹¹⁶ Interview with 'Hans,' recorded 5 January 2022.

strangers', often in remote areas, who gave her food and places to stay when she ran out of money.¹¹⁷

However Ireland throughout this period, particularly in rural areas, was a family orientated culture. An immigrant might settle in an area and be accepted maybe even be helped and themselves give help at times. But he/she would be an acquaintance, 'You would have to live here for 50 years to be from Kinvara'.¹¹⁸ This was not really an issue, if, like Helene and Dirk Willems, the West Cork Cheesemakers, you arrived as part of a couple and stayed that way.¹¹⁹ As a couple with children they brought their own community with them and were not likely to be lonely. But many couples did not stay together. Three out of the six couples I contacted had split up once the children had left home.¹²⁰ What if, then, your partner is the reason for coming to Ireland? For these there was a strong risk of isolation if the relationship failed. The threat of loneliness was of course partly exacerbated by the lack of large co-national communities to whom one might turn in difficulty. Anne Korff and 'Harry', wondered what would happen to them as they aged when more support might be needed. With its multi-generational structure the Italian community was, of course, an exception to this.¹²¹

Some European immigrants took an active role into becoming integrated Irish society: becoming a citizen, marrying a local, making commercial contacts and learning the language. Others chose to remain at a remove, particularly where they had access to a small community of their own nationality.

The naturalisation records of some applicants show the integration process at work. Jacques Lavaud, a French citizen, was invited to Ireland to join the R  orchestra in 1956 as a double bass player. Although Lavaud had differences with

¹¹⁷ Interview with Anne Korff, recorded 8 January 2022.

¹¹⁸ 'Chris Sweeney, 'The German.'

¹¹⁹ Interview with Helene Willems, recorded 5 May 2022.

¹²⁰ In conversation with Dirk and Hania F, Annelies and Harry Bartelink, Hugo and Esther Zyderlaan. December 2022.

¹²¹ Tropiano, *Chippers*, 2008. Many people used the wealth created by their businesses to buy property in their homeplace and retired there.

Tibor Paul, the conductor, about his style of playing, he chose to stay.¹²² In 1964 Lavaud applied for himself, his wife and son to be citizens. His son François had stayed within French citizenship law by doing his military service but was now at NCAD and wanted to stay in Ireland. Finally in 1966 Lavaud applied for his son's wife, Denise Lavaud, a Tunisian woman, to become an Irish citizen.¹²³ For this family, the progression of their applications shows that they were happy to be part of the Irish community.

Friendships and social connections that the applicant had made and how he or she was regarded by the community are indicated by the people they picked as the three referees. According to the naturalisation legislation, from 1935 onwards a person had to be an Irish citizen to act as referee. The people asked to be referees by applicants give some indications as to how many Irish citizens the person applying knew and from what social background.

The experience of fifty-seven Italian immigrants who all came from the small hilltop town of Casalattico were an example for how integration might progress over time. It is clear from the choice of referees that they knew Irish people well enough to ask them for this favour. The pattern seems to have been that up to 1951 applications from this community used entirely Irish-born referees with Irish names.¹²⁴ The referees ranged from local publicans to grocers and greengrocers along with one or two bank managers. After this time almost all the Casalattico-born applicants used one naturalised person from Casalattico and two Irish-born people as referees.¹²⁵ There were exceptions. Rocco and Antonio Matassa were a father and son from Casalattico. Although Rocco had originally come to Ireland in 1921 with his

¹²² Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p. 444.

¹²³ Application 18 August 1964, Jacques Lavaud, his wife and son 19 October 1966, his son's wife, Jacques Lavaud, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2518.

¹²⁴ Some examples are. Application, referees were a tram inspector, a chemist and a tobacconist, 13 July 1939, Alberto Cafolla, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50 /418.; application, referees were a butcher, a grocer and a pawn broker, 30 January 1946, Laurino Salveta, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/710; application, referees were a radio dealer, manufacturer's agent and a person who owned a stationery shop, 10 September 1947, Francis and Anna Malocca, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/911.

¹²⁵ Referees: the two native Irish referees were a grocer and a chemist the naturalised Italian a cafe proprietor 9 August 1951, Iolanda Salveta, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1275.; referee the native Irish were a bank manager and a Catholic curate, the naturalised Italian the owner of the Pillar icecream parlour, 23 April 1954, Dominico Filangi, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1626.

parents and Antonio had lived here since the late 1940s all three of their referees: Pacifico Fusco, Stanislaw Salveto and Benedetto Forte are naturalised people from Casalattico.¹²⁶ This suggests that for the Matassa family social interaction was much more within their own community than with their Irish neighbours.¹²⁷

Some immigrants who sought citizenship obviously still felt marginal to Irish society at the time of their application. Janos and Anna Lehota, refugees from Hungary who had spent a year in the Knockalisheen camp, named Red Cross officials, Geraldine Fogarty, an associate, and Major General Sweeney, the General Secretary of the Red Cross, as two out of the their three referees.¹²⁸ While both were working at this point - Anna ran a small dressmaking business and Janos worked for the ESB, who thought highly of him - they did not feel able to ask for this service from Irish people outside of the Red Cross.¹²⁹ Both Anna and Janos subsequently became well integrated into Irish society.¹³⁰ Marriage to an Irish person, as in other instances, made getting Irish referees easier. Captain Michel Popoff, a Russian native from Odessa, who married an Irish landowner had a district court judge, a country registrar and doctor as his referees for example.¹³¹

Naturalisation of itself however did not automatically confer integration. A Danish man, Hans Jorgensen, who had lived in Ireland for ten years and had been naturalised in 1946, wrote rather wistfully to the Department of Justice in 1950.

In 1946 a certificate of naturalisation was issued to me. I should be glad if you, at your convenience would let me know if this gives me the same

¹²⁶ Pacifico Fusco, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/697. Stanislaw Salveto, naturalisation application file. NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/710. Benedetto Forte, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/764. Antonio Matassa, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1600. Rocco Matassa, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1601.

¹²⁷ This may have been connected with a part of Rocco's past. In 1938 while he was in Ireland and his family were still in Casalattico he had an affair with Margaret Reid. The couple went to Scotland, Margaret's mother forced her to return to Ireland and Rocco was extradited on his return. It was 1947 before the Irish government would let him come back. Justice Summary, 10 October 1954, Rocco Matassa, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1601.

¹²⁸ Application, 12 February 1962, Referees, Anna and Janos Lehota, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2277.

¹²⁹ Letter from the ESB to the Department of Industry and Commerce, Anna and Janos Lehota, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2277.

¹³⁰ Sheridan, *Suitable Strangers*, p. 52.

¹³¹ Application form, referees, 23 January 1936, Michel Popoff, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/105.

standing in the community as a person born in the country or am I still to be regarded as a foreigner! I have in some cases met with some doubt in the question and should be grateful if you would settle it for me.¹³²

The act of marrying and rearing an Irish family connected some immigrants with the Irish community, at first via the spouse's family and then through the social activities of their children. The importance of this connection is borne out by both Bauer and Hegarty's research. Hegarty's makes the assertion that having a family is a key factor involved in integration and this is borne out by the fact that migrants who are described by other migrants as being 'local now' are often people who had children who still live in the locality.¹³³ This is particularly true she argues of migrants who have married Irish people.¹³⁴ In both studies, in fact, the people who integrated best were those married to Irish people.¹³⁵

One would imagine that marrying into an Irish family would have brought automatic integration for the immigrant concerned and indeed none of the eight interviewees who had Irish partners experienced hostility from their Irish in-laws at least initially. More positively Petra felt that being part of a large, political family in Dublin helped her settle in Ireland. 'My husband's family were a big thing for me they were very welcoming'.¹³⁶ For Johann the local knowledge and contacts provided by his partner helped him navigate Galway. Johann met the people he was to work with for the rest of his first stay in Ireland through his partner.¹³⁷

Hegarty observes that earning a living is a key factor involved in integration, and like the immigrants who 'married in', they were described as 'local now' by her interviewees. This was particularly true in the case of the West Cork artists who were seen as successful in making a living and so made an important contribution to

¹³² Letter to Dept of Justice, 9 October 1950, Hans Jorgensen, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/ 622.

¹³³ Hegarty, 'A Geographical analysis of the socio-cultural interface between the locals and the incomers in West Cork', pp. 63-64.

¹³⁴ Hegarty, 'A Geographical analysis of the social and cultural interface between the locals and the incomers in West Cork,' p. 66.

¹³⁵ Bauer, 'Recent foreign immigration to Ireland,' p. 101.

¹³⁶ Interview with Petra, recorded 27 April 2022.

¹³⁷ Interview with 'Harry,' recorded 25 July 2022.

the area.¹³⁸ For the four people who deliberately chose Ireland it was a question of finding a niche for themselves, which took time. For Anne Korff, 'Hans' and Nutan, this space was self-made; all three had skills which their communities found useful in different ways. Once in the West of Ireland Anne felt that the fresh eyes she and other immigrants brought to the community were much appreciated. 'Whatever you did, in general, people said, 'do it', it's fresh blood coming in so to speak'.¹³⁹ She also saw a gap in the products available to the local tourism industry and started producing well-researched hand drawn maps with a local writer.¹⁴⁰ 'Hans' is not an artist but a highly skilled handy man who helped local people by mending equipment. 'Hans' also donated time to the community by using his skills as a physical education instructor to help the local GAA team.¹⁴¹ His process of integration from feeling an affinity with Ireland from visits as a student, to buying a cottage and land in East Galway, becoming gradually seen as useful by the community he lived in. Finally when his house accidentally burnt down neighbours fundraised to help him rebuild.¹⁴² Similarly, 'Lise' built her niche by becoming active in the local community particularly on environmental issues.¹⁴³

Times of trouble revealed how well or how little a person or family were integrated into the community. Yarrow Bartelink came from a family that would have been seen as very 'alternative' by the local community in Poulcoin, Co Clare. His mother and father, who came from The Netherlands in the early 1970s, had bought rough mountainous land in the high Burren and farmed in what would have been seen as an old-fashioned way. They used a cart-horse for ploughing, grew their own organic vegetables and Annelies made goats cheese which she sold in the local area. When his father left, Yarrow developed the herd of goats and modernised the farm. He also worked for local farmers and made a place for himself in the rural community. When Yarrow died in a farm accident on 12 July 2020, the response of

¹³⁸ Hegarty, 'A Geographical analysis of the socio-cultural interface between the locals and the incomers in West Cork,' pp. 63-64.

¹³⁹ Interview with Anne Korff, recorded 8 February 2022.

¹⁴⁰ Anne Korff and Jeff O Connell, *Map series* (Kinvara: Tir Eolas, 1985 to date). The first map was of Kinvara and its environs.

¹⁴¹ Interview with 'Hans,' recorded 5 January 2022.

¹⁴² Interview with 'Hans,' recorded 5 January 2022; a conversation with Howard König a friend of 'Hans.'

¹⁴³ Interview with 'Lise,' recorded 27 April 2022.

his neighbours, a succession of local farmers carried his coffin down a precipitous farm track to his home, seems a significant indicator of the family's status in the community.¹⁴⁴

The Irish way of life, throughout this period, 1945-1990, particularly in a rural area, included an emphasis on attending funerals even when the deceased was not known to one intimately. Some of Hegarty's respondents, interviewed in the early 1990s regarded funerals as 'a fuss. It is dreadful' while others could see the importance of funeral ritual to the local community but would not go because they felt awkward.¹⁴⁵ A local, however, who was interviewed, felt that incomers, as a group, did not go to funerals and this set them apart.¹⁴⁶ Hegarty points out that the local people would not explain to incomers what the local mores were, but nevertheless still did condemn them for offending local sensibilities by not attending funerals.¹⁴⁷

Not every immigrant wished to integrate. Many of the Italian community from Casalattico married within their own community and liked to keep their language, using it as their first language at home.¹⁴⁸ When examining the question of integration in West Cork, Bauer found two groups. One group made an effort towards integration, while the second decided that integration was not a priority.¹⁴⁹ Bauer describes the first group as mostly employed by German multinationals as employees or managers. This group had good English and were involved in community activities.¹⁵⁰ The second group were almost all retired, 'these are generally over 60 and tend to be quite inflexible, usually avoiding any close contact with 'the Locals' other than shopping and hired help and make little effort to get to know the Irish way of life'.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Personal knowledge; Yarrow Bartelink RIP.ie July 15 2020, accessed .January 2024; conversation with 2 local farmers at the wake while waiting for the coffin to arrive.

¹⁴⁵ Hegarty, 'A Geographical analysis of the socio-cultural interface,' p. 120-121.

¹⁴⁶ Hegarty, 'A Geographical analysis of the socio-cultural interface,' p. 121.

¹⁴⁷ Hegarty, 'A Geographical analysis of the socio-cultural interface,' p.122.

¹⁴⁸ One of the couples interviewed in 'Chippers' did use English at home this could have been because the wife was Irish.

¹⁴⁹ Bauer, 'Recent foreign immigration to Ireland,' p. 101.

¹⁵⁰ Bauer, 'Recent foreign immigration to Ireland,' p. 116.

¹⁵¹ Bauer, 'Recent foreign immigration to Ireland,' p. 101.

This position was exacerbated by the issue of language. Few of the German retirees speak any English and few local people speak German.¹⁵² Learning the language of your receiving country is often seen as one of the key steps to integration. Language was an issue that both Bauer and Hegarty addressed in their work, showing how some immigrants made a virtue of not learning English (for Bauer the retired community), while others, particularly the German wives of men who were working, felt their lack of English held them back.¹⁵³ However, all of the immigrants interviewed for this study were able to communicate well in English and didn't see language as a problem even for the three families who spoke their native tongue at home ('Helga', Helene Willems and Norbert Illien).¹⁵⁴ 'Hans' daughter, however, felt like an outsider when she first started school and he thought that this was a question of language, 'I think she did[feel isolated], it was when she started school because we were speaking German at home, she started school and with little or no English, 'although 'Hans' added that she learnt English within a few weeks.¹⁵⁵ Hugo Hamilton's book *The Speckled People* explores among other issues how language can divide as well as unite people.¹⁵⁶ Hamilton's father was involved with an Irish language group which produced the newspaper, *Aiséirí* and he insisted that only Irish or German could be spoken in the family home.¹⁵⁷ Hugo Hamilton expresses poignantly the issues that 'language wars' can pose in his description of his mother's efforts to sell imported German gifts door to door one Christmas.. Hamilton describes his mother feeling that she had no name anymore because the Irish name her husband insisted she use was too difficult for most people to manage.¹⁵⁸

Belonging

In the words of Guibernau, 'Belonging is a personal experience that connects us with others who we consider close to and familiar with our own way of living in the

¹⁵² Bauer, 'Recent foreign immigration to Ireland,' p. 101.

¹⁵³ Bauer, 'Recent foreign immigration to Ireland,' p. 133.

¹⁵⁴ 'Helga' it would be Irish and German, Helene Willems Dutch and Norbert Illien German.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with 'Hans,' recorded 5 Jan 2022.

¹⁵⁶ Hamilton, *The Speckled People*, The whole book explores language but particularly p. 30. Hamilton grew up in Dublin in a family where only German or Irish could be spoken in the home. His mother was German.

¹⁵⁷ Hamilton, *The Speckled People*, p. 116.

¹⁵⁸ Hamilton, *The Speckled People*, pp. 110-111.

world'.¹⁵⁹ Guibernau's use of the word personal, emphasises that the emotion is measurable only to the individual experiencing it or its reverse.¹⁶⁰ Belonging is essentially a subjective emotion. The study of belonging is recent and seems to begin in 1995 with Baumeister and Leary's article for the *Psychological Bulletin*.¹⁶¹ Montserrat Guibernau has addressed belonging in a historical context and sees it changing over time.¹⁶² 'Throughout history the limits of belonging have changed and they continue to do so. It is important to remember that peoples make borders and that nations are not eternal. This is the European reality going back centuries.'¹⁶³

Some interviewees and other subjects felt they were at home in Ireland. 'Lise' felt at home in Ireland almost immediately on her first trip in the late 1960s, a feeling that has never left her. She describes this feeling very clearly. 'I have received so much here...this is where my heart is. In Holland people say, 'this is my fatherland...but I always felt Ireland is my motherland'.¹⁶⁴ This sense of connection has remained even though she has spent periods of time away from Ireland and not always been treated that well when she has lived there. 'Lise' was imprisoned in Armagh jail in 1980 when she and a colleague went to the North to make a documentary for Dutch radio about political prisoners. She was extradited from the North, at the time, although later she was given compensation for her treatment. Some years later when she was living in South Galway her home was raided by the Irish Special Branch. 'There was this special branch guy or it might have been the police, sitting on my bed, pulling out my books...taking my photo album too which had pictures of me giving birth'.¹⁶⁵ Her sense of belonging in Ireland seems to rest on two factors. Firstly, her father had worked in Ireland for a spell when her mother was expecting her and often talked about the country. Later she went to a convent school in The Netherlands and was taught by Irish nuns. This was a good experience

¹⁵⁹ M. Montserrat Guibernau, 'The Profound and Ambivalent Nature of Belonging in the EU', in Anthony Lerman, *Do I Belong? :Reflections on Europe* (London: Pluto Press, 2017), p. 207.

¹⁶⁰ See Guibernau, *Belonging* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), p. 26.

¹⁶¹ R.F. Baumeister and Leary, 'The need to Belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation', *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 117, Issue 3, (May 1995), pp. 497-529.

¹⁶² Montserrat Guibernau, 'The Profound and Ambivalent Nature of Belonging in the European Union', in Anthony Lerman ed. *Do I belong?* (London: Pluto Press, 2017), pp. 207-222.

¹⁶³ Guibernau, 'The Profound and Ambivalent Nature of Belonging in the EU,' p. 209.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with 'Lise,' recorded 27 April 2022.

¹⁶⁵ Interview with 'Lise,' recorded 27 April 2022.

for her and she was fascinated by the legends and the Celtic crosses. A second factor could be that when 'Lise' first came to Ireland it was like rediscovering her early childhood when the area she lived in was still very rural.

It was an amazing week, when we needed water we found a well or a stream and I loved all the flowers growing along the road. I grew up in the middle of fields and slowly all the new houses were encroaching on us...So it was to me like, wow, this still exists.¹⁶⁶

'Hans' had similar feelings. For 'Hans', Irish society was less materialistic than Germany.

' It certainly was very different certainly from Germany as well. It was very different and that's what I liked about Ireland. It was a very poor country and the people were friendly and they seemed happy although they were poor. I met people who had no electricity and that was like a culture shock the whole thing.¹⁶⁷

'Hans' also felt more accepted in Ireland, than he had been in Germany.

I had one experience in Germany that made me think too. Do I want to live in that country? I was just in a phone booth, making a phone call and this old man with a walking stick hammered on the phone box and said, 'Under Hitler we would have gassed you'. And I thought I don't want to live in a country like that.¹⁶⁸

His Irish neighbours did not seem to be concerned about his appearance, in spite of his long hair and beard, which marked him out as different.

There was another thing when I moved here it was pretty tough at the beginning it was cold and a ruin I had to make doors and windows and then at Christmas I had a flu and I was living on a building site and I wasn't feeling very well and there was a knock on the door and my neighbour's family were

¹⁶⁶ Interview with 'Lise,' recorded 27 April 2022.

¹⁶⁷ Interview with 'Hans,' recorded 5 Jan 2022.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with 'Hans,' recorded 5 Jan 2022.

there with a Christmas cake to welcome the new neighbour that was very nice especially since I had long hair and a long beard.¹⁶⁹

For some immigrants, belonging took more time. 'Anna' also feels now that she belongs in Ireland. This was not always the case. She had serious reservations about becoming a citizen after her experiences with the Alien's office in Harcourt Street. They treated her badly, in her opinion, but anyone of colour was treated with even less compassion.

There was no need to be so nasty and they were even nastier to people who were foreign looking. Those days there weren't many but then all of a sudden there were more and I just felt that you can't treat people like that, and people who look really different that's really not on.¹⁷⁰

But 'Anna' feels, in spite of this reservation, that Ireland is a better fit for her than Switzerland. Anna was asked where she belonged.

Well at this stage I belong here. I couldn't go back because I couldn't fit in. You know you have to ring a few days before if you want to visit! I am perpetually late'.

Interviewer 'So you actually came home?'

Anna 'I kind of did'.¹⁷¹

Sometimes our sense of belonging is more connected to a political or occupational group than the country itself. As an employee of the University and married to a lecturer, 'Annette' found a group of kindred spirits in University College Galway..

I have to say, of course, that I lived in a university community. It was a small community when I came in '72. A lot of the younger staff were people who

¹⁶⁹ Interview with 'Hans,' recorded 5 Jan 2022.

¹⁷⁰ Interview with 'Anna,' recorded April 2022.

¹⁷¹ Interview with 'Anna,' recorded April 2022.

had been on scholarships doing PhDs abroad returned to jobs here...It was a thriving community, pleasant, easy-going and I suppose age is a factor.¹⁷²

'Annette' had a community that she felt integrated with. She felt somewhat alienated from Ireland itself because of the influence of the Catholic Church and the lack of possibilities for women. She missed the milieu she had grown up with in France. She and her family spent most summers in Brittany, where she grew up and still had strong connections with the area. This was highlighted when her brother died and she had to decide what to do with the family home in Brittany. Her sense of where her home is, is conflicted.

It's a very strange feeling that when I think of home, I have to define what home is, it has been very difficult...You are of two places but you are not of either of those places...in a sense my heart is more with the grandchildren than with a property out there across the water...so I don't know where my heart is but yes, it is with the children.¹⁷³

Another immigrant, Iris Taylor, a native German, found Ireland puzzling and hard to connect with at first, 'putting down roots and calling this new country home took quite some considerable time'.¹⁷⁴ What helped her adjust to the country was the group of Quakers in Dublin. This faith had a strong presence in Trinity College where she was studying. The group of Quakers gave her purpose and a social life. It was in this group that she later met her husband.¹⁷⁵

For other migrants their sense of purpose connected them with like-minded people in the part of Ireland where they settled. 'Helga' and her husband came to Ireland on a political mission.

In 1985 we moved to Ireland, this was not because we didn't like it in the GDR but because N, who was originally from Belfast [felt] he needed to

¹⁷² Interview with 'Annette,' recorded 20 April 2022.

¹⁷³ Interview with 'Annette,' recorded 20 April 2022.

¹⁷⁴ Taylor, *Memoirs of a Reluctant German*, p. 77.

¹⁷⁵ Taylor, *Memoirs of a Reluctant German*, p. 76. Taylor was familiar with the Quaker ethos as she had attended Quaker schools in Holland and the United Kingdom.

return to Ireland... he felt he was needed but the Party also felt he was needed.¹⁷⁶

Thus, their sense of belonging was very much connected with their political group. They had already worked in Prague for the communist movement. Where they settled in Ireland was dictated by 'Helga' getting her job in Galway. Now she is retired, she still writes for leftwing periodicals and feels her 'country' is an international milieu of like-minded thinkers.

You know what I write about is, not history and politics...but it is writing about cultural matters usually from a left-wing and Marxist perspective and the people that I am in contact with in relation to those, think like I do.¹⁷⁷

There is a sense that this migrant feels she could do that work anywhere but she does miss people who share her life experience.

I suppose what I miss a little bit... is people who share my biography. There is nobody here. I like going to Berlin, talking to people I went to school with, I studied with and I see how their lives have gone since then.¹⁷⁸

Belonging and relating to a group from one's birth country felt more important to some immigrants than putting down strong roots in the receiving culture. Many of the Italians who migrated from Casalattico took this route. They tended to marry within their own community. Alberto Cafolla came to Ireland in 1920 with his parents but when he married in 1945 it was to a woman, Elena, from an Italian family, albeit born in Skerries.¹⁷⁹ Many of the community spoke Italian at home, socialised together, spent part of the summer in Casalattico where the community had an Irish festival in August. Some Irish Italians born in Casalattico also chose to retire to Casalattico. Gino and Maria Mascari took this option when they could pass the business on to the next generation.¹⁸⁰ When 'Bertha', a German native, first moved to the West of Ireland she began socialising with a group of

¹⁷⁶ Interview with 'Helga,' recorded 14 February 2022.

¹⁷⁷ Interview with 'Helga,' recorded 14 February 2022.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with 'Helga,' recorded 14 February 2022.

¹⁷⁹ Form 13, 29 May 1953, and Garda report, 19 June 1953, Alberto Cafolla, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1476.

¹⁸⁰ See 'Chippers'.

Germans near to where she lived in East Galway. 'Bertha' found this very helpful emotionally as the experience helped her feel positive about being German rather than carrying the guilt about her nationality that she had felt since she was a child. The shared experience of being a German of her generation, she was born in 1957, provided her, at least at first, with a milieu she could belong in.¹⁸¹

Conclusion

All migrants come with preconceived ideas about the country they are travelling to. These ideas, informed by the 'common sense' of their own culture deeply affect the experience that the migrant will have of the receiving country and inform their reactions. Miroslav Havel's surprise at finding the house he was to rent in Waterford had no bathroom or formal kitchen was informed by his previous experience of living in a city in Czechoslovakia. 'Annette's' youth in France, a country which supported married women working, led her to expect a similar ethos in Ireland despite its very different history and culture. Hans Liebherr's assumption that the unions were not as strong in the West of Ireland as there were in England was unfounded and may have exacerbated the industrial relations in his factory. This surprise was not only negative. Some of the people interviewed, 'Lise', Petra and Anne Korff for example, were impressed by the unsolicited kindness they received particularly in rural areas. For 'Hans' Irish poverty was preferable to the materialism prevalent in his native Germany. 'Hans' also felt that the rural Irish people he lived among were much less judgemental about his life choices, such as his long hair and beard, than people in Germany had been.

There is also a sense from some of the life histories and interviews that coming to a different culture was a creative experience. Even what could be called hardships, such as not being able to use one's qualifications, or poor living conditions could stimulate immigrants to find imaginative solutions. Faced with not being able to use his qualifications 'Hans' made a niche for himself in his community. A similar experience caused Norbert Illien to start a baking business. 'Hans' and Norbert Illien taught themselves building skills so that they could renovate or

¹⁸¹ Interview with 'Bertha,' recorded 5 May 2022.

build a home. Helene Willems learnt how to make cheese. These skills in their turn often gave the immigrants status in their community and helped them integrate. One must acknowledge, however, that most of these newcomers, had educational and in some cases material advantages, Ireland's relative poverty and under development meant that the immigrants' resources went further.

Almost all the immigrants interviewed felt the lack of immediate family at different times in their lives. Petra when she lived in Dublin with small children: 'Annette' as her parents aged; Anne Korff and 'Harry', when they contemplated their old age and the possible lack of support at that time. All these issues underline the situation of immigrants living in a country without the support of a large expatriate community of their own nationality. The one national group that did not seem to be concerned about these issues was the one group that had consistently experienced chain migration, the Italians from Casalattico. The existence of several generations of this group mean that care for small children and older people was a natural part of their life.

Most immigrants felt welcomed, although Irish bureaucracy could sometimes make their lives very difficult and stressful. The stringent application of rules around professional qualifications meant that a certain amount of talent was lost as in the case of Janos Lehota and families found it harder to survive on lower incomes. 'Anna's' experience in the Alien's Office in Harcourt Street caused her to feel nervous about her status in Ireland. Josef Finke's encounter with the Agricultural Inspectors in Rosslare nearly cost his nascent business to fail before it started. But these are few examples in what was in general an overwhelmingly positive experience. In all three of the above examples the people concerned continued to live in Ireland and made successful lives in the country.

Belonging is obviously a question of personal perception, it is shaped by personal experience and personal values. It can be felt very strongly as in the case of 'Lise's' sense of Ireland being her 'motherland' for example which still remains with her in spite of difficult times in her life there. Helene's sense of feeling immediately at home in Ireland, although she had been initially sceptical about living and farming in a country with such terrible weather, was also intuitive rather than

logical. The emotion seems to be strongest in those immigrants who chose Ireland rather than those who chose an Irish person, although marrying an Irish person could result in greater integration and acceptance by the community.

Chapter 4: The impact of European immigrants on postwar Ireland

The European immigrant community made a major contribution to Irish life in the postwar period despite never being more than 0.48% of the overall population.¹Over the course of the fifty years of this study they had made their homes in every province. They had become involved where they lived through participation in the GAA, their local schools, churches and community organisations. Their presence was felt in a wide area of occupations and a multiplicity of enterprises. Graphic artists, craftspeople and musicians brought skills that had either been lost or not previously developed. European artists helped regenerate the arts milieu where they had come to live outside as well as inside Dublin.²Dutch graphic artists rejuvenated Irish advertising. Dutch and German food producers popularised organic and bio-dynamic cultivation. Novel foods such as pasta, gourmet cheese and sourdough bread began to appear on the market from the 1960s onwards. European entrepreneurs started novel businesses, resurrected ancient ones or opened Irish branches of industries hitherto unrepresented. These new businesses required workers. This need gave local people an opportunity to work in Ireland and not have to emigrate. Several companies also inaugurated officially-attested apprenticeship schemes which not only trained their work-force in the necessary skills but also gave them transferable qualifications. This left a legacy of new skills which benefitted the areas immediate to the businesses and by extension Ireland as whole over time.

The reasons for the extent of the role Europeans played in late twentieth century Ireland are threefold. First, as a cohort, the immigrants were generally well-qualified. They had skills and expertise to offer and, even if they could not employ them in their chosen field, due to professional regulations, as in the case of 'Hans' and Norbert Illien, their life experience helped them make a contribution. Second, when a person migrates they see their new country with eyes that are not opaque from habit. It is easier for an outsider to spot a gap in the market or a need for change than a person who has always lived there. Finally, as the latter half of the

¹1946 0.05%, 1961 0.1%, 1971 0.17%, 1981, 0.27%, 1986 0.33%, 1991 0.48%.
Census, 1946, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1986, 1991, in all cases Vol 1, Table 1.

² Interview with Anne Korff, recorded 8 January 2022.

twentieth century progressed, Ireland was more and more open to change and keen to promote development.

Perhaps the greatest influence the migrants had was in the Irish families that they joined. For those people with Irish spouses they could share their language with their partner and children and for some it became the language of their home.³ Hugo Hamilton remembered his German mother teaching them to count, 'My mother teaches us to count the stairs: *Eins, Zwei, Drei*'.⁴ This would be particularly true at times like birthdays and Christmas. Iris Taylor, a German immigrant married to an Irishman, had strong memories of Christmases from home and shared them with her Irish-German family, 'Later on, when I came to put down roots in Ireland, the only time I became nostalgic for the country of my birth was the lead-up to Christmas. Eventually I dealt with the situation by bringing a German Christmas into our cross-cultural home'.⁵ Hugo Hamilton's Christmas also had a strong German flavour.

Then it's time to talk about Christmas. Because Christmas is something German, too. My mother tells me that the pink skies are a sign of the angels baking. The angels leave sweets on the stairs. My mother sings '*Tannenbaum*'.⁶

This chapter will argue that these individuals effected some significant changes in Irish society particularly in: industry, agriculture and horticulture, food culture, the arts and the world of education. As the narrative unfolds for each sector, this chapter will also emphasise the value of the European immigrants both in bringing new skills and in passing these on to their host community.

Industry

There was a long standing tradition of European businesses in Ireland. The two large European immigrant groups in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the Huguenot refugees and the migrants from the German Palatine, left an entrepreneurial legacy. The Huguenots brought expertise in working with cloth and

³ Interview with 'Helga,' recorded 14 February 2022. 'Helga' and her family spoke German and Irish at home.

⁴ Hamilton, *The Speckled People*, p. 24.

⁵ Taylor, *Memoirs of a Reluctant German*, p. 56.

⁶ Hamilton, *The Speckled People*, p. 135.

silver smithing.⁷ The Switzer family, of Palatine origin, were running a haberdashery store at 91 Grafton Street as early as 1845 which eventually became the department store.⁸ Traces of other pre-1945 migrations can be seen in the ice-cream parlours and chip shops established by the beginnings of the chain migration from Casalattico. Bavaria contributed the family-owned chain of butchers' shops, Herterich's, which, opened their first outlet in 1912 and are still trading.⁹ More recently, the Department of Justice naturalisation records show that several European entrepreneurs were trading in Ireland before WWII. Most of these immigrants were involved in clothing manufacture and distribution.¹⁰ However, there were also: an Italian marble importer, an arms manufacturer and a food distributor.¹¹

The postwar period saw an increase in foreign-owned businesses particularly after the establishment of the IDA and EEC entry. In 1974 out of a total of 431 new businesses established in the state, 254 were foreign-owned, 178 of which were owned by Europeans, 78 by North Americans.¹² The balance here is interesting given the common narrative that most foreign businesses were owned by Americans. However, such enterprises never represented a majority of industry as a whole. In 1983 only 16.9% of total enterprises were owned by people not born in the

⁷ C.E. J Caldicott et al., *The Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of an Emigration* (Dun Laoghaire: Glendale Press, 1987), pp. 211-21.

⁸ D. D Levistone Cooney, 'Switzers of Grafton Street,' *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Autumn 2002), pp. 154-156, the Switzer family originally came to Ireland in the eighteenth century as Palatine refugees, D. D Levistone Cooney, 'Switzers of Grafton Street', *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Autumn 2002) p. 164.

⁹ Herterich Butchery and Delicatessen, <https://www.herterichartisanmeats.ie/pages/the-herterich-story>, accessed 18 May 2024. The Herterich family were originally from Bavaria.

¹⁰ See for example: Abel Chaiet, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/113, Chaiet arrived in 1928 and had two clothing businesses; Abraham Sabin, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/225, Sabin arrived in 1922; Solomon Verby, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/227, Verby arrived in early 1920s and ran a business which made ladies coats; Abraham Witzum, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/259, Witzum arrived in 1932 and ran 3 businesses: Viennese Knitted Goods, Les Modes Modernes in Galway and the Carrick-on-Suir Tannery.

¹¹ Marble importer, Giorgio Favilla, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/81., Favilla arrived in 1928; arms manufacturer, Louis J Warnants, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/138, Warnants arrived from Belgium to help the Ministry of defence set up a small arms factory in the 1930s.; food distributor, Aaron Hersh Steinberg, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS/2013/50/281., Steinberg arrived in 1925.

¹² Dermot McAleese, *A Profile of Grant-aided Industry in Ireland* (Dublin: Stationery Office 1977), p. 21.

country.¹³ This situation had not changed very much by 1996 where only 15.9% of all Irish-based businesses were owned from abroad.¹⁴

In 1998, 430 European-owned Irish-based businesses listed by the IDA.¹⁵ By far the largest group were those owned by German nationals, 185, with Dutch and French enterprises fifty-six and thirty-eight, respectively. Most nationalities are represented in more than one county, apart from the one company owned from Liechtenstein, and some, in spite of the small numbers involved, in several counties. The twenty-three Danish-owned companies were spread across the country including in Counties Cork, Donegal, Dublin, Galway, Kerry, Louth, Tipperary and Waterford. Not all the European countries involved were EU members. There were companies owned by parent enterprises from Switzerland and Norway, both of these countries were EFTA members

Table 5. European owned businesses by country and county.

| Country of Ownership | No. of enterprises | Counties based in |
|----------------------|--------------------|---|
| Austria | 6 | Clare, Dublin, Limerick |
| Belgium | 15 | Cavan, Cork, Donegal, Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenny |
| Denmark | 23 | Cork, Donegal, Dublin, Galway, Kerry, Louth, Tipperary, Waterford, |
| Finland | 9 | Cork, Donegal, Dublin, Galway, Kildare, Laois, Meath |
| France | 38 | Clare, Cork, Dublin, Galway, Kerry, Kildare, Limerick, Louth, Monaghan, Sligo, Offaly, Waterford, Westmeath, Wexford, Wicklow |
| Germany | 185 | Carlow, Cavan, Clare, Cork, Donegal, Dublin, Galway, Kerry, Kildare, Kilkenny, Leitrim, Limerick, Louth, Mayo, Meath, Monaghan, Offaly, Roscommon, Sligo, Tipperary, Waterford, Westmeath, Wexford, Wicklow |
| Greece | 2 | Dublin, Louth. |

¹³ Redmond ed., *That was then, This is now*, p. 138.

¹⁴ Redmond ed. *That was then, This is now* p. 138.

¹⁵ 'Overseas Companies in Ireland' IDA, 17 February 1998.

| | | |
|---------------|----|--|
| Italy | 12 | Cavan, Cork, Dublin, Galway, Kerry, Leitrim, Waterford |
| Liechtenstein | 1 | Cork |
| Luxembourg | 3 | Clare, Dublin, Meath |
| Netherlands | 56 | Carlow, Cork, Dublin, Galway, Kildare, Laois, Leitrim, Limerick, Longford, Louth, Mayo, Meath, Roscommon, Sligo, Offaly, Waterford, Westmeath, Wexford |
| Norway | 16 | Cork, Donegal, Dublin, Galway, Kerry, Longford, Monaghan, Wexford |
| Spain | 5 | Clare, Cork, Dublin, Kildare |
| Sweden | 31 | Cavan, Cork, Donegal, Dublin, Laois, Louth, Offaly, Tipperary, Westmeath, Wexford |
| Switzerland | 28 | Clare, Cork, Dublin, Galway, Kerry, Kilkenny, Louth, Tipperary, Waterford, |

The enterprises listed by the IDA in the above report ranged from financial institutions, the largest group, mostly founded in the early 1990s and so outside the scope of this study, through innovative technology: Kraus and Naimer (Austria) and Wessman Electronics (Sweden) to niche enterprises such as Andersen Ireland Ltd, (Austria), Uniplumo (Denmark) and Bucas Ltd (Sweden).¹⁶ While it is difficult to discern exactly how many Europeans involved in these businesses actually came to settle in Ireland, the fact that all the businesses, except the financial organisations, had working Irish addresses and in the case of manufacturers, plant, suggests that there would have been some immigrants related to each business in most cases. For instance, Liebherr Cranes employed both local and German workers throughout the twentieth century.¹⁷

¹⁶ Kraus and Naimer, based in the Shannon Free Zone, developed electrical switchgear for manufacturing businesses, they were first registered in 1963 and are still in business; Wessman Electronics, based in Ballincollig, made illuminated diode slides, the business was registered in 1973 and dissolved in 1990; Andersen, making costume jewellery in Rathkeale from 1975 to 2017; Uniplumo producing ornamental shrubs in Kenmare since 1964 and still trading; Bucas Ltd. making halters, buckles and harnesses for horse riding in Togher Cork since 1980 and still trading. All business information from CORE <https://core.cro.ie>, accessed 23 January 2023.

¹⁷ Tom Foley, *The Liebherr Story*, p. 81.

Some businesses were branches of the parent company. This was the case with the four branches of the German-based Siemens Company situated in Dublin and County Wicklow.¹⁸ Other enterprises were unique to Ireland, Waterford Glass and Uniplumo being two of these.¹⁹ The impact of most of these enterprises could best be described in two main ways: adding something new to the Irish market or regenerating an industry that had become dormant. Waterford Glass was the re-imagining of an eighteenth century business; while Liebherr Cranes brought a completely new product into the Irish business milieu. Most of the businesses also had training programmes which gave their employees transferable skills and, in some cases, transferable qualifications.

Waterford Glass became one of the leading Irish success stories of the twentieth century from its rebirth in 1947.²⁰ At the height of the company's popularity Waterford Crystal pieces were commissioned by Westminster Abbey in London (a set of sixteen chandeliers in 1965), Ronald Reagan (200 Waterford biscuit bowls in the 1980s) and many celebrities such as golfer Jack Nicklaus who commissioned the Memorial Trophy in 1976.²¹ The Irish state used Waterford Crystal bowls for the annual gifting of shamrock to the US president on St Patrick's Day throughout the later 20th century. Quite when this custom started is disputed, the BBC website claiming 1952 and the Waterford Visitor Centre 1961.²²

But this success would not have happened without a group of Czech glass workers. The craft of making and engraving glass had died out in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century due, in part, to heavy excise duties.²³ Czech glass work had been

¹⁸ Siemens was first registered in 1925 when they came to Ireland to build the hydroelectric plant in Ardnacrusha on the River Shannon <https://core.cro.ie>, accessed 23 January 2023

¹⁹ Waterford Glass was founded in 1947 by Charles Bačík, a Czech national, and Noel Griffin, his Irish business partner; Uniplumo, owned originally by a Danish citizen, was first registered in 1964. <https://core.cro.ie>, accessed 23 January 2023.

²⁰ The first Waterford Glass business was opened in 1783 by the Penrose brothers. Fintan O Toole, 'A History of Ireland in 100 objects', *Irish Times*, 21 July 2012.

²¹ Clavin 'Miroslav 'Paddy' Havel'; Ciaran Byrne, *Irish Independent*, 20 May 2011; House of Waterford, <https://www.waterfordvisitorcentre.com/content/golf>, Accessed 17 October 2023.

²² See House of Waterford, <https://www.waterfordvisitorcentre.com/blog/general-news/waterford-white-house#:~:text=Waterford%20Crystal's%20White%20House%20connection,friend%20of>, accessed 16 October 2023; <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-64971048>, accessed 16 October 2023.

²³ Fintan O Toole, 'A History of Ireland in 100 objects', *Irish Times*, 21 July 2012.

known as the best in Europe since the sixteenth century and since 1920 its glassmaking schools had sent craftsmen throughout Europe.²⁴ Charles Bačik, of Czech origin, was the initiator of the project with his Irish business partner, Noel Griffin. Sensing that a communist takeover of his country was imminent Charles and his wife Edith left for Ireland in 1946.²⁵ The couple managed to include in their possessions a glass cutting machine from one of the factories.²⁶ Although he had few resources, Bačik was able to buy a site and start building his first factory in April 1947.²⁷ The initial production was cutting quite crude imported glass but in June 1947 Bačik persuaded Miroslav Havel, a skilled glass cutter and designer to join him for three months, three months which became a lifetime.²⁸ The combination of the two men, Bačik and Havel, created a business that received world-wide recognition and helped establish Ireland as a venue for quality craftsmanship.²⁹

While the dream to resurrect Waterford Glass was Bačik's, the expertise was Havel's. He designed the most popular ranges, Lismore for example, which was the most popular crystal pattern in the US, and created most of the specially commissioned pieces.³⁰ The chandeliers for Westminster Abbey were one of his masterworks. Bačik also recruited other Czechs to work in the factory, and the business seems to have looked after them well. Jim Brophy, a retired master cutter for Waterford Crystal remembers Charles Bačik.

My association with Mr Bačik goes back to 1952 when he interviewed me...when I was only 16 years of age...Five of us walked in from the Tech, we thought there was one job going but Mr Bacik took on four of us and I

²⁴ A Langhamer, *The Legend of Bohemian Glass: a Thousand Years of Glassmaking* (Zlín: Tigris, 2003), Foreword pp. 1&13.

²⁵ What Bačik feared did happen, on 12 Feb 1948 there was a communist takeover and his factories were seized by the State, Catherine Cox, 'Charles Bačik'.

²⁶ Havel, *Maestro of Crystal*, p90.

²⁷ Bačik raised £15,000 and with this was able to buy a site from Waterford corporation in Ballytruckle, Catherine Cox, 'Charles Bačik'.

²⁸ Havel, *Maestro of Crystal*, pp. 87-88.

²⁹ Clavin, 'Miroslav 'Paddy' Havel'.

³⁰ Clavin, 'Miroslav 'Paddy' Havel,'.

can't say enough about how lucky we were and what that man did for the city.³¹

From the beginning Havel and Bačik trained local people to be skilled employees and at its height Waterford Glass employed 3,500 people.³² This made a major difference to the local economy in the post-war period when there was a decline in available work in Waterford.³³ In 2022 the mayor of Waterford who had worked in the factory for thirty-six years described Waterford Crystal as, 'dominating the economic life of Waterford for decades... There is a huge spirit attached to Waterford Crystal. It provided an excellent living for not only me but thousands of Waterford families'.³⁴

The following report from Waterford Glass to the Department of Industry and Commerce in 1951 shows the extent of the apprenticeship scheme initiated by Charles Bačik.

This alien has been very valuable, both from the Company's viewpoint and the national viewpoint and has been personally responsible for the training of a considerable number of Irish boys in glass cutting. Up to date 12 Irish boys have qualified as cutters and, in addition to this number, a further six boys are fairly far advanced in cutting and engraving. A further 24 boys will shortly be taken on and it is our expectation to take on at least 12 further boys every year for the next few years, provided the Company progresses sufficiently to keep them fully occupied.³⁵

Although the business went into receivership in 2009 as expectations and fashions changed, Waterford Crystal helped change the perception of Irish gift-ware, showing

³¹ Jim Brophy a previous master cutter for Waterford Crystal in an interview, *Waterford News and Star*, 19 March 2022.

³² Eoghan Dalton, *Irish Examiner*, 24 October 2022.

³³ Waterford had been an important trading town since the arrival of the Vikings see Cian Manning *Waterford City a History* (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2019) Chapter 1 *Veratjodr: Viking Waterford*; for Waterford as an industrial town since the 19th century see Keiran Walsh ed., *Waterford Memories*, p. 53-4; for the postwar decline and redundancies, see John M Hearne, 'Industry in Waterford City' in William Nolan and Thomas P. Power eds., *Waterford History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1992), pp. 689-90, 699-701 respectively; for the decline in the 1970's due to the oil crisis of 1973 see Emmet O Connor, 'Trades Councils in Waterford City', William Nolan and Thomas P. Power eds., *Waterford History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1992), p. 650.

³⁴ Joe Kelly quoted by Eoghan Dalton, *Irish Examiner*, 24 October 2022.

³⁵ Undated letter from Waterford Glass to the Department of Industry and Commerce, Charles Bacik, NAI, Department of Justice, JUS/2013/50/1312.

that an Irish factory could produce high quality, well crafted, internationally recognised goods.³⁶ The idea of Irish Crystal as a quality product was copied by companies such as Galway Crystal in 1967, Jerpoint Glass in 1979, and Dingle Crystal in 1999.³⁷

Liebherr Cranes was one of the first heavy industries to open in the West of Ireland after Independence, certainly the first European one.³⁸ Hans Liebherr, the inventor of the mobile tower crane wanted to expand his nascent business into Anglophone countries in the 1950s.³⁹ Liebherr's success - the business is still in operation today despite the 1973, 1987 and 2008 recessions - was a rising tide which lifted this area of County Kerry. The 1951 census shows almost 8,000 men unemployed in County Kerry.⁴⁰ The Liebherr factory over its history expanded its workforce from 280 in 1964 to 810 in 2023.⁴¹ While numbers of workers did drop in times of recession it is worth noting that the multinational did not transfer its operation elsewhere.⁴² Liebherr's success may well have encouraged other German companies to locate to Ireland. An article in 1998 noted that, 'a cluster of German owned engineering industries predominate' in South Kerry.⁴³ All these other German companies opened after Liebherr, among others Liebig Safety Bolts in 1969 and Klinge Pharma in 1991.⁴⁴

Given that County Kerry was traditionally an agriculturally based county (outside of Tralee) the continuing presence of a heavy engineering factory meant

³⁶ *Irish Times*, 5 January 2009.

³⁷ Galway Crystal, <https://www.galwaycrystal.ie>, accessed 17 October 2023; Jerpoint Glass Studios, <https://www.jerpointglass.com/>, accessed 17 October 2023, the business was set up by Sean Daly who had been a Waterford Crystal apprentice; Dingle Crystal, <https://dinglecrystal.ie/pages/about-us>, accessed 17 October 2023.

³⁸ Alan Healy, 'The Tower concept as a successful idea', *The Irish Examiner*, 24 August 2022.

³⁹ Liebherr, <https://www.liebherr.com/en/irl/about-liebherr/history/1949-1960.html>, accessed 18 October 2023.

⁴⁰ *Census of the Population of Ireland, 1951*, Vol. 3 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1954), Part 1, 07A.

⁴¹ *The Kerryman*, 11 January 1964.

⁴² <https://www.liebherr.com/en/int/about-liebherr/liebherr-worldwide/ireland/killarney/killarney.html> Accessed 18 October 2023; for a fall in numbers in 1979 and 1983 due to recessions see *The Kerryman*, 9 November 1979, and *Cork Examiner*, 6 May 1983.

⁴³ *Irish Examiner*, 25 May 1998, for example.

⁴⁴ Information from CORE, <https://core.cro.ie>, accessed 18 October 2023.

that young men did not always have to leave their native county to find well-paid work. This was emphasised by Fr Brown, the local parish priest in a speech in 1961, 'it is true to say that because of the factory...many fathers of families and young men are no longer obliged to emigrate'.⁴⁵

The Liebherr training scheme was as important as the actual jobs. Local people who were recruited as workers could train as apprentices and would get certificates when they successfully completed their training. *The Cork Examiner* covered the Liebherr 1971 award ceremony when ninety of the factory's workers received their certificates. At the time Senator Fintan Kennedy, General President of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, recognised Liebherr's role in the local community, 'young men from farming families have been given the opportunity to work in a new progressive industrial environment without being forced to leave the rural community to which they belonged'.⁴⁶

Three points can be made here. One, a national newspaper was covering the event, which shows the prominence of Liebherr in Ireland. Indeed many of the Liebherr landmark events were covered by the national press.⁴⁷ Two, the ITGWU President was happy to officiate at the ceremony in spite of the industrial action by the members of his union ten years previously.⁴⁸ Three the certification was endorsed by a major union official. By 1983, 222 County Kerry men had completed the apprenticeship.⁴⁹ While 100 of these men continued to work in the Liebherr factory, several went on to create their own business in the area. Jimmy Keane, who had worked for Liebherr in the early 1960s set up Irish Iron and Welding Works in 1971, and by 1977 he was employing thirty-two people.⁵⁰ Donal Ring, who also worked for Liebherr in the early days, set up Munster Joinery in 1973.⁵¹ This successful business

⁴⁵ *Cork Examiner*, 27 March 1961.

⁴⁶ 'German Kerry Firm: Pioneer in training', *Cork Examiner*, 27 May 1971.

⁴⁷ For the opening of the first Liebherr hotel see , *Cork Examiner*, 27 March 1961; for coverage of the strike in April 1961, see *Cork Examiner* 5 April, 17 April 1961; for the export of a Liebherr crane to New York, see *Irish Independent*, 1 September 1969, for the new Liebherr cranes installed in Dublin, Cork and Limerick, see *Irish Press*, 6 December, 1972.

, see,

⁴⁸ A strike at Liebherr in 1961.

⁴⁹ 'Liebherr here for 25 years,' *Cork Examiner*, 6 May 1983.

⁵⁰ John Barry, 'Steel sharp business pays off', *Kerryman*, 25 March 1977.

⁵¹ *Kerryman*, 11 April 1997.

has since evolved into a multinational employing 1,800 people in its Cork base and a further 900 in the UK.⁵²

A balance sheet for Liebherr in County Kerry would have to also include the enterprise's effect on tourism. While the large trucks required for moving the cranes led to damaged walls and major traffic hold-ups as they passed through narrow streets and roads the other Liebherr enterprise, the three hotels in the Killarney area, the Europe, Dunloe Castle and the Ard na Sidhe country house, were a boon to the county.⁵³ The Europe was seen as ahead of its time in Ireland and has been described as once the only real example of a modernist hotel in Ireland'.⁵⁴ To quote a local politician, Senator Paul Coghlan, 'Killarney typifies the best kind of German-Irish relations...They're wonderful for the country'.⁵⁵

European immigrants also boosted the Irish economy through their contribution to design standards. A regenerated advertising industry was one of the main recommendations of the Christenberry Report in 1950 and the recruitment of Dutch designers by Tim O'Neill was key in addressing this.⁵⁶ 'The arrival of Dutch designers in the 1950s was perhaps the most crucial step in the development of graphic design as a professional discipline in Ireland'.⁵⁷

Most of the group became permanent residents in Ireland and had an influence which reached beyond the remit of Sun Advertising. Jan de Fouw, one of

⁵² *Irish Independent*, 23 November 2022; In 2017 Liebherr also set up a scholarship scheme for selected Leaving Certificate students in County Kerry in which finances third level education in engineering, IT and automation 'Liebherr's latest scholarship programme', *Kerryman*, 5 April 2023.

⁵³ Fintan Ford <https://www.irishlifeandlore.com/podcast-the-story-of-liebherr-cranes-killarney/>, accessed 24 October 2023; The Liebherr company did recognise the effects of the movement of cranes in 1999 and gave Kerry County Council £30,000 to improve the road between Killarney and Tralee 'Liebherr money to improve road at Fossa'; the Town Council wrote to Liebherr's in 1995 protesting about the delays caused by the transportation of the cranes 'Liebherr apologises for Tralee summer traffic hold-ups', *The Kerryman*, 10 Nov 1995; Derek Scally, 'German crane firm Liebherr has lifted Kerry economy for years', *Irish Times*, 1 September 2012; the Hotel has won several European awards over the years, most recently a place in the top 10 resorts in Europe and Hotel Spa of the year in 2019. Condé Nast Traveller Readers' choice award in 2023 and 2019 European Hotel Awards.

⁵⁴ Thomas Molloy and Majella O Sullivan, 'Hans Liebherr', *Irish Independent*, 16 January 2014.

⁵⁵ Senator Paul Coghlan, *Irish Times*, 1 September 2012.

⁵⁶ 'The Synthesis of the Report on Tourism', *Department of Industry and Commerce* (Dublin: DSO, 1950). For more details about the Christenberry Report see Chapter 2.

⁵⁷ Conor Clarke, *Orange and Green*, p. 8.

the first to come in 1951, was art director of 'Ireland of the Welcomes,' Bord Fáilte's main printed outreach for forty-four years, and designed advertising for Guinness, Aer Lingus and Knorr soups.⁵⁸ Although de Fouw maintained himself that 'there is no such thing as an artist in advertising... just craft workers, some good, some bad some indifferent', his work was described by Peter Harbison as, 'very beautiful works of art'.⁵⁹ De Fouw was also interested in development of a craft community beyond the needs of his own work. He acted as one of the main negotiators for NCAD with the Temple Bar Trust over the relocation of the graphic arts studio and was also involved in the development of two co-operative graphic artists groups in the Graphic Gallery and the Black Church Print Studio. He was also prepared to serve his adopted country as a member of the curatorial committee of the National Print Museum.⁶⁰ Gerrit van Gelderen was recruited later, in 1955, but his main passion was the natural world and ecology. With Éamon de Buitléar he made a series of popular nature films for TelefísÉireann, 'Amuighfaoinspéir,' for which they won a Jacobs's award in 1967.⁶¹ Van Gelderen branched out on his own and made 'To the Waters and the Wild'series in the 1970s. As with his compatriot de Fouw, van Gelderen saw community involvement as part of his involvement with Ireland and both sat on the board of An Taisce as well as editing its journal.⁶²

At the beginning of the 1960s the Lemass government, a Fianna Fáil administration which was in power from 1959-1966, saw the need to further improve Irish design.⁶³ In 1960 they gave Córas Tráchtála the task of improving Irish design and this body commissioned a group of Scandinavian designers to assess how Ireland could improve the country's industrial design.⁶⁴ The group of five spent two weeks travelling to Counties Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kildare and Waterford looking

⁵⁸ Conor Clarke, *Orange and Green*, pp. 16, 27.

⁵⁹ Peter Harbison, 'funeral speech,' Jan de Fouw obituary, *Irish Times*, 7 March 2015.

⁶⁰ Jan de Fouw obituary, *Irish Times*, 7 March 2015.

⁶¹ Translates as 'Out under the Sky'.

⁶² Patrick Long, 'Gerrit van Gelderen', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. <https://www.dib.ie/biography/van-gelderen-gerrit-a8784>, accessed 7 January 2023.

⁶³ Fianna Fáil 1959-1966.

⁶⁴ Coras Tráchtála was the Irish export board, founded in 1959, until 1991 when it merged with the Irish Goods Council; the Scandinavian designers were Kaj Franck (Finland Industrial Art Director at the Finnish School of Art, Erik Herlow (Denmark) Professor of Industrial Design, Royal Academy of Copenhagen, Åke Huldt (Sweden) Manager of Svensk-Form (the Swedish design centre), Gunnar Bilmann Petersen (Denmark) Professor of Industrial Graphics, Royal Academy of Copenhagen, Erik Chr. Sorensen (Denmark) Architect. *Design in Ireland* (Dublin: Coras Trachtála, 1961), p. xi.

at art education, as it stood at the time, and visiting factories.⁶⁵ The report was bleak, seeing very little to admire in Irish industry in terms of design 'we found many products which were badly designed and executed and which in our view would not have the slightest chance of competing successfully in the world market'.⁶⁶ Even successful businesses such as Waterford Glass were criticised in the following terms, 'the shapes are not artistically satisfactory and even the copies are not true to the cultivated eye'.⁶⁷ The report had many recommendations, the setting up of a new Irish design school to pioneer art and design education, at all levels, for example but most suggestions were not adopted.⁶⁸ However, one idea from the report, the establishment of an Irish workshop under the direction of 'excellent foreign designers and craftsmen,' was adopted.⁶⁹

Una Walker makes a convincing case that this particular element of the Scandinavian report was adopted, in advance of any attempts to change art education, because of an ongoing debate on the role of the state in the arts and its practical application begun in the 1920s by Thomas Bodkin.⁷⁰ The Kilkenny Design Centre was set up in 1963 to encourage international craftspeople to come to Ireland both to set up workshops and to share their expertise with Irish artisans.⁷¹ The first five workshops to open in 1965, based in the newly renovated stables of Kilkenny Castle, were: silver and metal work, weaving, textile printing, ceramics and wood-working.⁷² Many of Kilkenny Design's first practitioners were European, the Second Annual report details craftspeople from the following European countries involved

⁶⁵ *Design in Ireland*, p.1.

⁶⁶ *Design in Ireland*, p.3.

⁶⁷ *Design in Ireland*, pp. 18 and 19.

⁶⁸ *Design in Ireland*, p. 54.

⁶⁹ *Design in Ireland*, p. 24. This was originally suggested for the furniture trade.

Paul Hogan, however, in his introduction to *Designing Ireland* claims that the idea of such a workshop had been already proposed by William Walsh, General Manager of *Corás Trachtála* prior to the Scandinavian report *Designing Ireland* (Dublin: Craft Council of Ireland, 2005) p. 6.

⁷⁰ Una Walker, 'The Scandinavian Report, its Origins and Impact on the Kilkenny Design Workshops', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 9, 2013, p.7; Thomas Bodkin was director of the National Gallery of Ireland from 1927-1935 Walker refers to his 'Memorandum on the Function of a Ministry of Fine Arts', 1922 TCD MS 6965/10.

Registered as a limited company

⁷² Walker, 'The Scandinavian Report,' p. 14.

with the project: Denmark, Finland, Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland, all of whom came to live in Ireland.⁷³

The presence of highly skilled artists in Kilkenny made the town a hub for craft work and, by 1975, seventeen craftsmen and designers had set up their workshops in and around Kilkenny.⁷⁴ This trend declined during the recession of the 1980s and one craftsman, Rudolf Heltzel, a German recruited by the Kilkenny Design Workshop in the 1960s, was pessimistic about the future, 'I think between 1971 and 1977 there was a boom in crafts, but I think it has been declining since then'.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, by 1998, the *Irish Times* reported that Kilkenny was again a place that craftspeople wanted to live and work, helped by artists such as Heltzel who had never left or only for a short time.⁷⁶

Unlike many of the artists recruited for Kilkenny Design, Helena Ruuth and Heltzel chose to make Ireland their home permanently.⁷⁷ Ruuth is a Swedish textile artist, principally a weaver. In 1965 the Kilkenny Design Workshop recruited Ruuth to help set up a weaving studio.⁷⁸ This was successful in that she built a relationship with, among others, Irish Tapestry Ltd and Robert Usher and Co Ltd, both based in Drogheda. Her work for Kilkenny Design helped Irish manufacturers adopt designs which were not only examples of modern design but also commercially viable. Matt Doolan, director of Irish Tapestry, praised her work in an interview with Michael Viney in 1967, 'Kilkenny Designs [at this stage Ruuth's] have lifted us from the sixty-shilling article up to something double the price'.⁷⁹ Although Ruuth left KDW in 1967, she chose to stay in Ireland and ran a design business from Dublin where she still lives.⁸⁰ One might argue that her continuing presence in Ireland added lustre to Ireland's craft presence. One of her customers, Terence Conran of Habitat,

⁷³ Kilkenny Design Workshops: Second Report and Accounts 1966-1968 (Kilkenny: Kilkenny Design Workshops), p.8.

⁷⁴ 'How Kilkenny Design Centre gave a home to gold, silver and jewellery', *Irish Times*, 10 November 1975.

⁷⁵ Marion Fitzgerald, 'Rudolf Heltzel', *Irish Times*, 7 August 1982.

⁷⁶ 'Excellence in Crafts draws the talented to Kilkenny', *Irish Times*, 21 October 1998.

⁷⁷ Bertel Gardberg the Finnish silversmith, for example, who was Director of Kilkenny Design from 1966-1968 and was instrumental in setting up Rionore, Kilkenny Design's Jewellery enterprise which is still in existence <https://www.dcci.ie/directory/rionore-co/>, accessed 6 November 2023

⁷⁸ *Irish Times*, 26 January 1988.

⁷⁹ Michael Viney, 'Kilkenny in Production', *Irish Times*, 1 August 1967.

⁸⁰ She married the dramatist Wesley Burrowes, creator of Glenroe, in 1969, Emer O Kelly, 'Wesley Burrowes obituary', *Irish Independent*, 3 January 2016.

described her in 1967 as: 'one of the most promising designers that I have yet come across'.⁸¹ Ruuth's legacy, apart from her own fine work, is in the work of a current generation of textile artists such as Aine Dunne, trained by Ruuth.⁸²

Rudolf Heltzel, born in Berlin in 1940, also spent his working life in Ireland. He was recruited by Kilkenny Design in 1966 to set up a jewellery and metal-smithing workshop. Jim King, the administrator of the project, recalls how Heltzel was viewed by the committee, 'Rudolf was nominated by a number of distinguished European Crafts critics at the time. He had impeccable credentials'.⁸³ Heltzel also ran a goldsmithing course in KDW from 1966-1968.⁸⁴ The apprentices on this course spent four days a week in Heltzel's workshop in KDW and a day in Kilkenny Vocational school to learn the drawing and the other technical skills needed for a jewellery maker. Heltzel seems to have had a commitment to educating young people as jewellery makers. Initially KDW paid for his teaching, but when KDW ceased trading in 1988, Heltzel took it on himself to persuade The Crafts Council of Ireland to continue the training work in Kilkenny through the Jewellery skills course run by Jane Hutson.⁸⁵ Similarly to Liebherr in County Kerry, this course opened up the possibility of a skilled career to young people from Kilkenny.⁸⁶ Nigel O Reilly, the highly-successful goldsmith, was one of Heltzel's protégés in his later days.⁸⁷

Heltzel's own work was inspired by many factors and he himself was not willing to discuss his influences.⁸⁸ Nevertheless the design consultant Mary Mullin saw his work as multi-cultural, but also emphasising early Irish traditions, 'encompassing Pharaoh-like geometric bands, the pre-history Celtic ornament, the clean Nordic lines or the Arabic or Persian tradition of beaten metal'.⁸⁹ Although Heltzel moved to the North during the recession of the 1980s, he returned to Kilkenny in 1989. In addition to pursuing his own business, based in Patrick Street, Heltzel gave voluntary

⁸¹ *Irish Times*, 1 August 1967.

⁸² Kathleen O' Callaghan, 'Warrior Women at work,' *Irish Times*, 18 July 2018.

⁸³ Denis Bergin, *Kilkenny People*, 8 May 2020.

⁸⁴ 'Rudolf Heltzel obituary', *Irish Times*, 16 May 2020.

⁸⁵ Denis Bergin, *Kilkenny People*, 8 May 2020.

⁸⁶ Denis Bergin, *Kilkenny People*, 8 May 2020.

⁸⁷ Anne Marie O'Connor, 'All that glitters: meet Jewellery designer Nigel O Reilly', *Irish Examiner*, 27 October 2018.

⁸⁸ Denis Bergin, *Kilkenny People*, 8 May 2020.

⁸⁹ 'Obituary Rudolf Heltzel,' *Irish Times*, 16 May 2020.

time to the artistic community, by working with the Crafts' Council of Ireland for fourteen years and became founding member of the Kilkenny Arts Festival in 1974.⁹⁰

When Kilkenny Design folded as a business in 1988, the Crafts Council of Ireland took over the mantle of craft promotion and in 2004 had 1,400 craft companies registered with the body. Its chief executive, Leslie Reed, recognised the contribution Kilkenny Design had made, 'Without the Kilkenny Design Workshops the crafts council wouldn't exist, nor would the craft industry in its current form'.⁹¹ It might also be appropriate to say that without the European artists and designers Kilkenny Design would not have existed at all.

Agriculture and Horticulture

One can also point to the growth of organic agriculture and horticulture as an example of European immigrant influence in Ireland. There is good evidence that Europeans were some of the pioneers in developing this type of cultivation. The idea of organic agriculture and the promotion of organic produce emerged in Europe in the 1940s.⁹² The first organic associations in Ireland did not appear until 1982, although Oliver Moore does claim that Anthony Kay set up a branch of the U.K based Soil Association in the 1950s.⁹³ CAP funding in 1992 gave a major boost to organic farming in Ireland and organic organisations grew accordingly.⁹⁴ Three European pioneers, however, were farming successfully there before that time: the Apple Farm, started by the Traas family from 1968, the Camphill Communities from 1972 and Ballybrado from 1983.

⁹⁰ 'Obituary, Rudolf Heltzel,' *Irish Times*, 16 May 2020; Kilkenny Arts Festival, <https://www.kilkennyarts.ie/about>, accessed 20 January 2024.

⁹¹ Quoted in, Rosita Boland, 'The jewel in craft's crown,' *Irish Times*, 3 August 2004.

⁹² An RoinnTalhaíochta, *Review of Organic Food Sector and Strategies for its Development 2019-2025* p. 8.; the first organic labels in Europe were *Bioland*, *Naturland* and *Demeter* in Germany, *Bio Suisse* in Switzerland and *Natur* and *Progrés* in France.

⁹³ The Irish Organic Association, <https://www.irishorganicassociation.ie/about>, accessed 18 December 2023. Olliesplace: Organic food, farming and environment, by Oliver Moore, <https://olivermoore.blogspot.com/>, accessed 18 December 2023.

⁹⁴ EC Reg 2078/92 <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/4f9edd7f-dcbd-4758-be9b-d8819f4831ce/language-en>, accessed 11 December 2023

While apple cultivation was not new in County Tipperary - *The Nationalist and Munster Advertiser* claims three thousand years - growing organic fruit was.⁹⁵ According to family memory, the Traas family had been growing fruit in The Netherlands since 1800.⁹⁶ They came to Ireland in 1968 due to a shortage of suitable land in their native country. The project was a commercial enterprise but had initial distribution problems as there was no local network for selling fruit. The family overcame this by opening a farm shop.⁹⁷

The Rudolf Steiner-inspired Camphill villages pioneered the growing of organic food as part of a holistic way of life. The Camphill movement was founded in 1939 in Scotland by Dr Karl König, who with other Austrian colleagues, had left their country after the Anschluss of 1938.⁹⁸ The first of these was opened in 1972 in Duffcarrig a village near Gorey in County Wexford.⁹⁹ Part of Camphill's commitment to holistic living was to use organic methods in growing food and rearing animals, 'Camphill communities value the profound significance of each human being and practice an art of daily living, mindful of man's responsibility to the earth'.¹⁰⁰ Some Camphill communities, including Duffcarrig use biodynamic horticulture, a branch of organic crop production first developed by Rudolf Steiner.¹⁰¹ The small Biodynamic Agricultural Association of Ireland, founded in 1985 includes two of the Camphill Communities in its membership.¹⁰²

In addition, by virtue of their multinational composition, these communities brought Irish people into contact with people from other countries, particularly Europeans. The Camphill Community in Duffcarrig was set up by two Germans,

⁹⁵ Aislinn Kelly, 'The Apple Farm blooms with caring for the environment at the core of its success', *Nationalist and Munster Advertiser*, 11 August 2022.

⁹⁶ <https://www.theapplefarm.com>, accessed 28 December 2023

⁹⁷ Aislinn Kelly 'The Apple Farm blooms with caring for the environment at the core of its success', *Nationalist and Munster Advertiser*, 11 August 2022; the family later increased their added value by launching a range of organic juices and apple cider vinegar' £100 bin of apples is worth £180 when converted to juice', 'Juicy Apples', *Irish Farmers' Journal*, 21 November 1998

⁹⁸ Camphill Foundation, <https://camphillfoundation.org/about-camphill/>, accessed 5 January 2024.

⁹⁹ Camphill Communities of Ireland, <https://www.camphill.ie/duffcarrig/about>, Accessed 5 January 2024.

¹⁰⁰ Camphill Foundation, <https://camphillfoundation.org/about-camphill/>, accessed 5 January 2024.

¹⁰¹ Austrian-born, in 1861, founder of anthroposophy and The Waldorf School movement, Jurgen Oelker, 'Rudolf Steiner' in Palmer J., Bresler L. and Cooper D. eds. *Fifty Major Thinkers on Education* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 187-191.

¹⁰² <https://www.camphill.ie/duffcarrig/about>, accessed 6 January 2024.

Peter and Suzanne Elsholtz.¹⁰³ The community consisted of seven families living on a twenty-five hectare farm.¹⁰⁴ Many of the people who worked in the communities as volunteers were European. As one observer noted 'There were people from everywhere, The Netherlands, Italian and many Germans because they did that instead of their military service'.¹⁰⁵ Loretta Power, interviewed by the *Independent* in 2012, echoed this. 'Over the years, we've had people from almost every continent,' says Loretta. 'For a long time, there was a strong stream from Germany, where you had men doing an alternative to military service, but we had people from all over Europe, and some English and Irish too'.¹⁰⁶

Perhaps the most respected and some might say the loudest voice in Ireland in support of organic growing has been Josef Finke and Ballybrado the most cited experimental organic farm. Josef and Marianne Finke, Richard and Sylvie Auler and Helmut Borchers, the founders of Ballybrado, have been pioneers in organic agriculture since their arrival in Ireland in 1983.¹⁰⁷ They were among the first farmers to grow organic flour and oats and the first to export organic produce.¹⁰⁸ From the beginning they had a high standard for their produce and one of their first customers, Nestlé, was surprised by how unpolluted the Ballybrado oats were.¹⁰⁹ The spectroscopic testing that Nestlé conducted showed zero levels of heavy metals in the oats, a very unusual result in continental Europe at the time.¹¹⁰

The desire to promote quality in organic produce nationwide and not just on his own farm led Josef Finke to become very involved with the emergent Irish Organic Growers and Farmers Association, IOFGA, whose meetings were often held

¹⁰³ Email correspondence, with Mischa Fekete from Duffcarraig Camphill community, 8 January 2024.

¹⁰⁴ Not all the members of the Steiner Communities were European for example Ballytobin was founded by an American and his Scottish wife, but their ethos and practice were European.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Nadin Reichel, recorded 4 January 2024.

¹⁰⁶ Fintan Lambe, '40 years of Camphill', *Independent*, 14 February 2012.

¹⁰⁷ For a description of their arrival in Ireland with a 100 metre long 'wagon train' of tractors and other farm equipment see chapter 3.

¹⁰⁸ https://www.ballybrado.ie/about_us, accessed 2022.

¹⁰⁹ 'The organic roots of Ballybrado' accessed 2022.; the gas chromatography test came back with zero level of heavy metal pollutants, this result was so unusual that the test was done again with the same result.

¹¹⁰ *Irish Examiner*, 12 September 2012.

in Ballybrado house, Josef and Marianne's home.¹¹¹ Ballybrado was one of the key organic producers at an IOFGA conference in 1985. As this conference was held in Cahir, the nearest town to Ballybrado, it is likely that Josef and Marianne helped to organise the occasion.¹¹² Josef described this period of development, 'Being associated to the pioneer years of this movement was, with hindsight, a privilege... What we had in common was the hunger for fundamental change... To meet like-minded people anything was worth the trouble, even if it meant a journey of 50 miles with a Honda 50'.¹¹³

In 1986 Josef was invited to be the main speaker on organics at a *Farmers' Journal* conference in Fermoy, although he and Richard had only started their 230 acre organic farm three years before in 1983.¹¹⁴ Later in 1989 Finke submitted proposals for the development of organic agriculture in Ireland to the then Taoiseach Charles Haughey, which resulted in a new organic committee in the Department of Agriculture and a development budget of £450,000.¹¹⁵ Both Richard and Josef were leaders in IOFGA, Josef as Chairman, in 1990 and Richard as National Secretary in 1996.¹¹⁶ The two organic growers also offered advice to other farmers who were considering moving into organics.¹¹⁷ Moreover, Ballybrado pioneered organic meat distribution in Ireland. In 1989 Josef Finke set up 'The Good Herdsman' label which co-ordinated 200 organic meat producers in Ireland and enabled them to sell to supermarkets as a group, which would have been difficult, if not impossible, as single producers.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ Irish Organic Farmers and Growers Association founded in 1982., https://www.ballybrado.ie/about_us, accessed 2022.

¹¹² Maurice Walsh, 'Organic farmers plough ahead', *Irish Times*, 11 March 1985.

¹¹³ 'The Organic Roots of Ballybrado', https://www.ballybrado.ie/about_us, accessed 2022.

¹¹⁴ 'Organic versus Conventional', *The Corkman*, 11 July 1986.

¹¹⁵ Rose Martin, 'Holding his ground', *Irish Times*, 12 September, 2012; 'Maher speaks on the Greening of Europe', *Nationalist and Munster Advertiser*, 17 February 1990; *Irish Examiner*, 13 March 1999.

¹¹⁶ 'Maher speaks on the Greening of Europe'; Drumcollogher Centre to host major seminar on organic food production', *Limerick Leader*, 27 April 1996; by 1996 the role of Chairperson had been renamed as National Secretary.

¹¹⁷ *Irish Farmers' Journal*, 10 March 1990.

¹¹⁸ 'Organic farming sees the sun after 20 years of struggle', *Nationalist and Munster Advertiser*, 27 April 2002;

Allied with a desire to be a competitive business, Ballybrado had always had a strong environmental ethic. As early as 1985 an *Irish Times* journalist highlighted the farm as the first farm-based nature reserve in Ireland.¹¹⁹ In 1996 the *Munster Express* reported that, 'after more than a decade of organic farming the farm seems to have turned into a haven for wildlife. More than 70 bird species have been seen...and a prize winning video on otters was produced on the farm'.¹²⁰

If one considers where organic farming was in 1983 when IOFGA had just six members and how far it had gone, 800 organic producers, by 1997, much of the credit must go to the organic farmer from Frankfurt who arrived in Ireland in 1983.¹²¹ In 2014 Josef Finke received a lifetime achievement award at the National Organics award ceremony, recognising his contribution to the organic movement in Ireland.¹²²

Not all the innovation in growing by European immigrants was in the organic sphere. Two horticultural businesses which brought new possibilities to Ireland were Uniplumo, based in Kenmare, County Kerry, and Irish Flowerbulb Export Ltd, based in Fethard, Co Tipperary. Both concerns recognised that the Irish climate, while wet, was milder than Northern Europe and that it would be possible to cultivate, in the first case, tropical pot plants and, in the second, flower bulbs in Ireland. One of the experiments did not flourish. Irish Flowerbulb Export Industry Ltd, owned by Mr A Hulsebosch, a Dutch citizen survived for only 6 years. He and his Irish partner, C. P. Kelly and Co., opened their factory in 1968 and closed it in 1974.¹²³ The growing

the success of the distribution network gave rise in 2004 to Ballybrado's development of Ireland's first organic meat packing plant; Anne O Grady, 'Tipperary Men make History as First Organic Plant Opens', *Tipperary Star*, 21 August 2004; The Good Herdsman, <http://www.goodherdsmen.ie/>, accessed 3 March 2024.

¹¹⁹ Marion Fitzgerald, 'Learning About Wildlife', *The Irish Times*, 13 July 1985.

¹²⁰ 'Down on the farm at Ballybrado', *Munster Express*, 27 September 1996.

¹²¹ Oliver Moore, 'Organic Growers group had modest start', *Irish Examiner*, 19 May 2005; *Irish Farmers' Journal*, 17 May 1997.

¹²² Alison Healey, 'Too many farmers fear going organic Minister tells award ceremony', *Irish Times* 15 October 2014.

¹²³ 'Factory for Fethard', *Tipperary Star*, 9 November 1968; the ad 'Machinery for Sale' in the *Irish Farmer's Journal*, of 29 June 1974 shows the business selling off its equipment.

conditions do not seem to have been a problem as the business had been growing bulbs in Fethard on an experimental basis since 1961 and the results led them to open the factory.¹²⁴ Although their enterprise was not successful, they proved that the climate was appropriate for growing bulbs in Ireland.¹²⁵

Uniplumo was a much greater success. Uniplumo owes their existence to a Dane who could see Ireland's potential for growing semi-tropical plants. Joergen Simonsen, who owned a pot plant export business, Uniflora, in Denmark came to Ireland in 1968 to investigate the possibilities of growing in this country, given its proximity to the Gulf Stream. He met Baron von Schoenberg, a German native living in Ireland, and Dermot Kerins, an Irishman, who had an acre of glass houses growing tomatoes in Kenmare. The three men started Uniplumo the following year.¹²⁶ Although the initial idea was to produce pot plants for export via Cork Airport, which the business did successfully until 1981, at this point part of the business moved to Dublin to produce pot plants for the Irish market via supermarkets, initially Quinnsworth.¹²⁷ In the same year Uniplumo was bought by an Irish company FII (now Total Produce plc) and is still trading.¹²⁸

Food Culture

European immigrants had a major impact on food culture, understood here to mean the food on restaurant menus and in shops and supermarkets. In the early post-war period, choice was very limited. Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire noted that there were very few *haute cuisine* establishments in Dublin and this style of catering had not yet spread much beyond the capital city.¹²⁹ There was very little choice in the shops either. Apart from some kosher delicatessens such as Ordman's on the streets behind

¹²⁴ 'South to get Four New Industries', *Evening Echo*, 2 November 1968.

¹²⁵ Currently, 2024, there is at least one producer growing bulbs in Ireland. Beechhill bulbs based in Tullamore <https://bulbs.ie/>, accessed 22 January 2024.

¹²⁶ Uniplumo, <https://uniplumo.ie/>, accessed 20 January 2024.

¹²⁷ Uniplumo, <https://uniplumo.ie/>, accessed 20 January 2024.

¹²⁸ F.F.I. was Fruit Importers of Ireland owned by Neil McCann. 'Those Poinsettias have Kenmare Roots'. 17 December 2019, Business Plus, <https://businessplus.ie>, accessed 20 January 2024, the business is still operating successfully supplying SuperValu. *Meath Chronicle*, 2 December 2023.

¹²⁹ Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine on Public Dining in Dublin Restaurants 1900-2000: an Oral History* (Dublin: Technological University, 2009).

Grafton Street and McCambridges in Rathmines, it was hard to get a variety of fresh vegetables, fruit and cheese.¹³⁰ Petra and 'Lise' found that the only vegetables they could buy in the 1970s were carrots, cabbage, onions and potatoes. It was also hard to find dried fruit and herbs and spices and bread was largely 'sliced pan'.¹³¹ By 1990 however Irish cheese was winning medals at the EEC cheese awards, supermarkets carried a wide range of fruit and vegetables and there were award winning restaurants in the major towns and cities.¹³²

Many factors were responsible for this change: EEC membership, foreign holidays, the advent of television in 1971 and increased prosperity. There were several indigenous pioneers of good food such as Myrtle, Darina and Rachel Allen from Ballymaloe and Val Manning of The Food Emporium in West Cork, who has been promoting gourmet food since 1946.¹³³ But there are two trends that can be traced back to, mostly individual, Europeans coming to live in Ireland and bringing food traditions and recipes with them. One is the further development of a tradition of fine dining, the other the introduction of new foods.

In terms of restaurant culture the European, particularly French and Swiss, influence goes back to before the formation of the State. François and Michel Jammet from France opened their *haute cuisine* restaurant in Dublin in 1902 and Otto Wuest from Switzerland was the head chef in the Shelbourne Hotel from 1927 onwards.¹³⁴ This trend continued into the 1940s when most chefs and restaurant managers were European. Mac Con Iomaire lists forty-seven foreign-born restaurant staff working in elite restaurants in Dublin. All but six were from Continental

¹³⁰ Cormac ÓGráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: a socio-economic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 172; McCambridges was founded in 1945, John McCambridge, <https://mccambridge.ie/our-story>, accessed 27 January 2024.

¹³¹ Interviews with Petra and 'Lise', both recorded 27 April 2022.

¹³² Go To Ireland, <https://www.go-to-ireland.com/food/the-ballyoak/>, accessed 23 January 2023.

¹³³ Darina Allen set up the Ballymaloe cookery school with her brother in 1983, Ballymaloe Cookery School, Organic Farm and Gardens, <https://www.ballymaloecookeryschool.ie/ballymaloe-cookery-school/darina-allen>, accessed 23 January 2023; Mannings Deli and Grocer, <https://manningsemporium.ie/>, accessed 23 January 2023.

¹³⁴ Mac Con Iomaire, *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine* pp. 2, 183.

Europe.¹³⁵ Some of the European chefs were legendary. Pierre Rolland, the head chef for the Russell Hotel, was one.¹³⁶

He was an excellent chef, Rolland, he really was, he was clean, he was efficient and whatever he did was good...He would order 20 chickens, check every chicken individually and he might pick out 3 or 4 and send them back. Rolland was a god in Dublin, he was the god in the cheffing business.¹³⁷

During Rolland's time as head chef, the Russell Hotel was awarded three stars in Egon Ronay's 1963 guide and, when the Michelin Guide started assessing Dublin's restaurant and hotels, the Russell was the only establishment in Dublin to be awarded a star.¹³⁸

The European chefs also passed their skills on, enabling the creation of a *haute cuisine* milieu that was increasingly Irish. Mac Con Iomaire divides his history of Dublin restaurants and their chefs into four phases: 1900-1922, 1922-1946, 1947-1974 and 1974-2002.¹³⁹ He describes how the expertise in the restaurants became increasingly Irish-born:

The leading chefs at the beginning of Phase Three (1947) were mostly foreign born, but by the end of Phase Three (1974), Irish chefs such as Vincent Dowling (Jammet's), Jackie Needham and Matt Dowling (Russell), Pierce Kingston (Intercontinental and Burlington), Mervyn Stewart (Clarence David Edwards (Jury's) and Michael Marley (Ranks) were in the ascendancy.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ The native countries of the chefs were represented in the following numbers: France 20, Switzerland 10, Germany 7, Austria 2, Italy 2.

¹³⁶ Born near Paris in France in 1912.

¹³⁷ From an oral history interview with one of the Irish chefs trained by Rolland (Ryan 2004, 63-70) MacCon Iomaire, *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine*, p. 285.

¹³⁸ MacCon Iomaire, 'Pierre Rolland', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. <https://www.dib.ie/biography/rolland-pierre-a9234>, accessed 8 January 2024.

¹³⁹ Mac Con Iomaire, *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Mac Con Iomaire, *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine*, p. 247.

This change was not accidental. The restaurant trade was well unionised and the ITGWU had, in exchange for not opposing work permits for the European chefs, negotiated that the Europeans would train Irish chefs.¹⁴¹ This seems to have been done thoroughly, as the chefs and other personnel interviewed by Mac Con Iomaire felt that they had been well taught.¹⁴² This view seems to have been well founded. Apprentices of the Swiss chef Trevaud from Jury's Hotel won 40% of the medals at a catering exhibition in the Mansion House in 1965, for example.¹⁴³

A new chapter in the story of fine dining in Ireland began in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Restaurants began to appear in places other than Dublin. Cashel County Tipperary was where Hans Matthiae from Germany chose to open 'Chez Hans' in 1968.¹⁴⁴ The venue for the restaurant was a nineteenth-century building which had been a Wesleyan chapel.¹⁴⁵ At first Matthiae's customers were mostly the 'remnants' of the Anglo-Irish community and wealthy County Tipperary farmers as it was not until the late 1970s that more ordinary local people began to dine out. At the time stand-alone restaurants were rare outside of Dublin and the first years were not easy.

The first five or six years was a struggle. We had a staff of four: I was chef, and there was my wife and one other person in the kitchen, and Michael Doyle, who has of course been with us for the 30 years.¹⁴⁶

From the beginning the restaurant exhibited the main features of *haute cuisine*, a wide choice of dishes, classic sauces and an elegant environment and Matthiae was

¹⁴¹ Mac Con Iomaire, *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine*, p. 289, it was in fact Rolland's employer, Kenneth Besson, the owner of the Russell hotel, who convinced the Union to agree to the compromise.

¹⁴² For their assessment of their training see Gerry Connell who worked in Jammets, MacCon Iomaire p. 275 and Smith who started work in the Red Bank at 13 (Smith: 2007, 18-44), MacCon Iomaire *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine*, p. 278.

¹⁴³ Mac Con Iomaire, *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine*, p. 255.

¹⁴⁴ John McKenna, 'Thirty years a-growing,' *Irish Times*, 4 April 1998, Matthiae first came to Cashel as a chef in the Cashel Palace Hotel when he was 19 in 1966.

¹⁴⁵ Jack Power, 'Tipperary: Chez Hans', *Irish Examiner*, 4 May 2014.

¹⁴⁶ Hans Matthiae interviewed by John McKenna, *Irish Times*, 4 April 1998.

not willing to compromise on quality.¹⁴⁷ 'You can't do a mish-mash, because it lacks direction. You must know your ingredients. And I don't think it matters that our food is quite rich. I am an old-timer'.¹⁴⁸ The quality of Matthiae's offering was recognised by a Michelin star in 1983.¹⁴⁹ However, it took ten years and greater prosperity for local people to see the restaurant as somewhere they could afford to visit. 'This was one of the biggest changes, and it gave us new heart, it really encouraged us. Suddenly people had money'.¹⁵⁰ Through their persistence and the quality of their food the Matthiae family created a new local market for their *haute cuisine*.¹⁵¹

A similar venture in County Mayo was not so successful. Gerard Morice, from Metz in France, and his Irish wife, Imelda, opened *La Petite France* in 1978.¹⁵² The location for their restaurant was Castlebar, offering, as one restaurant critic described it, 'a sophisticated French menu... it was one of our pleasures to stop and enjoy some remarkable meals there'.¹⁵³ Although Morice felt that *La Petite France* had 'five great years' in Castlebar, he and his wife closed the restaurant in the 1980s and moved to France.¹⁵⁴ It is possible that their lack of success was a question of timing. Morice himself felt that the recession in the 1980s was the main factor. It could also have been a question of persistence. Local people were not familiar with the menu, 'they only want steak and chips', he explained.¹⁵⁵ But the customers were willing to be persuaded. A trademark dish of *La Petite France* was *Quenelles de brochet*, the main ingredient of which was pike. Locals informed them that they could not use the word pike on the menu, 'so we dealt with the problem by calling it white fish mousse and got compliments for it'.¹⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that

¹⁴⁷ 'Haute cuisine classified by Carême and redefined by Escoffier was luxurious, sumptuous and decorative, and combined in complex ways the rarest and most expensive produce for the delectation of a wealthy and privileged clientele all eager to become gastronomes.' Mac Con Iomaire *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁸ John McKenna, *Irish Times*, 4 April 1998.

¹⁴⁹ Catherine Cleary, *Irish Times*, 10 June 2016.

¹⁵⁰ Hans Matthiae to John McKenna, *Irish Times*, 1998.

¹⁵¹ The business still survives at time of writing, 2024, run by Hans Matthiae's son Jason.

¹⁵² Gerard and Imelda met in 1972 when they were working in the Newport House Hotel. They were married in 1975. Deirdre McQuillan, 'French Connexion: a chef moves to Mayo to follow the family tradition', *Irish Times*, 23 November 2021.

¹⁵³ Deirdre McQuillan, *Irish Times*, 23 November 2021.

¹⁵⁴ Gerard Morice to Deirdre McQuillan, *Irish Times*, 23 November 2021.

¹⁵⁵ Gerard Morice to Deirdre McQuillan, *Irish Times*, 23 November 2021.

¹⁵⁶ Gerard Morice to Deirdre McQuillan, *Irish Times*, 23 November 2021.

Gerard's son, Alain, returned to Ireland in 2019 to open a French restaurant, *Savoir fare*, in Westport.¹⁵⁷

The 1980s saw more ethnic restaurants opening in Dublin. Sandy O' Byrne commented on this in her interview with Dermot Cawley and Claire O Mahony when asked about the changes in dining habits she observed when she became the *Irish Times* restaurant critic in 1986, 'There were obvious things like the beginning of different ethnic restaurants: Chinese, Middle Eastern, Italian'.¹⁵⁸ However provision of food by Italians had a much older history in the city and it could be said that they made the biggest change in food culture in that they affected the most people: they introduced fish and chips to Ireland. According to tradition, the first fish and chip shop was opened by Guiseppe Cervi, who opened his Great Brunswick Street establishment in 1886.¹⁵⁹ Giovanni Borza from Casalattico followed in 1898.¹⁶⁰ By the 1950s, Italian names were synonymous with fish and chip shops, as Breen Reynolds commented in the film 'Chippers', 'You wouldn't feel right if it wasn't Italian'.¹⁶¹ Many of the newer immigrants began their life in Ireland working for a family member and then opening their own business, sometimes in another area of Dublin, sometimes in another town. Joseph Malocca started his business life in Dublin by working for his parents in their cafe and then moved to Galway and set up a shop there.¹⁶² Domenico Filangi moved to Ireland in 1950 to work in his father-in-law's business in Crumlin and then was able to set up on his own in 1951 in a premises on Pearse Street.¹⁶³ Other 'chippers' appeared in Drogheda, Clones, Athlone, Dalkey, Limerick, Dundalk and Navan in County Meath.¹⁶⁴ While most of the

¹⁵⁷ Deirdre McQuillan. *Irish Times*, 23 November 2021.

¹⁵⁸ Sandy O Byrne interviewed by Diarmuid Cawley and Claire O Mahony in 'How Irish food criticism reflected and helped shape a changing nation 1988-2008', *Journal of Ethnological Studies*, vol.59, 2021, issue 2 p. 189.

¹⁵⁹ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p.185.

¹⁶⁰ Suzanne Pender, 'Carlow goes wild for the Italian chippers', *Carlow Nationalist*, 29 May 2020.

¹⁶¹ Breen Reynolds Department of Geography, Trinity College interviewed in Nino Tropiano *Chippers* RTE 2008, accessed 2022, 2024.

¹⁶² Application form, 5 January 1948, Joseph Malocca, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS 2013/50/933.

¹⁶³ Garda report, 6 May 1954, Domenico Filangi, naturalisation application form, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1626.

¹⁶⁴ Opened in Drogheda in 1944, application form, 23 March 1946, Crescenzo Magliocco, naturalisation application form, NAI, JUS, JUS/2023/50/754; opened in Clones 1943, Application form, 11 September 1946, Luigi Borza, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/806; opened in Athlone 1945, Application form, 10 September 1947, Anna and Francis Molocca, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/911; opened in Dalkey 1952, Garda Report, 23 October 1954, Antonio Matassa, naturalisation

Italian enterprises were 'take-away' outlets, some immigrants opened cafes and ice-cream parlours. The impact of these is best described by Gino di Mascio: 'There was no place where the ordinary man in the street could go and have something cooked. This is where the Italians came in and they filled that gap'.¹⁶⁵ By 2020 the Irish Italian Traditional Chippers Association claimed 200 members in Ireland..

Not all Italian migrants focussed on take-away food. From World War II onwards a series of Italian restaurants opened in Dublin. These created an ethnic eating experience not previously open to Dublin customers with an average income. MacCon Iomaire lists Ostinelli's which opened in 1945, Alfredo's, 1953, Bernardo's, 1954, The Unicorn in 1958 and Nico's in 1963.¹⁶⁶ Two of these restaurants, The Unicorn and Nico's, had a long trading life under their Italian proprietors, the Unicorn until 1994 and Nicos until 2018.¹⁶⁷ When the Sidoli family reopened The Unicorn in 1958 they did not continue its previous existence as a *haute cuisine* restaurant.¹⁶⁸ Instead they aimed to provide genuine, wholesome Italian food, such as *saltimbocca* and *scaloppini al Masala* at reasonable prices.¹⁶⁹ This aim seems to have been achieved. A review of Raymond Postgate's *Good Food Guide to Ireland* in the *Irish Times* listed The Unicorn as a good but not expensive place to eat, 'When it comes to

application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/1660; opened in Limerick 1954, Application form, 24 May 1957, Carmine Guiseppa Marsella, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2023/50/2009; opened in Limerick 1954, Application form, 24 May 1957, Carmine Guiseppa Marsella, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2023/50/2009; opened in Dundalk 1948, Application form, press cutting 11 July 1957, Antonio Nardone, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2030; opened in Navan 1957, application form, 11 September 1946, Luigi Borza, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/806.

¹⁶⁵ Gino di Mascio interviewed in Nino Tropiano, *Chippers*, RTE 2008.; by 2020 the Irish Italian Traditional Chippers Association claimed 200 members in Ireland; 'Six interesting facts from the unique history of Irish Italian Chippers', *The Journal*, 21 October 2016.

The Journal, <https://www.thejournal.ie/irish-american-chippers-romanyos-3039512-Oct2016/>, accessed 1 February 2024.

¹⁶⁶ Mac Con Iomaire, *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine*, list of Ostinelli's, Alfredo's, Bernardo's and Nico's p.262, Unicorn p. 298-299 including opening date, for opening dates for Ostinelli's, Alfredo's, Bernardo's and Nico's from Philip Nolan, *Irish Daily Mail*, 13 February 2021.

¹⁶⁷ The Unicorn was owned by the Sidoli family from Bardi until 1994 when it was sold to Jeffrey Stokes husband of the fashion designer Pia Bang, Philip Nolan, *Irish Daily Mail*, 13 February 2021; Nico's closed in 2018 when Emilio Cirillo retired, Conor Pope, 'Dublin Institution Nico's to close after more than 50 years', *Irish Times*, 20th October 2018

¹⁶⁸ The Unicorn had a previous existence in the 1930s to 1949 as a fine dining restaurant owned by an Austrian couple Erwin and Lisl Strunz, Peter Strunz, 'letter', *Irish Times*, 18 May 2007.

¹⁶⁹ Mac Con Iomaire, *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine*, p. 298.

Dublin, it shows a nice catholicity or democracy, finding space to appraise the Charcoal Grill, The Trocadero and the Unicorn as well as the plusher pricier places'.¹⁷⁰ Many of the restaurant's first customers were priests, presumably reliving memories of their time in Rome, but it became better known as the haunt of rising Irish politicians.

The fact that the restaurant was within falling distance of Leinster House, the Shelbourne bar and Doheny & Nesbitt wasn't a problem with the political and legal golden circle of that era, who made it their second kitchen. Drama was the norm. It was like the night of the long knives and forks, with pasta.¹⁷¹

P. J Mara, a Fianna Fáil TD, described The Unicorn as, 'a hugely enjoyable exchange and mart for scurrility and calumny'.¹⁷² The fact that many ascendant politicians frequented The Unicorn raised Renato Sidoli's own profile in the Italian community in Ireland. The *Irish Times* obituary calls him 'an unofficial ambassador for his country' and notes that Sidoli was given the title of Commendatore by the Italian government in the late 1980s when the restaurateur retired.¹⁷³ The Unicorn could also be commended for raising the status of women in the catering community. MacCon Iomaire states *haute cuisine* kitchens were almost exclusively male, but the kitchen staff in The Unicorn were almost all female and perhaps the best known member of the Sidoli family was Renato Sidoli's sister 'Miss Dom' who ran the restaurant when Renato and his wife retired until its sale in 1994.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ 'Review of Raymond Postgate's Good Food Guide to Ireland' *Irish Times*, 29th July 1967.

¹⁷¹ For the reference to priests see Philip Nolan, *Irish Daily Mail*, 13 February 2021, Nolan claims that the clergy had become used to Italian cuisine from their journeys to Rome; quotation from Barry Egan, 'Raise a glass to Ireland's greatest hostess – the Unicorn's Miss Dom', *Irish Independent*, 24 June 2018.

¹⁷² 'Italian founder of Dublin restaurant that lured movers and shakers', *Irish Times*, 12 May 2007.

¹⁷³ 'Italian founder of Dublin restaurant that lured mover and shakers', *Irish Times*, 12 May 2007.

¹⁷⁴ For the composition of kitchens see MacCon Iomaire, *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine*, p. 298; 'Italian founder of Dublin restaurant that lured movers and shakers', *Irish Times*, 12 May 2007; for the importance of 'Miss Dom' see Philip Nolan, *Irish Daily Mail*, 13 February 2021.

Providing authentic Italian food made from good fresh ingredients was also the aim of Nico's in Dame Street throughout its fifty-five year history.¹⁷⁵ 'We have changed the menu very little in 36 years and that is because I believe what people want is good food on their plate. They don't want fancy or flash dishes but want fresh ingredients cooked well'.¹⁷⁶ Nico's was perhaps more authentically Italian than The Unicorn, which also had French dishes on the menu, proven by the fact that the Italian community in Dublin often ate in Nico's.¹⁷⁷ In common with The Unicorn, Nico's location was favourable for politicians as customers. Conor Pope lists Charlie Haughey and Brian Lenihan for example. In addition, the Dawson Street restaurant was also close to both the Gaiety, which made it favourite choice of visiting Italian opera singers, and Trinity College, of academics.¹⁷⁸

But what was the European influence on what people could put in their shopping baskets? The very fact of having people from different nationalities living in Ireland changed what shops were stocking. One of the first of these 'new' products was pasta. Antonio Nico started selling his own pasta in Dublin in the early 1950s, presumably to cater to the growing population of Italians in the city. In 1956 Nico and Dublin entrepreneur Patrick Meade set up the Dublin Macaroni Company to market Italian foods in Ireland.¹⁷⁹ This enterprise was successful and by 1966 a photo shows Patrick Meade and Antonio Nico at the opening of their factory in Finglas. The business had by this time changed its name to Roma Foods and was trading nationally.¹⁸⁰

However some of the European food innovations grew out of a local level of production and consumption. Young Europeans who had come to Ireland to farm

¹⁷⁵ This history was under the influence of two Italian chefs; the eponymous Ruggero Nico who founded the restaurant in 1963 and Graziano Romeri who with Emilio Cirillo acquired Nico's in 1977, Conor Pope, 'Dublin Institution Nico's to close after more than 50 years', *Irish Times*, 20 October 2018.

¹⁷⁶ Emilio Cirillo, joint owner of Nico's since 1977, interviewed by Anna Coogan, 'Fifty years of serving top Italian Nico's Nosh', *Irish Independent*, 5 September 2013.

¹⁷⁷ Conor Pope, 'Dublin Institution Nico's to close after more than 50 years', *Irish Times*, 20 October 2018.

¹⁷⁸ Conor Pope, 'Dublin Institution Nico's to close after more than 50 years', *Irish Times*, 20 October 2018.

¹⁷⁹ Roma Foods, <https://www.linkedin.com/company/roma-foods/about/>, accessed 12 February 2024.

¹⁸⁰ For the factory opening see <https://www.irishphotoarchive.ie/image/I0000fFNHmvOycmY>, accessed 2 April 2022; for the name change see Roma Foods, <https://www.linkedin.com/company/roma-foods/about/>, accessed 18 February 2024.

and live in a more environmentally friendly way found themselves trading surpluses in local farmers' markets and farm shops. In the 1980s Dirk Flake sold most of his organic vegetables and Hugo Van Der Laan his cheese through the St Nicholas market in Galway.¹⁸¹ For several farmers, making artisan cheeses was a way of using up surplus milk and providing added value to the farm.¹⁸² But what started as a sideline became a business for some of the artisan producers. An article in *The Cork Examiner* from 1988 suggested that at least twenty-four farmers were at that time making a living from cheese production.¹⁸³ In 1979 Helene Willems, from The Netherlands, started making Coolea Farmhouse cheese from an old Dutch Gouda recipe, for local consumption. 'It was beautiful we had the milk and I could make lovely 'golden balls', we maybe had 100 sitting there in the dairy'. But it was clear that they needed a distributor. In 1981 when Helene and Dick were delivering to a shop in Macroom they saw a van from Michael Horgan's (a national delicatessen and grocery distributor) 'I said to Dick that's where we should be selling'.¹⁸⁴ Dick and Helene contacted Michael Horgan. He arrived the next day and started distributing their cheese nationally. Over the next few years the couple developed the farm as a mainly cheese-producing unit. In 1987 they built a commercial cheese plant with a storage capacity of fifteen tons of cheese.¹⁸⁵ As Coolea cheese became better known through winning international prizes at the 1989 6th International Food and Drink Exhibition in London and first prize at the London International Cheese Show in the following year, the farm also began exporting cheese through Neal's Yard in Covent Garden.¹⁸⁶ It is worth noting that, at the International Cheese show Coolea was competing with artisan cheese from all over Europe as well as New Zealand and South Africa.¹⁸⁷ In time, cheese production became the main focus of the farm and the Willems family began buying in milk from other local milk producers.¹⁸⁸ The

¹⁸¹ Conversations with Dirk Flake and Hugo Van de Laan, December 2022.

¹⁸² Interview with Helene Willems, recorded 5 May 2022.

¹⁸³ *Cork Examiner*, 22 October 1988.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Helen Willems, recorded 5 May 2022, for the date of this incident see *Cork Examiner*, 5 September 1987, Michael Horgan's is now Horgan's Delicatessen supplies based in Mitchelstown Co Cork.

¹⁸⁵ Coolea Cheese, <http://www.cooleacheese.com/who-we-are.html>, accessed 2 April 2022.

¹⁸⁶ For the 1989 6th International Food and Drink Exhibition in London see *Cork Examiner*, 9 February 1989; for the International Cheese show see Frank O Donovan, 'Top award for Coolea cheese makers', *Corkman*, 2 March 1990; for the connection with Neal's Yard see interview with Helene Willems recorded 5 May 2022.

¹⁸⁷ Frank O Donovan, 'Top award for Coolea cheese makers', *Corkman*, 2 March 1990.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Helene Willems, recorded 5 May 2022.

Willems family, then, not only made Coolea better known through the name of their prizewinning cheese, and helped give Irish cheese an international reputation, but they also provided an opportunity for other local farmers to sell their milk.¹⁸⁹

Bread is another product changed by European influence, particularly the introduction or perhaps reintroduction of sourdough bread.¹⁹⁰ Norbert Illien and his family migrated to Ireland in 1983 to a small townland in East Galway called Moyglass. Norbert was a professional in Germany, a town planner. When it was obvious that there was no suitable work in County Galway, he and his wife Barbara started a bakery.¹⁹¹ Special diets to improve health had been a feature of popular culture in Europe since the 1970s and this trend had spread to Ireland by the 1980s and so the bread that they made was wheat-free and yeast-free.¹⁹² The family started by supplying the local health food shops and by 1984 they also had a stall in St Nicholas' market in Galway.¹⁹³ The bakery also made a wheat-free sugar-free fruit cake. The Moyglass products were popular and for twenty years Norbert and his wife supported their family from the bakery.¹⁹⁴ The Illiens were not the only family to start making sourdough bread in Ireland. Harry and Annelies Bartleink were offering this product with their goats' cheese in 1986 and the German-owned Continental Cafe in Westport advertised this bread as part of its menu in 1989.¹⁹⁵ But one could say that the Moyglass family were one of the few to make and still be making a living from bread production after forty years.

The Arts

¹⁸⁹The Willems farm has continued to win prizes for Coolea cheese in 1999, 2007, 2008

<http://www.cooleacheese.com/who-we-are.html>, accessed 2 April 2022

¹⁹⁰ Smithsonian Magazine, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/13th-century-french-monks-baked-sourdough-ireland-180975888>, accessed 19 February 2024, this article claims that Cistercian monks were using sourdough baking techniques in the 11th century.

¹⁹¹ Interview with Norbert Illien, recorded 25 April 2022.

¹⁹² For public interest in special diets see Robert Crawford, 'Healthism and the Medicalization of Everyday Life', *International Journal of Social Determinants of Health and Health Services*, Vol. 10, issue 3, 1980, pp. 365-388.

¹⁹³ The Happy Loaf, [facebook.com/MadeinGalway/posts/about-our-producersthe-happy-loaf-has-been-supplying-the-people-of-galway-with-h/1552346541544295](https://www.facebook.com/MadeinGalway/posts/about-our-producersthe-happy-loaf-has-been-supplying-the-people-of-galway-with-h/1552346541544295), accessed 19 February 2024.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Norbert Illien, recorded 25 April 2022, in 2001 Norbert passed the business on to his son Paul who trades under the name 'Happy Loaf.'

¹⁹⁵ For Harry and Annelies Bartleink see *Cork Examiner*, 24 June 1986 and for the Continental Cafe, see Sally McKenna, 'Gastronomic guide for the weary tourist', *Irish Independent*, 18 July 1989.

Historically, a European influence can be seen in many of the arts in Ireland, particularly in the early modern era when the aristocratic owners of the 'Big Houses' commissioned art works for their estates and sponsored musical compositions.¹⁹⁶ While many European artists and musicians stayed for a short period for a particular project, some made their home there.¹⁹⁷ While the Celtic revival of the late nineteenth century highlighted indigenous art and music European artists and musicians still continued to live and work in Ireland. The post-World War II period was no exception with several immigrants coming, such as Yann Goulet (Breton) and János Fürst (Hungarian) as exiles and refugees, others because they married an Irish person or by invitation.

It is clear that the vast majority, in terms of influence and numbers, of the European creative artists who came to Ireland after 1945, were musicians. This is perhaps unremarkable when one considers the efforts that the public broadcaster made to court European musical talent and the fact that an art form not reliant on language levels the playing-field for non-English speakers. Nevertheless most art forms saw a few individual Europeans making a contribution. The following will examine the role played by Europeans in music, literature, theatre, visual art and cinema.

Participation by Europeans in the musical life of Ireland is a trend that goes back as far as Handel and was strong at the turn of the twentieth century, in spite of the cultural emphasis given to traditional Irish music as part of the Celtic revival. Some of the composers involved were interested in a fusion between traditional Irish and classical music. Aloys Fleischmann was an accidental immigrant in that he should have been born in Ireland. His parents, both musicians, had moved to County Cork in 1906, and he was born in Munich in 1910 because his mother, a concert pianist,

¹⁹⁶ Finuala Cassin Williams, 'Johann van der Hagen' (Dutch), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/van-der-hagen-johann-a8783>, accessed 10 January 2024, van der Hagen was commissioned to make the designs for the tapestries for the Irish House of Lords.; Gabrielle Ricciardelli' (from Milan) whose commissioned landscapes included the home of the 2nd Viscount of Wickow, <https://www.libraryireland.com/irishartists/c.php>, accessed 8 November 2023.

¹⁹⁷ Handel for example came to Dublin, (his lodgings were in Abbey Street) in 1741 where he composed and conducted the first performances of *The Messiah*. Paul Collins, 'George Frederick Handel' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/handel-george-frederick-a3777>, accessed 8 November 2023.

was on tour when he arrived.¹⁹⁸ Fleischmann saw his contribution as bringing what he called Gaelic folk music together with art music to make a fusion.

We have on the one hand a tradition in folk-music, on the other hand a half developed art-music which is for the most part alien or at best no more than superficially connected with that tradition. What we need is a Gaelic art-music which will embody all the technique that contemporary music can boast and at the same time will be rooted in the folk-music spirit, and will be as individual and genuine as that folk-music is individual and genuine.¹⁹⁹

Fleischmann explored this theme in his article, 'Ars Nova: Irish Music in the Shaping',

A new wave of interest and enthusiasm is indeed perceptible, but the majority of the enthusiasts, when they speak of music, mean traditional music Composition is conceived as the adding of three parts to a folk-tune. Centuries of development in craft and idiom are ignored. Surely it is a poor story if the Ireland of the present day - and a Gaelic thinking, even Gaelic speaking Ireland at that - could not begin to express herself as truly and as individually in the language of contemporary music And such new expression, though breathing the spirit of traditional music, need not have the remotest connection with its externalia in form or manner.²⁰⁰

Frederick May, one of Fleischmann's contemporaries, felt that Fleischmann had achieved this.²⁰¹ May wrote in 1949.

In this work as in the three Irish songs [TríhAmhráin], Fleischmann has managed to do something entirely original; he has become articulate for an Ireland that is gone, or rather, he has given us in music a symbol of what Ireland, her people, her history ... mean to each one of us. He has effected in sound a crystallisation and intensification of a feeling common to all Irishmen,

¹⁹⁸ Ita Beausang, 'Aloys Georg Fleischmann,' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. <https://www.dib.ie/biography/fleischmann-aloys-georg-a3282>, accessed 1 September 2013.

¹⁹⁹ A, Fleischmann 'The Outlook of Music in Ireland', *Studies*, xxiv / 3 (1935) p. 124.

²⁰⁰ A Fleischmann, 'Ars Nova. Irish Music in the Shaping', *Ireland Today*, i/2 1936, p. 45.

²⁰¹ May was an Irish composer who had studied in London with Vaughan Williams and in Vienna with Egon Wellesz. He was musical director at the Abbey Theatre for 15 years. The Contemporary Music Centre, <https://www.cmc.ie/composers/frederick-may>, accessed 1 September 2023.

and in so doing he has secured for himself an honoured and a permanent place in the musical history of his country.²⁰²

Axel Klein, a modern musicologist, also saw this fusion in Fleischmann's work.²⁰³ His commentary on Fleischmann's Piano Suite No 5, a piece very much in the art music tradition, notes, 'one feels the jig sooner than one hears it'.²⁰⁴ Phillip Graydon argues that, 'For Fleischmann, being artistically 'modern' thus constituted being both Irish and European: in a phrase, forging the universal without repudiating the particular'.²⁰⁵ This fusion then could be called Fleischmann's legacy.²⁰⁶

With the birth of the Free State and the foundation of 2RN, the State's first radio station in 1926 the need was perceived for a classical orchestra.²⁰⁷ In 1926 a station orchestra was founded and this had increased from four to forty musicians by 1942. As it grew, the orchestra embarked on a programme of public concerts which created an audience for orchestral music in Dublin.²⁰⁸ Harry White saw Radio Éireann as 'seminal to the cultivation of music,' in independent Ireland'.²⁰⁹ The radio station encouraged the composition of new works and provided an opportunity for listeners to hear the European repertoire again.²¹⁰

For reasons of quality, RÉ recruited European musicians throughout this period, as discussed in more detail in chapter 2.²¹¹ One of the early recruits, Arthur Nachstern, felt the European influence in the RE orchestra was significant.

²⁰² Frederick May cited in Séamus de Barra, 'Fleischmann The Composer,' *New Music*, September 1992, pp. 6-7.

²⁰³ See Research Foundation for Music in Ireland, <http://musicresearch.ie/?q=draxelklein>, accessed 1 September 2023.

²⁰⁴ Alex Klein, *Die Musik Irlands im 20. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1996), p. 187, cited by Phillip Graydon, 'Modernism in Ireland and its Cultural Context in the Music and writing of Frederick May, Brian Boydell and Aloys Fleischmann,' MA Thesis (Maynooth, University of Maynooth, July 1999).

²⁰⁵ Graydon, *Modernism in Ireland*, p. 192.

²⁰⁶ Aloys Fleischmann also wrote the first survey of music education in Ireland, Aloys Fleischmann *Music in Ireland a Symposium* (Oxford: Blackwells for Cork University Press, 1952), a detailed compendium of exactly who was involved in teaching music, where and their quality.

²⁰⁷ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland* p. 1; the station was renamed Radio Éireann in 1938, Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p. 2.

²⁰⁸ Harold White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland 1770-1970* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), p. 133.

²⁰⁹ White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland*, p. 133.

²¹⁰ White *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland*, p. 133.

²¹¹ See Chapter 2.

The achievements of the early years of the RÉSO laid a firm foundation for what we know today as the National Symphony Orchestra. Looking back we were very fortunate: as a country we were small, musically we were not known internationally, yet such a wealth of brilliant conductors and musicians...were coming to Ireland and giving us the benefits of their experience.²¹²

While all of the European conductors and musicians who worked with the RÉ orchestra contributed to the overall musical milieu in Ireland, three stand out: Maurice Meulien, Tibor Paul and JánosFűrst. Maurice Meulien, an immigrant from France, was the orchestra's principle cellist by 1963. Richard Pine recounts an incident which shows both Meulien's proficiency and how the other players in the orchestra received him. A visiting soloist had failed to arrive for a rehearsal of the Dvořák cello concerto, 'Meulien offered to sit in as soloist for the rehearsal...and gave a faultless performance entirely from memory being loudly applauded by the rest of the orchestra'.²¹³ Brian Boydell, the composer, was one of Meulien's referees for the cellist's naturalisation application and chose him as one of a chamber group to perform the composer's arrangement of, 'Songs for Change'.²¹⁴

Tibor Paul, the conductor of the RÉ Symphony Orchestra from 1961-1967, was one of the Hungarians who left before the Soviet takeover in 1948. He came to Ireland after an impressive career in Australia.²¹⁵ Paul was a contentious figure. He had a well-publicised argument with the Irish composer A.J. Potter over the latter's opera, 'Patrick' and Paul's comments in an *Irish Times* interview in 1962, 'much as I admire the enthusiasm at all concerts here, I find it absent whenever Irish works are played'.²¹⁶ Potter interpreted this as an attack on Irish composers. Potter's attitude

²¹² Arthur Nachstern, *Music and Memories: 50 years of the Symphony orchestra* (Dublin: typescript 1997) cited Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p. 136.

²¹³ C. Kelly, 'Look back in Pleasure', in L. McRedmond, *Written on the Wind* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1976), p. 25.

²¹⁴ Garda report on referees, Maurice Meulien, he was offered naturalisation on 15 February 1963, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS,JUS/2013/50/2332, and Richard Pine, *Music and Broadcasting*, p. 223, footnote 16.

²¹⁵ Christopher Howell, 'Forgotten Artists- Tibor Paul', <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/paul-tibor-11352>, accessed 1 September 2023.

²¹⁶ For a full discussion of the argument see Howell, 'Forgotten Artists- Tibor Paul', pp. 4-6; Talking to Tibor Paul', *Irish Times*, 20 January 1962.

was probably unfounded as one of Tibor Paul's achievements, throughout his career as principal conductor, was to promote the work of the young Irish composer Seóirse Bodley.²¹⁷ Paul chose to feature Bodley's work at prestigious events such as the UNESCO International Rostrum of Composers in 1966, in spite of the experimental nature of Bodley's compositions which might have made the composer initially an unpopular choice.²¹⁸

Popular or not, Paul's choice of music for the RÉ concerts considerably widened the orchestra's repertoire and through his influence was able to bring Stravinsky to Ireland in 1963 as a guest conductor. Stravinsky wanted to come.

I have come here because I want to see Ireland and show them some music of mine... I have never been to Ireland. Can you imagine – never! When I was living in France in 1920, when events in your country became very historical, I became interested in Ireland and read everything I could find out about it. So I want to see Dublin and Ireland. As we start rehearsing on Wednesday, I have only two days to do so. It is not enough for a very important country.²¹⁹

Above all, Paul encouraged modern music during his spell as conductor both by encouraging Irish composers and introducing Europeans to the country's repertoire. Charles Acton, the music critic of the *Irish Times* during Paul's tenure as conductor also recognised Paul's influence in improving the quality of the RÉ Orchestra's work from the beginning. 'An impression of improvement all round, already. After these five concerts of his, may I ask RÉ or the Government to induce Mr. Paul to become our permanent conductor?'²²⁰ Acton's opinion did not change and in 1963 he was still describing Paul as 'a powerful force in musical life and when he eventually

²¹⁷ See Aosdana, <http://aosdana.artscouncil.ie/members/bodley/>, accessed 2 September 2023

²¹⁸ Howell 'Forgotten Artists- Tibor Paul,' p. 4.

²¹⁹ Interview with Igor Stravinski, *Irish Press* cited, *The Journal of Music*, <https://journalofmusic.com/focus/when-stravinsky-came-dublin-1963>, accessed 2 September 2023.

²²⁰ Charles Acton, *Irish Times*, 10 October 1959.

moves on...the effect he is having on our musical life will be felt for a long time afterwards'.²²¹

The Hungarian János Fürst first came to Ireland in 1958 to work with the R  orchestra as a violinist.²²² F rst was first recruited as a second violin, but by the time of his naturalisation application in 1962, he was deputy leader of the orchestra.²²³ A letter from the Assistant Manager of the Radio  ireann Symphony Orchestra to the Department of Industry and Commerce describes him as, 'one of the most useful players we have and has in fact acted as leader of the Symphony Orchestra on occasions'.²²⁴ Over the period 1977 to 1986 F rst was guest conductor of the orchestra, now called the Radio Telefis  ireann Symphony Orchestra, several times and was principal conductor from 1983 to 1986.²²⁵

There are three distinct aspects to F rst's contribution to Irish music. First, as conductor, he introduced opera to the repertoire of RTESO's concert series in 1987.²²⁶ Earlier in 1965 he had set up the Irish Chamber Orchestra with fellow violinist David Lillis. This was a ground-breaking institution, the first professional Chamber Orchestra in Ireland. Their first performance in March 1965 was described by music critic Charles Acton.

One of the outstanding events in Dublin's musical history...If J nos F rst and his players can retain this enormous vitality and excitement...there is no reason why they should not be internationally famous.²²⁷

This article proved to be prophetic. The ensemble persisted, built an international reputation and is still performing in the twenty-first century.²²⁸ However his most enduring legacy is perhaps his recognition of the Irish mezzo-soprano Bernadette

²²¹ Charles Acton, *Irish Times*, 16 October 1964.

²²² F rst had escaped his native Hungary in 1956 when the Soviet reprisals made living there impossible for him. Michael Dervan, 'RTESO conductor and violinist J nos F rst dies ages 71', *Irish Times*, 5 January 2007.

²²³ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p. 206.

²²⁴ Letter to Industry and commerce, 4 November 1962, J nos F rst, naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS, JUS/2013/50/2374.

²²⁵ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p. 313.

²²⁶ Richard Strauss' *Elektra* and the first Act of Wagner's *Die Walk re*. Michael Dervan, *Irish Times*, 20 May 1989.

²²⁷ Charles Acton, *Irish Times*, 22 March 1965.

²²⁸ Irish Chamber Orchestra, <https://www.irishchamberorchestra.com/>, accessed 20 September 2023.

Greevey. 'I find it an absolute scandal that the woman who has been one of the foremost exponents of Mahler, not just here but elsewhere, has never recorded those pieces, And I think we owe it to her ... to make this (a recording of the *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* and the *Kindertotenlieder*) while it can still be done'.²²⁹ Fürst accomplished this in 1987.²³⁰

Several European writers have either stayed for periods of time or come to live in Ireland. The most prominent were Michel Déon and Heinrich Böll. One might call the two writers ambassadors for Ireland. Their work, whether in their native tongue or in translation, had an impact on Ireland as well as their home countries. Böll's *Irisches Tagebuch*, first published as a book in 1957, was an account of his holidays in Ireland in the 1950s. Böll first visited Ireland in 1954 and in 1958 bought a small cottage on Achill where he and his family spent their summers until his death in 1985.²³¹ From its initial publication the book was a best seller in Germany, with effusive reviews.²³² The reception in Ireland was much more mixed. Conor Cruise O'Brien called it a 'ghastly little book' in 1967, while Sean O'Faolain praised the work as an accurate reflection of Ireland in the 1950s.²³³ There is evidence, however, that the book contributed to German people's desire to visit Ireland as tourists from the 1960s onwards. Herbert Rimmel also mentions the effect in Germany of Böll in the 1950s.²³⁴ Anne Fuchs, a German lady who became known locally as 'the lady with the goats' certainly claimed that Böll inspired her to want to visit Achill, a visit which led to her immigrating in the early 1980s, buying a small farm and rearing goats.²³⁵ Böll's executors reopened his cottage as a writer's retreat in 1992.²³⁶

²²⁹ János Fürst Interview with Michael Dervan, 'Full Cycle,' *Music Ireland*, 2/1 (December 1986-January 1987).

²³⁰ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, p. 543.

²³¹ Goethe Institut, <https://www.goethe.de/ins/ie/en/kul/sup/dsi/20734425.html>, accessed 19 September 2023.

²³² Gisela Holfter, *Heinrich Böll and Ireland* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), p. 116.

²³³ Conor Cruise O'Brien, 'In Quest of Uncle Tom' *New York Review of Books*, 14 September 1967, cited by Gisela Holfter, *Heinrich Böll and Ireland*, p. 125; Sean O' Faolain, 'A land that bewitches', *New York Times Book Review*, 13 August 1967, cited by Gisela Holfter, *Heinrich Böll and Ireland*, p. 125.

²³⁴ Rimmel, *From Cologne to Ballinlough*, p.36.

²³⁵ *Mayo News*, 10 May 2011.

²³⁶ Goethe Institut, <https://www.goethe.de/ins/ie/en/kul/sup/dsi/20734425.html>, accessed 21 September 2023.

A French writer with a similar effect on tourism was Michel Déon.²³⁷ The writer and his family arrived in Ireland in 1969 so that his children could be educated there. Two of his novels are set in Ireland, *Les Poneys Sauvages*, published in 1970, and *Un Taxi Mauve*, published in 1973. The latter was filmed in Ireland over the years 1976-1977. This film was directed by Yves Boisset with a cast which included Charlotte Rampling, Peter Ustinov and Fred Astaire. To quote Marjorie Brennan, 'The Purple Taxi only had a short run in Irish cinemas, and it wasn't particularly well received. However, the film was a big success in France and it was reported that the Irish tourist office in Paris was inundated with inquiries after its screening'.²³⁸ Déon was honoured by both the Royal Irish Academy and the Académie Française.²³⁹ In 2018, the two bodies jointly funded a prize in his honour.²⁴⁰

Few European immigrants have been active in Irish theatre and most of these of incidental importance and outside the timeline of this study. Vera Esposito was an actress for the Abbey at the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century and Adolphe Gebler, better known for being Edna O'Brien's father-in-law, wrote the music for the Gate's production of *Lady Precious Stream* in 1934.²⁴¹ In the post-war period the Dublin theatrical milieu, particularly The Gate, looked towards Europe for the work of experimental European playwrights and featured their work.²⁴² But this interest did not seem to result in either European actors or playwrights coming to live permanently in Ireland.

²³⁷ Déon was born in Paris in 1919, Royal Irish Academy, https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/deon-commerative_booklet.pdf, accessed 2 December 2023.

²³⁸ Marjorie Brennan, 'Fred Astaire movie to be shown in West Cork 40 years after being filmed in the region', *Irish Examiner*, 10 August 2017.

²³⁹ He was elected to the *Académie Française* in 1978.

²⁴⁰ Royal Irish Academy, <https://www.ria.ie/michel-deon->, accessed 2 December 2023.

²⁴¹ 'The Author of himself', *Dublin Review of Books*, November 2020; Vera Esposito was the daughter of the musician and conductor Michele Esposito, born in Naples in 1855, who moved to Dublin in 1882 with his wife and family; Patrick Geoghegan, 'Michele Esposito' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/esposito-michele-a2951#:~:text=> accessed 2 December 2023.; Ciara O Dowd, 'Magic Windows: Ria Mooney at the Gate Theatre' in David Clare ed., *The Gate Theatre Dublin* (Oxford and New York: Peter Lang, 2018), p. 144; Adolphe Gebler was born in Bohemia in and arrived in Dublin in 1908 where he married an Irish woman. He played clarinet for the RE orchestra. He was the father of the writer Ernest Gebler and grandfather of the writer and film maker Carlo Gebler; Bridget Hourican, 'Stan Gebler Davies', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/davies-stan-gebler-a2426>, accessed 2 December 2023.

²⁴² David Clare, Des Lally and Patrick Lonergan eds., *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018), p. 374.

A few European artists who settled in Ireland after 1945 were so influential on the national scene that they were considered worthy of Aosdána membership. Europeans admitted to membership include the sculptor Yann Goulet (born in Brittany in 1914), the architect and later sculptor Alexandra Wejchert (born in Poland in 1921), the ceramicist Sonja Landweer (born in Holland in 1933) the painter Veronica Bolay (born in Germany in 1941), the sculptor Imogen Stuart (born in Berlin in 1927) and the visual artist Anita Groener (born in The Netherlands in 1958). Since 1981, Aosdána membership is a reasonable barometer of how established or respected a visual artist is or has been in Ireland. Membership of the organisation is by nomination and election not by application. Any artists nominated must have lived in Ireland for five years and have an attested body of work.²⁴³

One of the five, Yann Goulet, a Breton exile, was a skilled portrait artist whose contribution should be seen in the realm of 'official' art and portraiture. During his long association with Fianna Fáil the artist was commissioned to produce portraits of both Charles Haughey and Ben Dunne. As with many other European migrants with skills, Goulet was a committed teacher and held the post of Professor of Sculpture for the Royal Hibernian Academy from 1986.²⁴⁴

As a ceramicist, Sonja Landweer's contribution to Irish art was to work in an abstract style that seemed to echo Henry Moore or Barbara Hepworth's sculpture, much as in her works: 'Askew', 'Two Planes' and 'Pointed Seeds'.²⁴⁵ This was a new departure for Irish ceramics, which had been traditionally much more functional.²⁴⁶ This artist, who was born in the Netherlands in 1933, worked in the middle ground between industry and art and indeed moved to Ireland to set up the ceramic studio for the Kilkenny Design Workshop in 1965.²⁴⁷ She exhibited her work in 24 exhibitions, some outside Ireland.²⁴⁸ Landweer and her partner Barrie Cook co-founded the Kilkenny Arts Week. When Seamus Heaney made the acceptance

²⁴³ Aosdana, <http://aosdana.arts council.ie/about/electoral-procedures/>, accessed 27 November 2023.

²⁴⁴ Aidan Dunne, 'Death of Sculptor Goulet,' *Irish Times*, 25 August 1999.

²⁴⁵ Mullan Gallery, <https://www.mullangallery.com/artist/sonja-landweer/bio/189/>, accessed 29 November 2023.

²⁴⁶ Scandinavian Design Group in Ireland, *Design in Ireland* (Dublin: CórasTráchtála, 1962), pp.19-20.

²⁴⁷ <https://imma.ie/artists/sonja-landweer/>, accessed 29 November 2023.

²⁴⁸ Aosdana, <http://aosdana.arts council.ie/members/landweer/>, accessed 29 November 2023.

speech for his Nobel Prize in 1995 he read his poem, 'To a Dutch Painter in Ireland', dedicated to Landweer.²⁴⁹

Some European artists were inspired by Ireland's beauty and unspoilt landscape. The painter Veronica Bolay, born in Hamburg in 1941, came to Ireland in 1971 initially because she married the actor Peter Jankowsky and he wanted to live there.²⁵⁰ Nevertheless Bolay seems to have fallen in love with the country herself and in her notes for an exhibition in 2006 explained, 'My themes emerge from the Irish land and landscape, especially the rural landscape'.²⁵¹ Bolay's work has been described as mystical by the past President of the Royal Hibernian Academy, Mick O'Dea and Brian Lynch called her, 'a poet in paint'.²⁵² The Irish poet Paul Durcan wrote two poems inspired by her paintings, 'The Hay Carrier' and 'Island Musician Goes Home'.²⁵³

An artist whose work has been chosen for many public buildings in Ireland is the German sculptor, Imogen Stuart, born in Berlin in 1927.²⁵⁴ Her work was mostly for ecclesiastical buildings such as her statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary for Galway Cathedral. It is ironic to note that an artist from a Jewish-Protestant background should have been responsible for some of the finest examples of sculpture for Catholic churches. Her impact was probably best described, publicly, by President Mary MacAleese in 2010, as 'a canon of work that synthesises our complex past, present image and possible future'.²⁵⁵ Her significance is indicated by the amount of Irish honours she has received, the McAuley medal (2010) and doctorates from Trinity College (2002), University College Dublin (2004) and Maynooth (2005),

²⁴⁹ 'Sonja Landweer,' *Irish Times*, 11 January 2020.

²⁵⁰ Jankowsky had already visited Ireland in 1957 and had become fascinated by the country.

'Veronica Bolay' *Irish Times*, 1 February 2020.

²⁵¹ 'Veronica Bolay – obituary,' *Irish Times*, 1 February 2020.

²⁵² Elizabeth Birdthistle, 'Veronica Bolay: An Observer and Painter whose work was difficult to classify', *Irish Times*, 4 February 2023.

²⁵³ 'Veronica Bolay obituary,' *Irish Times*.

²⁵⁴ Derek Scully, 'The President honours the genius of Imogen Stuart', *Irish Times*, 4 September 2010.

²⁵⁵ Born in Germany in 1927 and came to Ireland in 1949 with her partner then husband Ian Stuart whom she married in 1951. Ian Stuart was the son of Iseult Gonne and Francis Stuart the controversial novelist, <http://aosdana.artscouncil.ie/members/stuart/>, accessed 27 November 2023; Mary Immaculate College and Galway Cathedral for example <http://aosdana.artscouncil.ie/members/stuart/>, accessed 27 November 2023; Mary Immaculate College, <https://www.mic.ul.ie/life-at-mic/imogen-stuart-exhibition/imogen-stuart-biography>, accessed 27 November 2023.

amongst others.²⁵⁶ This reputation is underlined by the fact that her peers in Aosdána voted her Saoi in 2015. Only five people can hold this honour at any one time.²⁵⁷

For some European immigrant artists, the lived experience of their migration directly informed their art. Gerda Frömel, born in Czechoslovakia in 1931, lived and worked in Ireland from 1955 to 1975. She and her family, who were German-speakers, had been expelled from Czechoslovakia after World War II. Frömel brought to Ireland a direct experience of what the war had meant to people living in Europe. Her work was described by Aidan Dunne as 'in tune with Europe's post-war art of anxiety, created by a generation shaken by the barbarity of recent conflict... and the dawning awareness of the risks of the nuclear age'.²⁵⁸ Her body of work includes large scale pieces such as the 'Sails' on the entrance to the Regional Technical College in Galway (now ATU), stained glass in Kildare Cathedral.²⁵⁹

Alexandra Wejchert, a Polish native, came to Ireland in 1965 as an exile, if not strictly a refugee, from the communist regime. Her biographer, Bridget Hourican, explains that the desire for freedom echoes through Wejchert's sculptures and, in fact, her design of hands reaching for a dove which carried an olive branch won the design competition for a stamp to commemorate International Women's Year in 1975.²⁶⁰ Wejchert was commissioned by many public bodies to design monumental sculpture, for example: a wall relief for UCD in 1971, a sculpture entitled 'Freedom' for the new AIB building in Ballsbridge in 1985 and 'Geometric Form 7' for UL in 1992. Wejchert was the only Irish sculptor to be recognised in *Public Art, New Directions*, Louis and Ruth Redstone's global survey.²⁶¹ Almost two decades later, in 1982, Anita Groener, the political artist, came to Ireland from the Netherlands where

²⁵⁶ This is awarded by Mary Immaculate College Limerick, <https://www.mic.ul.ie/life-at-mic/imogen-stuart-exhibition/imogen-stuart-biography>, accessed 27 November 2023.

²⁵⁷ <http://aosdana.arts council.ie/>, accessed 27 November 2023.

Fifteen Aosdána members must propose the person and the nominee has to receive fifty per cent plus one of the votes of the whole membership. The successful candidate receives a golden torc from the President.

²⁵⁸ Aidan Dunne, 'Was Sculptor Gerda Frömel too subtle for success?' *The Irish Times*, 16 April 2015.

²⁵⁹ Rebecca Minch, 'Gerda Frömel'.

²⁶⁰ Bridget Hourican, 'Alexandra Wejchert,' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/wejchert-alexandra-a8957>, accessed 30 November 2023

²⁶¹ Louis and Ruth Redstone, *Public Art, New Directions* (Australia: McGraw-hill, 1981), pp 74-76.

she was born in 1958 . This artist was not in flight - she came out of curiosity - but her experience as a migrant, 'belonging and not belonging', has drawn her to explore the experience of migrants, particularly refugees.²⁶²

Not all European artists chose to work on their own. Two Europeans central to the *Na Cailleacha* collective are Therry Rudin, a painter and film maker, born in Switzerland, and Gerda Teljeur (born in the Netherlands), who mostly works with pen and ink drawings.²⁶³ Teljeur came to Ireland in 1967 and Rudin in 1985.²⁶⁴ *Na Cailleacha*'s manifesto links the exploration of 'what it means to be women who are getting older and arguably becoming invisible' with their creative work, 'We want to make art that allows us to explore this collective experience, our attitudes to ageing, our bodies, our place in the artworld'.²⁶⁵ The group first came together in 2020, since then they have created and exhibited together as well as working on their own. It can be argued that their existence alone is certainly an asset to the community, voicing the importance and existence of older people particularly women, but their work and aims have also resonated with critics such as Gemma Tipton.²⁶⁶

Very few Europeans became involved in the early Irish film industry. One European figure who does stand out is the Austrian cameraman George Fleischmann.²⁶⁷ His formation as a cameraman was in Berlin and he worked there with Leni Riefenstahl on her film of the 1936 Olympics, *Olympia*, among other projects. One might say that he came to Ireland by accident. He enlisted in the Luftwaffe as a cameraman on a reconnaissance plane and his plane was shot down over the Atlantic. The crew landed in Ireland and were interned. When the war was

²⁶² Interview with Anita Groener, recorded December 2023; In 2016 her exhibition, 'Citizen', at the Butler Gallery, she expressed the experience of Syrian refugees and what they had lost in leaving their country.; Groener's political beliefs have led her to participate actively in the community. From 2014-2021 she sat in the Public Art Committee of the Grangegorman Development Agency, a body which is searching for a new role for the erstwhile prison and lunatic asylum., <https://anitagroener.com/about> accessed 12 January 2024; For a description of the committee's work and objectives see https://ggda.ie/public_art.

²⁶³ Na Cailleacha, <https://nacailleacha.weebly.com/>, accessed 2022; Geraldine Walsh, *Irish Times*, 19 June 2023.

²⁶⁴ For Rudin, <https://hurlrudin.com/works/therry-rudin>, accessed 2 December 2023.

For Teljeur <https://gerdateljeur.com/>, accessed 2 December 2023.

²⁶⁵ 'About us' <https://nacailleacha.weebly.com/about.html>, accessed 2 December 2023.

Na Cailleacha are a group of 7 women all in their seventies.

²⁶⁶ Gemma Tipton, 'Coy Goddesses begone,' *Irish Times*, 27 May 2023.

²⁶⁷ Born In Austria in 1912, Brian McIlroy, *World Cinema Ireland* (Trowbridge: Flicks Books, 1988), p.109.

over, he elected to stay in Ireland and started Hibernia Films in 1945.²⁶⁸ Fleischmann had three major assets when he started filming in Ireland. First, his camera which was probably the only 35mm Arriflex camera in Ireland. This was the state of the art camera that was captured with him and returned to him after the war.²⁶⁹ Secondly, his filming expertise, Fleischmann had won a gold medal at the Venice Film Festival in 1939 and third that he had worked with Leni Riefenstahl, who had developed new techniques of working with film.²⁷⁰ Fleischmann became recognised as a very skilled cameraman. Hilton Edwards rated him as, 'a fine cameraman,' for his work on *Return to Glencaul* and he was commissioned to make films for the government, including *Ireland-Rome 1950* a documentary about the Irish President's State visit to Rome and *Voyage to Recovery* directed by Gerard Healy in 1954.²⁷¹ Fleischmann continued to work in Dublin until 1988.²⁷²

Education

The greatest impact of Europeans on education was in the fields of: language teaching, elite research and the care of adults with special needs. Although modern languages in Ireland were generally taught through English, some Europeans were employed to teach their native languages in elite second-level schools and universities throughout the second half of the twentieth century.²⁷³ Fouéré, the Breton Nationalist, taught French for some months in Belvedere College and then Glenstal Abbey School in 1949.²⁷⁴ 'Annette' came to Ireland in 1972 to take up a position as a French *assistante* in University College Galway.²⁷⁵ When 'Helga' first came to Ireland in 1985, she was able to get a job teaching German in an Irish

²⁶⁸ McIlroy, *World Cinema Ireland*, p. 109; Terence Gallacher, 'Camera Tales: George Fleischmann', <https://terencegallacher.wordpress.com/2012/05/11/cameraman-theses-george-fleischmann/>, accessed 6 December 2023.

²⁶⁹ Terence Gallacher, 'Camera Tales: George Fleischmann'.

²⁷⁰ Brian McIlroy, *World Cinema Ireland*, pp. 109, 110; for Riefenstahl's film career see <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0726166/bio/>, accessed 23-2-2023.

²⁷¹ McIlroy Brian McIlroy, *World Cinema Ireland*, p.111.

²⁷² Terence Gallacher, 'Camera Tales: George Fleischmann', <https://terencegallacher.wordpress.com/2012/05/11/cameraman-theses-george-fleischmann/>, accessed 6 December 2023.

²⁷³ Anne Gallagher, 'Twenty-five Years of Language Policies and Initiatives in Ireland 1995-2020' *Teanga*, Vol. 28, 2021 pp. 5-55.

²⁷⁴ Fouéré, *La Maison du Connemara*, p.113.

²⁷⁵ Interview with 'Annette,' recorded 20 April 2022.

third-level institution.²⁷⁶ For these institutions, having a native speaker was a major asset to their language education.²⁷⁷

However it can be argued that the greatest contribution Europeans have made to Ireland academically was their participation in the country's two elite institutions, the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies and the Royal Irish Academy. When de Valera set up the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in 1940, one of its two founding schools, mathematical physics, was headed and staffed, in the main, by European, refugee academics. Erwin Schrödinger was director from 1940 to 1946 and Walter Heitler from 1946 to 1949. As part of their work the two physicists collaborated in founding the DIAS school of Cosmic Physics in 1947.²⁷⁸ Heitler, in particular, was noted for emphasis on collaboration with Irish academics and encouraged the development of a group of young Irish and international physics students.²⁷⁹ Hermann Brück, who had left Germany for England in 1937, was recruited as Director of the Dunsink Observatory in 1947, an institution which he ran for five years. During this time he established Dunsink, which had become very rundown, as an internationally acknowledged research facility.²⁸⁰ Ullrich Kockel, the German geographer and ethologist, came to Ireland in 1989 to teach in the Geography Department of University College Cork for ten years. A recent appreciation has seen the centre of his work as a reclaiming of the positive concept of 'homeland' and in that context he has written about tourism, immigration and emigration in Ireland.²⁸¹ His short work *Counter-Cultural Migrants in the West of Ireland* was the first to interrogate the influx of young idealistic European immigrants to Ireland.²⁸² He is married to an Irish academic, Dr Máiréad Nic Craith, with whom he has collaborated for many years.

²⁷⁶ Interview with 'Helga,' recorded 14 February 2022.

²⁷⁷ Language departments of all universities attracted native speakers during the period in question.

²⁷⁸ Patricia M Byrne, 'Walter Heitler'.

²⁷⁹ Patricia M Byrne, 'Walter Heitler'.

²⁸⁰ Peter Brand, 'Hermann Alexander Brück' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. <https://www.dib.ie/biography/bruck-hermann-alexander-a1075>, accessed 7 December 2023.

²⁸¹ Alistair McIntosh, 'The Man of Calling' in M. Nic Craith, K Strang and a. Mackie eds *Heimatkunde: Exploration of Place and Belonging A 'Feast-Script in honour of Ullrich Kockel* (Münster: Verlag Münster, 2023), pp.105-6.

²⁸² Kockel, 'Counter-Cultural Migrants in the West of Ireland'.

Petr Skrabánek, born in Czechoslovakia, was an unusual academic in that he combined a career in medicine with a scholarly interest in James Joyce. He published forty-one articles on Joyce's work and gave a series of lectures on *Finnegan's Wake* in 1985. Although he became resident in Ireland by an accident of history -he and his wife were in Ireland on holiday when the Soviet tanks invaded Prague and decided to stay there - Skrabánek embraced medicine in Ireland. He became an authority on a neurotransmitter, 'substance P', and organised an international conference on this bio-chemical in Dublin in 1983.²⁸³ His legacy should probably be also seen as his role as a critic of the medical establishment of the 1980s. Skrabánek was very critical of the growth of screening in that it transferred resources from people who were sick now to healthy people who might be sick in the future.²⁸⁴

Medicine is not about conquering diseases and death, but about the alleviation of suffering, minimising harm...Medicine has no mandate to be meddling in the lives of those who do not need it.²⁸⁵

However controversial he may have been, his contribution as a doctor was valued and he was posthumously awarded the Stearne medal by the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland in 2018.²⁸⁶

Europeans also improved special needs education through the Camphill Communities. From the beginning of the state the official emphasis was on what people with disabilities could not do rather than what they could.²⁸⁷ Care was mostly conducted in large residential institutions.²⁸⁸ There was a general movement in the 1970s and 1980s towards care in smaller units in the community.²⁸⁹ But the offering of the Camphill communities, from 1972 onwards, was unusual and perhaps

²⁸³ Cathy Hayes and Patricia M. Byrne, 'Petr Skrabánek', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/skrabane-petr-a8113>, accessed 7 December 2023.

²⁸⁴ Seamus O Mahony, 'Petr Skrabane: the abominable no-man,' *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 49 (1), pp. 65-66.

²⁸⁵ Petr Skrabánek, *The Death of Humane Medicine and the Rise of Co-ercive Healthism* (London: Social Affairs Unit, 1994).

²⁸⁶ Seamus O Mahony, 'Petr Skrabane: the abominable no-man', p. 65.

²⁸⁷ Michael Shevlin, 'Historical overview of the Developments in Special Education in Ireland' in M. Shevlin et al., *Essays in the History of Irish Education* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 185.

²⁸⁸ A Fahey et al 'Characteristics, supports and quality of life of Irish adults with intellectual disabilities in life-sharing residential communities,' *Journal of intellectual and developmental disability*, Vol. 35 (2), 2010, p. 66.

²⁸⁹ A Fahey et al., 'Characteristics, supports and quality of life of Irish adults with intellectual disabilities in life-sharing residential communities,' p. 66.

unique. While the Camphill communities had a strong emphasis on organic and biodynamic horticulture their main aim was to provide care for adults with special needs. The mission statement from their website explains how they choose to do this.

In Camphill our residents share their home, spiritual and working lives with those who are motivated to meet others as individuals needing support and recognition for who they are, and not as carer and cared for in the conventional sense. Many of the people providing support to those with disabilities are volunteers, coming locally or from abroad, working alongside professional qualified social care staff.²⁹⁰

Residents and volunteers lived in community in small units. All tasks domestic or horticultural were shared and the residents were aided to take a full part in the life of the community.²⁹¹ Each resident was allocated a volunteer who aided the resident in their everyday life.²⁹² Currently there are sixteen Camphill communities in Ireland.²⁹³ The efficacy of this mode of care was researched in 2010. Two Camphill communities were assessed in comparison with care in large residential homes and small group homes.²⁹⁴ As one might expect, the small group homes and the Camphill communities had better outcomes than the large residential homes. In both there was more consultation and the residents had more choice. In fact in some ways there was not much difference in the outcomes between the small group homes and the Camphill communities. Both had adequate health care and enough fruit and vegetables in their diet. However, the Camphill communities had fewer inactive

²⁹⁰ 'What is Camphill', <https://www.camphill.ie/What-is-Camphill>, accessed 20 February 2024.

²⁹¹ The volunteers are not paid a wage but have their day to day needs met by the community. The HSE funds the residents. A Fahey et al 'Characteristics, supports and quality of life of Irish adults with intellectual disabilities in life-sharing residential communities', p. 67.

²⁹² Interview with Nadin Reichel who was born in East Germany, a previous Camphill volunteer, recorded 4 January 2024.

²⁹³ <https://www.camphill.ie/The-Communities>, accessed 20 February 2024.

²⁹⁴ A. Fahey et al., 'Characteristics, supports and quality of life of Irish adults with intellectual disabilities in life-sharing residential communities.'

residents and all were fitter, were more likely to be involved in planning activities and had a wider social network.²⁹⁵

Conclusion

The impact of European migrants on Irish society in the latter half of the twentieth century has been profound and widespread. They have been responsible for importing new ideas for business and agriculture, innovating art and music, revolutionising eating out and bringing more compassion to special education. The European influence has been widespread geographically as well as sociologically. Looking back at table 3.1 one can see that Europeans lived in all four provinces throughout the period and not solely in Leinster. Thus their influence and enterprises affected rural life as well as urban. Many elements of Irish society were touched by their expertise. We owe the Aer Lingus symbol to a Dutch designer, our reputation for high quality crafts to the group of European artisans who came to Kilkenny in the 1960s, Waterford Glass and its descendants to two Czechs and our recent identity as a gourmet cheese-producing nation to a small group of mostly Dutch small-holders.

Why were these Europeans so creative? European migrants, as in the case of many immigrants anywhere, used ingenuity. Bačik used his intelligence to smuggle a glass-cutting machine out of Soviet controlled Czechoslovakia, a necessity for his new business. 'Hans' and Norbert Illien created niches for themselves when they realised that they could not find employment in the careers they had trained for in Germany.

But the migrants offered more than that. What they achieved also benefitted the community. The industries that immigrants set up brought work at a time of unemployment or to places with little history of industry. Many enterprises set up independently-assessed training schemes which, while they benefitted company directly, also enabled their staff to develop transferable skills. The craftspeople who

²⁹⁵ A. Fahey et al., 'Characteristics, supports and quality of life of Irish adults with intellectual disabilities in life-sharing residential communities', pp.71-72.

stayed in Kilkenny when the Craft Workshops closed still took on apprentices, some of whom became an important part of Ireland's craft profile. Nigel O Reilly the goldsmith, Rudolf Heltzel's protégé, was one of these. Visual artists contributed to the community in many ways. Sonja Landweer and her Irish partner Barrie Cook helped raise Kilkenny's profile by setting up the Kilkenny Arts Festival. Jan De Fouw the graphic artist formed an artists' cooperative and enabled NCAD to move their graphics studio by negotiating with the Temple Bar Trust. The organic growers from Ballybrado worked hard to help other growers through their participation in IOFGA and setting up the organic meat producer's label 'The Good Herdsman'.

Many of these initiatives should be seen as 'seed-ideas', which had longevity for two reasons. One, many of the Europeans involved trained their workforce or apprentices who were then able to take these ideas further and in some cases create the supportive environment we have today in crafts, food culture and classical music. Second, and equally important, Irish culture was receptive to these ideas. Although the Ireland of this period has been described as narrow and close-minded the fact that the contribution of the Europeans was generally welcomed and embraced shows that the culture was open to new ideas and fostered them whether by grants from the IDA or an enthusiastic reception for new foods or *avant-garde* music.

CONCLUSION

While emigration from Ireland has received considerable historiographical attention, the same is not true of immigration into Ireland. This is the first major study of European immigration into Ireland and its findings refute Ó Gráda's contention that immigration before 1990 is not worth studying because the numbers are small.¹ While European immigrants in this period never constituted more than 0.48% of the total population of Ireland, this thesis demonstrates how their history refines our understanding of postwar Ireland in significant ways.² The research began with four main questions. Why did Europeans come to Ireland at an apparently inauspicious time? What was the official governmental view towards them? What was the migrants' experience and what impact did they make on Irish society?

It is clear from the oral history interviewees and other accounts that the latter half of the twentieth century was in fact a less inauspicious time to come to Ireland than one might think.. Elements that might have been seen as disadvantages such as rural depopulation and under-development became opportunities for the migrants in that it was possible to buy land and run-down housing cheaply.³ Indeed immigrants were encouraged to come to Ireland. Those with specific skills were recruited by the government and other public bodies such as R  . Even before the Whitaker 'revolution' of 1958 and the repeal of the Control of Manufactures Act European businesses were encouraged to open and after 1969 generously grant-aided by the IDA.

There were no major 'push and pull' factors involving the movement of large groups of Europeans to Ireland in this period. Instead individual Europeans made personal choices to move to Ireland for various reasons. These could be: responding to an invitation, setting up a business, seeking employment, wanting to buy land to farm, political reasons and individual personal circumstances or desires. Even those

¹ Cormac    Gr  da, *Jewish Ireland in the Time of Joyce: a Socio-economic History* (Princeton & London: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 2.

² Specific proportions in this period are: 1946 0.05%, 1961 0.1%, 1971 0.17%, 1981, 0.27%, 1986 0.33%, 1991 0.48%. Census, 1946, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1986, 1991, in all cases Vol 1, Table 1.

³ On foreigners buying land - Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland: 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2005), pp. 547-8. On the proliferation of empty properties - Mary E. Daly, *Sixties Ireland: Reshaping the Economy, State and Society 1957-1973* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp.21, 112.

who were directly recruited by official bodies made their homes in Ireland for more than that reason, staying for the beauty of the landscape, the chance to buy a house or simply because they had met and married an Irish person. The one exceptional migration was the continuing chain migration from Casalattico in Italy which continued at least until the late 1960s.⁴

The government of this period was more concerned with establishing itself as a state among the countries of Europe than controlling immigration particularly of such a small group of people coming as they were as individuals or families. The legislation concerning aliens was thus not harshly enforced for Europeans, even in the event of a breach of the law. Small groups of exiles and refugees could expect asylum particularly if they did not involve themselves in Irish politics. Larger groups were seen as more of an issue, such as the German POWs in January 1946 and the Estonians in 1949, and were not admitted. Naturalisation was a course of action only a small number of Europeans took as many could pursue their lives successfully, particularly after EEC accession, without becoming a citizen. Those who did apply might expect a delay of a year between application and naturalisation. The applicants whose process took longer were deemed to have insufficient means or insecure employment, have lied on the application form or belonged to a group that the Department of Justice considered a problem to the state. These included Jews in the interwar period and, in the 1950s, alleged communists. What the individual migrants experienced in Ireland varied enormously. For some European nationals, with the exception of the Italians who had their own multi-generational network, Ireland could be a lonely place. A result of the mostly individual migration was the lack of a large expatriate network for most nationalities. Some Europeans felt the distance from their families particularly when children were born or elderly relatives in their homeland needed some assistance. Others were concerned about their own old age and who would care for them.

Not everyone wanted to integrate - Elisabeth Bauer's German migrants for example wished to remain apart, and it is significant that this did not cause overt

⁴The Department of Justice Naturalisation series JUS/2013/50 only covers the period up to the end of 1968. The film *Chippers* suggests that chain migration was still a factor in 2008.

hostility-. For many of the migrants Ireland was a surprise. This could be negative: experiencing much poorer living conditions than they would at home, confronting militant trade union activity or discovering that their qualifications did not transfer. But for many it was a positive surprise. Three of the interviewees remarked on the unsolicited kindness they received from the communities they settled in or visited. One, indeed, felt more accepted in Ireland than he had in his native country. Overall, Europeans felt that Ireland was a welcoming country. The kindness of locals supported the young German man who was ill over Christmas in his half-built house. It was also a country that was receptive to what the newcomers had to offer. The GAA welcomed 'Hans's skills despite his long hair and beard, people wanted to work for Liebherr and Waterford Glass, there was a market for Norbert's bread and Helene's cheese. It helped that these immigrants were white, generally Christian, educated and often came as families. 'Anna' recognised that although she felt badly treated by the Aliens Office in Harcourt Street she was lucky to be white.⁵ While all these Europeans were recognised as outsiders, they were not as different as the immigrants who came to Ireland in these years from further abroad like India, China and Africa, some of whom did suffer racist attacks.⁶

The contribution of the European immigrants was also very visible. For a group of just over 17,000 (according to the 1991 census), European migrants made a significant impact on Irish society in the second half of the twentieth century. This impact was apparent not only in the capital city but also, increasingly, in the other three provinces. Each decade benefitted from this small group of Europeans. In the 1950s Liebherr and Bačik rejuvenated County Kerry and Waterford city and the Dutch design team literally changed the perception of major Irish brands. In the 1960s the European artisans in Kilkenny reinvented Ireland as a place of high-quality crafts and fostered indigenous Irish talent. The 1970s and 1980s saw an influx of idealistic young European professionals who helped create Ireland's profile as a producer of gourmet food and nurtured the organic movement. All through the period European musicians aided the creation of the strong classical music culture that Ireland now

⁵ Interview with 'Anna' recorded April 2022.

⁶ Theophilus Ejorh, 'African Immigrant Experience of Racism, Adaptation and Belonging' in Fanning, Munck and Kershner eds., *Globalization, Migration and Social Transformation: Ireland in Europe and the World* (Farnham: Routledge, 2011), pp. 141-152.

enjoys. Their influence extended over all aspects of Irish society and still resonates in the 21st century through companies such as Roma and Liebherr, novel foods and a thriving classical music milieu. A large part of their legacy is the cohort Irish people that they trained who are now active in many different milieus.

The positive experiences of most immigrants sit uneasily with historians' assessments of the decades between the end of the 'Emergency' and the Celtic Tiger. J.H. Whyte described the 1950s as, 'the gloomiest in the history of the 26 counties'.⁷ Joseph Lee called his chapter on the 1950s 'Malaise' and the 1970s 'Drift' in his overview of the twentieth century.⁸ In fact Lee's surgical analysis of late 1980s Ireland in the final chapter of *Ireland 1912-1985*, presents a picture of a stagnating, undirected society, the worst performer in Europe.⁹ Lee describes the government as 'sterile' and the Irish people exhibiting a 'dearth of enterprise' and a 'covetousness tempered by sloth'.¹⁰ Diarmaid Ferriter's picture is more positive but nevertheless focuses on what he sees as the 'dirty underbelly' of child abuse and tax evasion.¹¹

This study of continental immigration suggests a very different picture of post-war Ireland.. First, this thesis rejects Lee's contention that the Irish economy was 'stagnant' during the latter half of the twentieth century. As Marion Banks infers, the 'green shoots' that led to the positive aspects of the 'Celtic Tiger' were planted in this period.¹² The IDA, in fact, fostered Foreign Direct Investment during this period as the number of foreign-owned companies in Ireland in the late 1990s attests.¹³ While recent economic histories, such as John O Hagan's chapter in the *Cambridge History of Ireland*, and works contemporary to the time, including Paul Sweeney's monograph *The Celtic Tiger*, recognise the positive role of the IDA and FDI, no historian has highlighted the role of the small group of

⁷ J.H. Whyte, 'Economic Crisis and the Political Cold War 1949-57' in J.R. Hill ed., *A New History of Ireland: Volume VII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). p. 286

⁸ Joseph Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 271 & 458.

⁹ Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985*, p. 512.

¹⁰ Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985*, pp. 545, 528, 522.

¹¹ Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000*, p. 2.

¹² M. Banks, 'Modern Ireland: Multinationals and Multiculturalism', *Information, Society and Justice Journal*, Vol.2, No. 1, December 2008 pp. 63-93.

¹³ IDA, *Overseas Companies in Ireland* (Dublin: IDA, 1998).

European entrepreneurs who came to Ireland in this period.¹⁴ Many of the small European businesses that the IDA grant-aided were successful and brought employment to areas of the country that were struggling economically, such as Killarney and Waterford. A large proportion of these businesses are still in operation, such as Liebherr and Ballybrado, or have been bought by local entrepreneurs as in the case of Uniplumo. Several of these businesses also left a legacy. Liebherr and Waterford Glass trained their operatives and Liebherr ensured that the skills of their workforce were properly transferable. Ballybrado set up a national organic meat distribution company, The Good Herdsman, which has survived Josef Finke's partial retirement.

Lee designates the governments of these five decades as 'sterile'. This thesis demonstrates rather that the administrations concerned were in fact proactive. Expertise was sought, recruited and utilised and did make a difference. Radio Éireann actively recruited continental musicians from the 1940s onwards. In 1950 officials from the Department of Trade and Industry invited experts in tourism from the US to assess Ireland's potential as a tourist destination. The resulting Christenberry report initiated changes in advertising and marketing. Even the civil service was more effective than Lee maintains. Part of the picture that emerges from the Department of Justice Naturalisation Files is its efficiency and flexibility. They were very aware of which immigrants were in the country and they took trouble with applications and at times showed imagination and generosity.

Finally, culturally, the picture of Ireland presented from Dermot Keogh's *Lost Decade*, discussing Ireland in the 1950s, to Diarmuid Ferriter's *The Transformation of Ireland*, which covers the whole period addressed by this work, is largely of a closed and culturally insular society. This theme is also echoed in some of the fiction

¹⁴John O' Hagan, 'The Irish Economy 1973-2016', in Thomas Bartlett ed., *The Cambridge History of Ireland: Volume IV, 1880 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018) pp. 173-88; Paul Sweeney, *The Celtic Tiger* (Dublin: Oak Tree Press, 1998), p. 9.

produced in Ireland during this period. Works such as *The Valley of the Squinting Windows* and *The Tailor and Anstey* present an Ireland which is hostile to the new. This work argues that Irish individuals and institutions, such as RTÉ, in fact welcomed new people, as the testimonies of the oral histories and the experiences of European artists, entrepreneurs and farmers attest. RTÉ and later RTÉ actively recruited musicians throughout this period. As early as the 1940s Yann Fouéré and his family found a niche for themselves in Connemara and had good relationships with their neighbours. In the 1950s the County Kerry and Waterford authorities facilitated Hans Liebherr's crane factory and Charles Bačik's Waterford Glass project and local people were enthusiastic about working in both businesses. The 1960s saw young European individuals receiving unexpected hospitality even in remote parts of the country, while European expertise aided the setting up of Kilkenny Design. In later decades Ireland welcomed the growth of the organic movement and was an enthusiastic consumer of novel foods. The Irish attitude to the European newcomers, certainly to the Italian community from Casalattico, contrasted with the experience this group had in the North of Ireland as described by Jack Crangle.¹⁵ Ireland also compares well with other European countries, Germany for example, in their treatment of immigrants who came to work. Despite their need for *Gastarbeiter*, the German state only began to naturalise foreign workers in 1977 and then on restricted terms.¹⁶

The methodology used in this thesis combines oral history testimony, government archives and contemporary media to present a picture of the immigration in question. This combination represents a holistic approach to modern history, moving between the individual, government and society. This method could be used effectively to examine any migration sufficiently recent to allow for oral history eye witness accounts. It is worth noting that most of the oral history interviewees quoted in this work were describing their everyday life rather than a particular traumatic event. This approach to oral history, while not unique, is

¹⁵Jack Crangle, *Migrants, Immigration and Diversity in Twentieth-Century Northern Ireland: British, Irish or Other*, Palgrave Studies in Migration History (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), pp. 69-104.

¹⁶Simon Green, 'Citizenship Policy in Germany: The Case of Ethnicity over Residence', in Randall Hansen and Patrick Weil eds., *Towards a European Nationality* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), p. 30.

somewhat unusual in that much oral history, such as, currently, the testimonies of the women from the Magdalen laundries or internationally Alessandro Portelli's work, contain testimony of extreme events rather than quotidian concerns. However these concerns are central to an understanding of any particular period or group. Of the governmentJUS/2013/50 series, seem very underused. The information from both the application forms and Garda reports give a snap shot of an individual applicant's life and as such are useful to the social historian. The summaries and footnotes from civil servants in the Department of Justice help to form an unguarded narrative of governmental attitudes over the period from c 1935 to 1965. The use of contemporary media, particularly local newspaper reports, can be very useful in capturing elements of a narrative that would otherwise go unnoticed. It would not have been possible, for instance, to capture the local anxiety about the Ballybrado Germans buying more land in County Tipperary without the report in the *Nationalist and Munster Advertiser*¹⁷This thesis suggests several promising areas of further research. Joe Lee has criticised IDA funded businesses for creating an unbalanced economy and it is commonly asserted that such businesses only remain for the term of their export tax waiver and contribute very little to Irish society as a whole. This thesis has found that several such European-owned businesses both stayed and contributed to Irish society. A selection of similar-sized businesses, owned by American and European nationals and founded in the late twentieth century, could be compared to ascertain how long each stayed in Ireland and what effects each business had on Irish society. This information could be valuable in assessing the value of the IDA in this period and the relative importance of the contribution made by foreign direct investment. This comparative research could also identify differences and similarities between enterprises owned by different nationalities.

This thesis undertook to describe what was the legacy of these European immigrants, not least the enterprises mentioned above. What is their legacy after 1990? An assessment of the areas where European enterprises were based could reveal the long-term impact of the businesses concerned in terms of development of skills and resources in those places. Are the RTÉ orchestras still dependent on

¹⁷'Germans worried by phone calls', *Nationalist and Munster Advertiser*, 23 February 1985.

European expertise or is there now a body of indigenous musicians and, if so what has been the role of Europeans in training this new cohort? Lastly, one of the legacies of any immigrant group is the next generation. Some of the issues that might be investigated in this context are: what was it like to grow up in Ireland with one or more European parents? how many of these second-generation Europeans stayed in Ireland or moved to the land of their parent(s)? Did they exert any particular impact on Ireland?

While the mass immigration from Europe in the early twenty-first century has been studied extensively it seems that the relationship between nationals from a particular country who came prior to 1990 and those who came later from the same country has been less examined, with the exception of the Italians from Casalattico who established a chain migration. Other European national groups could be investigated and compared to ascertain the extent to which the nationals already in Ireland facilitated those who came later. One such group could be the Polish community. There were 173 Polish nationals enumerated in the 1946 census. The Irish Polish Society was founded in 1979. What influence did the Society have on the much larger group (33,245 according to the 2006 census) that migrated after 1990?¹⁸ To what extent did the mass immigration of Europeans from the states that acceded to the EU in 2004 test the welcome in evidence in the period from 1945 to 1990? And indeed, more broadly, have the increased numbers of both Europeans and non-Europeans in recent decades exacerbated underlying racial tensions and made them more public? Moreover, Jack Crangle's work has raised the possibility of a difference in treatment of immigrants between Northern Ireland and the Republic. The role of the United Kingdom as a former colonial power and of Ireland as a state that claimed to be anti-colonial in shaping attitudes to immigrants is well worth pursuing.¹⁹

Finally this thesis, unusual in that it presents a much more positive view of this period than is usually described in histories of the late twentieth century points

¹⁸Census of the Population, 2006, Vol. 4 (Dublin: Stationery Office, July 2007), Table 21A.

¹⁹Kevin O' Sullivan, *Ireland, Africa and the End of Empire: Small State Identity in the Cold War 1955-1975* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

the way to a new examination of post-war Ireland which highlights its strengths. While far more people chose to leave Ireland than to come to it in these decades, those who came from Europe were glad to do so and helped make Ireland into the more prosperous, open society that has attracted so many others since 1990.

Appendix A

Formal letter to the Gardaí From The Department of Justice (used from 1935-1945) Formal letter from the Department of Justice to Superintendent 24 February 1936, Frantisek Schwatschke naturalisation application file, NAI, JUS,, JUS/2013/50/110.

I am directed by the Minister for Justice to transmit the attached forms no 13 and no 20 in connection with the above mentioned application.

Please instruct the Gardaí to make any necessary enquiries with a view to verifying the the statement made by applicant on the forms. The gardai should take special care to verify the statements made as to residence in SaostatÉireann and should ascertain and reports the trades, employments etc in which the applicant engaged while in this country and his present circumstances and financial standing.

Discreet enquiries should be made, where necessary, in order to ascertain whether the applicant could be regarded as a person of good character and the result of those enquiries should be fully reported.

The Saorstat citizens whose names are given in Section 13 of the form No 13 should be interviewed by the Gardai and their standing and the nature and extent of their knowledge of and acquaintance with the applicant should be ascertained and reported if thses persons are prepared to testify to the character of the applicant, the attached form No. N 22 should be presented to them for completion.

The Gardai should also report any information, in their possession relating to the applicant which would be likely to be of assistance in considering the application and should state whether in their opinion the applicant is a person to whom a certificate of naturalisation might be properly issued. The report should indicate whether the applicant complied with the Alien's Laws while resident in this country, and his passport or other papers of identity should be forwarded for inspection.

Appendix B Casalattico Naturalisation cases

| Name | Date applied | Date came to Ireland | Lived in | notes | JUS/2013/50 series number |
|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Angelo Forte | 1938 | | Kilkenny | Left before naturalised | 374 |
| Alberto Cafolla | 1939 then 1946 | 1920 aged 3 | Dublin | worked in father's cafe than had his own restaurant in 1946 | 418 |
| Francis Malocca | 1939 | 1929 | Athlone | Owned Genoa cafe | 445 |
| Crenconzo Forte | 1940 | 1936 | Belfast then Dundalk | Confectioner | 474 |
| Mario Mezza | 1945 | 1933 | Dublin then Wicklow | Worked for his brother in the Silver Lounge Cafe | 599 |
| Angelo Cafolla | 1945 | 1929 | Fairview Dublin | Owned a cafe in Fairview | 634 |
| Pacifico Fusco | 1945 | 1923 | Talbot Street Dublin and NCR Dublin | Grocer and confectioner leader of the Italian Fascist Party during The Emergency | 697 |
| Laurino Salveta | 1946 | 1935 | North Strand Dublin | Owned a fish and chip shop | 710 |
| Crescenzo Celestino Magliocco | 1946 | 1931 | Monaghan Athlone Drogheda | Owned a fish and chip shop | 754 |
| Benedetto Forte | 1946 | 1914 | Parnell Street Dublin | Owned a cafe | 764 |
| Maria Teresa Cafolla | 1946 | 1933 | Fairview Dublin | Worked with her brother | 796 |
| Gerardo Cafolla | 1946 | 1919 | Amiens Street Dublin | Worked with his brother in their cafe | 803 |
| Luigi Borza | 1946 | 1937 | Dublin Monaghan | Owned the Venice cafe | 806 |
| Crescenzo Celestino Magliocco | 1946 | 1934 | Monaghan | Helped parents run cafe | 810 |
| Felice Magliocco(woman) | 1946 | 1929 | Monaghan | Married to Antonio | 811 |
| Nicolina Cafolla | 1947 | 1924 | Capel Street | Married to | 846 |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|------|------|---------------------------|---|------|
| | | | Dublin | Joseph | |
| Anna Molocca | 1947 | 1945 | Athlone | Housewife | 911 |
| Joseph Malocca | 1947 | 1929 | Monaghan then Galway | Came as a child, Cafe owner | 933 |
| Mario Cafolla | 1947 | 1922 | Amiens Street Dublin | Shop keeper | 938 |
| Francesca Delicato | 1948 | 1922 | Belfast then Waterford | Widow Cafe Owner | 998 |
| Donato Forte | 1949 | 1939 | Dun Laoghaire | Dress designer | 1059 |
| Guiseppe Nardone | 1949 | 1938 | Dublin | Ice-cream and fish and chip shop | 1095 |
| Iolanda Salveta | 1951 | 1923 | North Strand Dublin | housewife | 1275 |
| Donato Magliocco | 1952 | 1929 | Monaghan | Came as a child works with his parents | 1427 |
| Rudolfo Caira | 1953 | 1947 | Irishtown Dublin | Worked with his parents then his aunt | 1467 |
| Rosa Nardone | 1953 | 1938 | Inchicore Dublin | Housewife | 1468 |
| Alberto Cafolla | 1953 | 1920 | Kevin Street Dublin | Fish and chip shop | 1476 |
| Anna Rosa Nardone | 1953 | 1947 | Inchicore Dubin | Came to be a home help for her aunt | 1502 |
| Maria Raffoela Forte | 1962 | 1949 | Drimnagh Dublin | Widow Runs 2 fish and chip shops | 2291 |
| Giovanni Maliocco | 1963 | 1950 | Meath | Owned cafe | 2367 |
| Thomas Cafolla | 1965 | 1946 | Crumlin Dublin | Worked in cafe | 2486 |
| April Rocco | 1963 | 1955 | Rathfarnham Dublin | Came as a child Owns a cafe | 2553 |

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archives Irish Photo Archive, Digital Repository of Ireland.

NAI Department of Foreign Affairs: DFA A2, DFA A34, DFA A 50, DFA 10/2/351, NAI DFA 369/5, NAI DFA 419/4.

NAI Department of the Taoiseach: DT S1107A, DT 96/4/492.

NAI Department of Justice JUS/2013/50 series.

©RTÉ Document Archives.

Official Documents and Legislation.

Accession Treaty, Section IX Social Policy, Articles 25 and 27.

Aliens Act 1935.

Aliens Immigration Act 1905 (UK).

Aliens Orders: 1939 (SI 291), 1943 (SI 169), 1946 (SI 395), 1962 (SI 112), 1972 (SI 182) 1975 (SI 128), 1978 (SI 35), 1985 (SI 154), 1986 (SI 31), 1987 (SI 340), 1988 (SI 55), 1989 (SI 297), 1990 (SI 140, 228).

Anti-Discrimination (pay) Act 1974, 15 of 1974.

The Bilateral Agreement of 1999

EU–Switzerland mutual recognition agreement (MRA) <https://eur-lex.europa.eu > legal-content > summary>.

Central Statistics office: Census: 1911, 1926, 1936, 1946, 1951, 1961, 1979, 1986, 1991.

CSO 'Real and Nominal Average Hourly Earnings 1938-2009'

CSO Weekly paid hours of industrial workers 1940-2009.

Civil Service Employees and Married Women Act of 1973, 17 of 1973.

Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems (report).

Constitution of the Irish Free State (*Saorstát Éireann*) Act 1922.

Control of Manufactures Act 1932, 1934.

Crown of Ireland Act 1542.

Dáil Debates: 1934, 1935, 1947, 1956, 1960, 1962, 1963, 1986.

Department of Finance, *Programme for Economic Expansion* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1958).

Department of Industry and Commerce, *The Synthesis of the Report on Tourism DSO 1950*.

Design in Ireland (Dublin: Coras Trachtála, 1961).

Early Childhood, Education and Care Provision: International Review of Policy, Delivery and Funding', *Health and Social Care*, (Government of Scotland, 2013)

EEC Reg 1612/68/EEC, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html?lang=en>

EEC Reg 2078/92.

<https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/4f9edd7f-dcbd-4758-be9b-d8819f4831ce/language-en>

Emergency Powers Act 1939.

Industrial Development (Encouragement of External Industrial Development) 1958.

Industrial Development Acts 1968, 1969, 1986.

Industrial Development Authority Annual Reports, 1970, 1972, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1979.

IDA Ireland, 'The Art Of Attraction,' <https://idaireland.com>.

IDA, *Overseas Companies in Ireland* (Dublin: IDA, 1998).

Institut National d'études démographiques,

https://ned.fr/en/everything_about_population/demographic-facts-sheets/focus-on/double-nationalite-national-identity/#:~:text=French%20law%20permits%20dual%20nationality,the%20nationality%20of%20an%20other%20country.

Institute for Advanced Studies Bill, 1939, 24 of 1939.

Ireland Act 1949.

Irish Nationality and Citizenship Acts: 1935, 1956, 1986.

jsumundi.com/en/document/treaty/en-treaty-of-peace-with-italy-1947-treaty-of-peace-with-italy-1947-monday-10th-february-1947.

Labour Court Recommendation: 6572, 6852.
Land Act 1965, 2 of 1965.
Lisbon recognition Convention 1612/68/EEC passed in 1968, articles 1,7&9,
<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/>.
Local Government (Planning and Development) Act of 1963, 28 of 1963.
National Archives Act 1986, 11 of 1986.
Official Journal of the European Communities <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:11972B/TXT&qid=1652180513945&from=EN>
Programme for Economic Expansion 1958.
An RoinnTalhaíochta, *Review of Organic Food Sector and Strategies for its Development 2019-2025*.
Seanad Debates: 1935, 1965, 1967.
Social Welfare Act 1970, 12 of 1970.
Treaty on European Union, (Maastricht 7 February 1992) No. C 191, Official Journal of the European Communities 29 July 1992.
The Vocational Education Act 1930, No. 6 of 1930.

Oral History Interviews Long in-depth interviews investigating the interviewee's whole life history.

Interview 1 'Hans,' German man, recorded January 2022
Interview 2 Anne Korff, German woman, recorded January 2022.
Interview 3 'Helga,' East German woman, recorded February 2022
Interview 4 'Annette,' French (Breton) woman, recorded April 2022.
Interview 5 'Lise,' Dutch woman, recorded April 2022.
Interview 6 Petra Breachnach, Dutch woman, recorded April 2022.
Interview 7 Norbert Illien, German man, recorded April 2022.
Interview 8 Helene Willhelms, Dutch woman, recorded May 2022.
Interview 9 'Bertha,' German woman, recorded May 2022.
Interview 10 'Anna,' Swiss woman, recorded April 2022.
Interview 11 Nutan Piraprez, Belgian man, recorded July 2022.
Interview 12 'Johann,' Dutch man, recorded July 2022.
Interview 13 'Annegrete,' Danish woman, recorded November 2022.
Interview 14 withdrew from project.
Interview 15 Anita Groener, Dutch woman, recorded December 2023.

Shorter Interviews conducted to answer a specific question.

Dirk Flake, German organic grower selling in St. Nicholas market, Galway, conversation December 2022.
'Gino', Italian living in Galway, conversation May 2023.
Michael McGuinness, schoolteacher in Killybegs, recorded April 2022.
Dr. Niall Ó Ciosáin, University of Galway, recorded May 2022.
Nadin Reichel, previous volunteer in Camphill Ballytobin Community, recorded January 2024.
Hugo Van de Laan, Dutch cheesemaker selling in St. Nicholas Market, Galway conversation December 2022.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Carlow Nationalist.
City Tribune.
Clare Champion.
Cork Examiner.
The Corkman.
Dublin Gazette.
Dublin Review of Books.
Esquire Magazine.

Evening Echo.
Evening Herald.
Independent.
Irish Daily Mail.

Irish Farmers Journal.
Irish Press.
Irish Times.
The Journal.
Kerryman.
Kilkenny People.
Killarney Today.
Limerick Leader.
Mayo News.
Meath Chronicle.
Monaghan Argus.
Nationalist and Munster Advertiser.
Northern Standard.
Sunday Independent.
Tipperary Star.
Waterford News and Star.

Other Primary Sources

Bjoerk L., Questionnaire.
Boydell B., 'An interview with Brian Boydell', in G.Cox et al. (eds.) *The Life and Music of Brian Boydell* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003).
Déon M., *Horseman Pass By* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1992).
De Valera E., Maurice Moynihan ed. *Speeches and Statements by Eamon de Valera* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980).
Donat A., *The Holocaust Kingdom: A Memoir* (New York, 1957).
European Migration Network, 'Part of the Family' <https://emn.ie>.
Fekete M., Email correspondence, Duffcarrraig Camphill community.
Foley T., *The Liebherr Story* (Killarney: Liebherr Cranes, 2022).
Ford F., 'Story of Liebherr Cranes' Irish Life and Lore Podcast.
Fouéré Y., *La Maison du Connemara* (Bannalec: Coop Breizh, 1995).
Fürst J., Interview with Michael Dervan, 'Full Cycle' Music Ireland, 2/1 (December 1986-January 1987).
Gallagher C., Email re Land Commission Records dated 6 October 2022.
Griffin B., an early Irish employee of Liebherr, 'The Story of Liebherr Cranes Killarney, Irish Life and Lore Podcasts.
Hamilton H., *The Speckled People* (London: The Fourth Estate, 2003).
Kelly, 'Look back in Pleasure', in L. McRedmond, *Written on the Wind* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1976).
Kilkenny Design Workshops, *Second Report and Accounts 1966-1968* (Kilkenny: Kilkenny Design Workshops, 1968).
Jan Łukasiewicz, Diary 1949 entry in *The Life and Career of Professor Jan Łukasiewicz: Polish Genius of Logic, Philosopher and Post-War Refugee in Ireland* (Dublin: Polish Embassy, 2022).
Nölke K., 'Story of Liebherr Cranes,' Irish Life and Lore Podcast.
O Kelly R., 'Story of Liebherr Cranes,' Irish Life and Lore Podcast.
Pius XI, Quadragesimo Anno, 15 May 1931.
https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19310515_quadragesimo-anno.html.
Rommel H., *From Cologne to Ballinlough* (Millstreet, Co Cork: Aubane Historical Society, 2009).
The RTE Documentary, 'The Biggest Foreign Community in this Country' RTE, 1972,
<https://www.rte.ie/archives/exhibitions/1665-immigration/370199-the-Italians/>.
Taylor I. *Memoirs of a Reluctant German* (Galway: Little Gull Publishing, 2020)

Tropiano N., *Chippers* (2008), <https://www.imdb.com>.
Veselsky J., 'No ordinary Joe', Newstalk, 29 November 2020.
<https://www.goloudplayer.com/episodes/no-ordinary-joe-documentary>.
Vis C., Interview, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0xk_W80_v5Q

Secondary Sources

Aan De Wiel J., *Ireland's Helping Hand to Europe: Combating Hunger from Normandy to Tirana 1945-1950* (NY: Central European Press, 2021).
Abrams L., *Oral History Theory* 2nd edition (London/New York: Routledge, 2010).
Asselin O., et al, 'Social Integration of Immigrants with Special Reference to the Local and Spatial Dimension', in Rinus Pennix et al eds., *The Dynamics of International Migration and Settlement in Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).
Bánki K.P., *Crossing Borders from Hungary to Ireland: The Cross-Cultural Adaptation of Hungarian Refugees from the 1940s and their Compatriots from the 1956 Hungarian Revolution*, PhD Diss. (Dublin: Dublin City University, 2009).
Banks M., 'Modern Ireland: Multinationals and Multiculturalism', *Information, Society and Justice Journal*, Vol.2, No. 1, December 2008.
Bargheer S., 'Apocalypse adjourned: the size and decline of cold war environmentalism in Germany', *Environmental Politics*, 2018, Vol. 27, No. 6.
Bauer E., 'Foreign Immigration to Ireland: A Case Study of the German Community on the Iveragh Peninsula', Unpublished MA Thesis (Cork: UCC, 1997).
Bauermeister R.F. and Leary, 'The need to Belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation', *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 117, Issue 3.
Beausang I., 'Aloys Georg Fleischmann' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
Bentwich N. *The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars 1933-1952* (New York: Springer Dordrecht, 1953).
Biagini E.F., 'Minorities', in Biagini and Daly eds., *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
Biagini E.F. and Daly M.E. eds., *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
Brady S. *Doctor of Millions* (Tralee: Anvil Books, 1965).
Brand P., 'Hermann Alexander Brück', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
Brown T., *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History 1922-2022* 4th Edition (London: Harper Collins, 2004).
Buck W., 'Come find Sanctuary in Eire: The experiences of Belgian refugees during the First World War', *Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, Vol. 34, 2016, 2 pp.192-209.
Byrne D., McGinty F., Emer Smyth and Merike Darmody, 'Immigration and school composition in Ireland', *Irish Educational Studies*, 2010-09, Vol.29 (3).
Byrne P.M., 'Erwin Schrödinger', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
Byrne P.M., 'Walter Heitler', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
Caldicott C.E.J. et al, *The Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of an Emigration* (Dun Laoghaire: Glendale Press, 1987).
Carson R., *Silent Spring* (New York: Fawcett Books, 1962).
Cawley D. and O Mahony C., 'How Irish food criticism reflected and helped shape a changing nation 1988-2008', *Journal of Ethnological Studies*, vol.59 2021, issue 2.
Clare D., Lally D. and Lonergan P. eds., *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018).
Clarke C., *Orange and Green* (Amsterdam: BIS Publishers, 2002).
Clavin T., 'Miroslav Havel' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
Cohen R. ed., *Theories of Migration, International Library of Studies on Migration* (Cheltenham, UK & Brookfield US: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, 1996).
Collins P., 'George Frederick Handel' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
Conaghan P., *Bygones* (Killybegs: Pat Conaghan, 1989).
Conway V., *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland* (London & New York: Routledge, 2014).
Cooney L.D.D., 'Switzers of Grafton Street', *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Autumn 2002).
Cox C. 'Charles Bačík' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Cradden C., 'Old' University Academic Staff Salary Movements since 1949', *Higher Education Quarterly*, 1998.

Crangle J., *Migrants, Immigration and Diversity in Twentieth –Century Northern Ireland: British, Irish or Other* Palgrave Studies in Migration History (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023).

Crawford R., 'Healthism and the Medicalization of Everyday Life', *International Journal of Social Determinants of Health and Health Services*, Vol. 10, issue 3 1980.

Crutchley P., 'How did Hitler's scar-faced henchman become an Irish Farmer', *BBC Digital and Learning NI*, 30 December 2014.

Cubie D. and Ryan F., *Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Law in Ireland* (Dublin: Thomson RoundHall, 2004).

Cunliffe B., *Facing the Ocean*(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Daly. M., 'An Irish-Ireland for Business? The Control of Manufactures Acts 1932 and 1934', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 94 (November 1982).

Daly. M., 'Irish Nationality and Citizenship since 1922', *Irish Historical Studies*, XXXII, No. 127 (May, 2001).

Daly M.E., 'Migration since 1914', Part III Contemporary Ireland in Thomas Bartlett ed., *The Cambridge History of Ireland: Volume IV 1880 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

De Barra S., 'Fleischmann The Composer', *New Music* September. 1992.

Devine R., 'Simon Vierpyl' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Donat A., *The Holocaust Kingdom: A Memoir* (New York: Secker and Warburg, 1957),

Donkersloot and Menzie, 'Place-based fishing livelihoods and the global ocean: the Irish Pelagic fleet at home and abroad', *Maritime Studies*, 14:20, 2015.

Dunne A., 'Was sculptor Gerda Frömel too subtle for success'.
<https://imma.ie>

Dunne T., *Rebellions: Memoir, Memory and 1798* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2004).

'Early Childhood, Education and Care Provision: International Review of Policy, Delivery and Funding', *Health and Social Care*, (Government of Scotland, 2013).

Ejorh T., 'African Immigrant Experience of Racism, Adaptation and Belonging' in Fanning, Munck and Kershen eds., *Globalization, Migration and Social Transformation: Ireland in Europe and the World* (Farnham: Routledge, 2011).

Fahey A. et al., 'Characteristics, supports and quality of life of Irish adults with intellectual disabilities in life-sharing residential communities', *Journal of intellectual and developmental disability*, Vol. 35 (2), 2010.

Fairchild H., *Immigration: a World Movement and its American Significance* (New York: Macmillan, 1925).

Fanning B. and Munck R. eds., 'Globalisation, Migration and Social Transformation: Ireland', in *Europe and the World* (Burlington VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., c2011).

Fanning B. ed., *Immigration and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland* (2007).

Fanning B., *Immigrants as Outsiders in the Two Irelands* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019).

Fanning B., *Migration and the Making of Modern Ireland* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2018).

Fanning B., *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012, 2018).

Ferriter D., *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2004).

Fisk R., *In Time of War* (Dublin: Gill Macmillan, 1995).

Fitzgerald P. and Lambkin B., *Migration in Irish History* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Fleischmann A., 'Ars Nova. Irish Music in the Shaping', *Ireland Today*, i/2 1936.

Fleischmann A., 'The Outlook of Music in Ireland', *Studies*, xxiv / 3 (1935).

Fleury A., 'Understanding women and migration: A literature Review', KNOMAD working Paper No. 8 KNOMAD, 2016.

Gallagher A., 'Twenty-five Years of Language Policies and Initiatives in Ireland 1995-2020', *Teanga*, Vol, 28, 2021.

Geoghegan, 'Michael Bowles,' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Geoghegan P., 'Michele Esposito,' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Gilmartin M. and White A., 'Conclusion: the place of migration' in Gilmartin M. and White A. eds., *Migrations: Ireland in a Global World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

Glynn I. and Kleist J.O., *History, Memory and Migration: Perceptions of the Past and the Politics of Incorporation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).

Glynn I., 'Migration and Integration since 1991', in E.F. Biagini and M.E. Daly eds. *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Glynn I., 'Returnees, Forgotten Foreigners and New Immigrants', in Niall Whelehan ed., *Transnational Perspectives in Modern Irish History* (New York and London: Routledge, 2015).

Gormick J.C., et al, 'Supporting the Employment of Mothers: Policy Variation Across Fourteen Welfare States', *Journal of European Social Policy*, 1997, Vol. 7 (1).

Graydon P., *Modernism in Ireland and its Cultural Context in the Music and writing of Frederick May*, Brian Boydell and Aloys Fleischmann, MA Thesis (Maynooth, University of Maynooth, July 1999).

Green S., 'Citizenship Policy in Germany: The case of Ethnicity over Residence' in Hansen R. and Weil P. eds., *Citizenship and Nationality Law in the E.U.* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hants.: Palgrave, 2001).

Groenendijk K. and Heijs E., 'Immigration, Immigrants and Nationality Law in the Netherlands, 1945-1998', in Randall Hansen and Patrick Weil eds., *Towards a European Nationality: Citizenship, Immigration and Nationality Law in the EU* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

Guibernau M., *Belonging: Solidarity and Division in Modern Societies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).

Guibernau M., 'The Profound and Ambivalent Nature of Belonging in the EU', in Anthony Lerman *Do I Belong? :Reflections on Europe* (London: Pluto Press, 2017).

Hannafin S., 'Coming Home: place, belonging and second generation return migration from England to Ireland', PhD Thesis (Galway: National University of Galway, 2018).

Hansen R., 'A European Citizenship or a Europe of Citizens? Third Country Nationals in the E.U.', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998.

Hansen R. and Weil P., 'Introduction: Citizenship, Immigration and Nationality: Towards a Convergence in Europe', in Hansen R. and Weil P. eds., *Citizenship and Nationality Law in the E.U.* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hants.: Palgrave, 2001).

Havel B., *Maestro of Crystal* (Dublin: Currach Press, 2005).

Hayes C., and Byrne P., 'Petr Skrabánek', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Heckman F., 'Integration: Conceptual Issues and Definitions', paper presented at the IMISCOE Cluster B5 Conference in Lisbon, 16-17 July, 2004.

Hegarty H., 'A Geographical analysis of the socio-cultural interface between the locals and the incomers in West Cork', Unpublished MA Thesis (Cork: Department of Geography, UCC, 1994).

Hick V., 'The Palatine Settlement in Ireland: The Early Years', *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, Vol.4, (1989).

Hodgeson S., Cullinan C. and Campbell K., *Land Ownership and Foreigners: A Comparative Analysis of Regulatory Approaches to the Acquisition and Use of land by Foreigners* (FAO Legal Papers on line No. 6, Dec. 1999).

Holfter G. ed., *German Speaking Exiles in Ireland 1933-1945* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006).

Holfter G., *Heinrich Böll and Ireland* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011).

Holfter G., 'Safe haven: DIAS and the WWII immigrants that helped shape it'. Talk delivered to the DIAS on line September 2021 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ww1vSZFjFKs>.

Hogan P. *Designing Ireland* (Dublin: Craft Council of Ireland, 2005).

Horgan J., 'Noel Christopher Browne', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Hourican B., 'Alexandra Wejchert', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Hourican B. 'Stan Gebler Davies', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Hylton R.P., 'Louis Crommelin', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Hyman L. *The Jews of Ireland from the earliest times to the year 1910* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972)

ICOMOS Netherlands, 'The Netherlands post-war Housing Schemes, 'Heritage at Risk 2002-2003.

Jackson J.A. ed., *Migration Sociological studies 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

Kelly C., 'Look back in Pleasure', in L. McRedmond, *Written on the Wind* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1976).

Kenny K., 'Irish Emigrations in a Comparative Perspective', in Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly eds., *The Cambridge History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Keogh D., *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998).

Keogh D., Finbar O Shea and Carmel Quinlan eds., *The Lost Decade: Ireland in the 1950s* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2004)

King L., 'Tradition and Modernity: the Americanisation of Aer Lingus Advertising 1950-1960 in Tiratsoo and Linsky eds., *Americanisation in 20th Century Europe: Business Culture and Politics* vol. 1 (Lille Publications de l'institut de recherché historique du Vintieme siècle, 2018).

Kirby G., *Kevin: My Memories* (Wicklow: SOL Productions Ltd, 2020).

Kockel U., 'Counter-cultural migrants in the West of Ireland', in Russell King ed., *Contemporary Irish Migration* (Dublin: Geographical Society of Ireland, 1991).

Korff A. and O'Connell J., Map series (Kinvara: Tir Eolas, 1985 to date).

Langhamer A., *The Legend of Bohemian Glass: a Thousand Years of Glassmaking* (Zlín: Tigris, 2003).

Leach D., *Fugitive Ireland: European Minorities, Nationalism and Irish Political asylum 1937-2008* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2009).

Lee E., 'A Theory of Migration', *Demography* (3) 1.

Lee G.L., *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland* (London: Clearfield, 1936).

Lee J., *Ireland 1912-1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Lentin L. 'Grandpa speak to me in Russian', a script of the television documentary published in *Translocations*, Spring, 2008.

Long P., 'Gerrit van Gelderen', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Ludington C., 'Between Myth and Margin: The Huguenots in Irish History', *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 02, 2000, Vol. LXXIII, no. 180 pp. 1-19.

Lummis T., *Listening to History: The Authenticity of Oral Evidence* (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1988).

McAleese D., *A Profile of Grant-aided Industry in Ireland* (Dublin: Stationery Office 1977).

Mac Con Iomaire M., *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine on Public Dining in Dublin Restaurants 1900-2000: an Oral History* (Dublin: Technological University, 2009).

Mac Con Iomaire M., 'Pierre Rolland' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

MacDougall I., *Voices of Leith Dockers: Personal Reflections of Working Lives* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2002).

MacGréil M., *Prejudice and Toleration in Ireland* (Dublin: Research Station, College of Industrial Relations, 1977).

McIlroy B., *World Cinema Ireland* (Trowbridge: Flicks Books, 1988).

McIntosh A., 'The Man of Calling' in M. Nic Craith, K. Strang and A. Mackie eds., *Heimatkunde: Exploration of Place and Belonging A 'Feast-Script in honour of Ullrich Kockel* (Münster: Verlag Münster, 2023).

Manning M. *The Blueshirts* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1970).

Marwick A., *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London: Bodley Head, 1965).

Maume P., 'Yann Fouéré', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Milward A.S., *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1984* (London: Methuen, 1984).

Minch R., 'Gerda Frömel' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Minch R., 'James Mannin' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Mitchell B.R., *International Historical Statistics 1750-1993* (London: Macmillan, 1998).

Moch L.P., *Moving Europeans* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992).

Moloney G., 'Belgian Refugees in Monaghan, 1914-1919', *Cumann seanchaisChlochair*, 11 January 2014, Col. 21 (3) pp.232-244.

Muller-Escoda B. and Vogt U., 'France the institution of plurality' In Kaufmann, Kuijsten, Schulze and Stromen eds. *Family Life and Policies in Europe Vol. 1*(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

Murphy C., *Immigration, Integration and the Law: The Intersection of Domestic, EU and International Legal Regimes* (Burlington: Asgate Publishing Company, 2013).

Murphy P., 'Art and Architecture of Ireland Vol. III Sculpture 1600-200', in Andrew Carpenter general ed., *Art and Architecture of Ireland* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2015).

Nikolinakos M., 'Notes Towards a General Theory of Migration in Late Capitalism', *Race and Class* XVII (1), Summer 1975.

O'Brien S., *Powering the Nation: Images of the Shannon Scheme and Electricity in Ireland* (Portland: Irish Academic Press, 2017).

O'Connor E., 'Trades Councils in Waterford City,' in William Nolan and Thomas P. Power eds. *Waterford History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1992).

O'Connor P.J. *People Make Places: The Story of the Irish Palatines* (Newcastle West:

OireachtnaMumhan Books, 1989).

O Dowd C., 'Magic Windows: Ria Mooney at the Gate Theatre', in David Clare, Des Lally and Patrick Lonergan eds., *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018).

O Driscoll M., 'A German Invasion? Irish Rural Radicalism and Irish Modernisation 1958-1973', *International History Review*, 38.3.

Oelker J., 'Rudolf Steiner' in Palmer J., Bresler L and Cooper D. eds. *Fifty Major Thinkers on Education* (London: Routledge, 2001).

Ó Gráda C. And Hjortshøj O Rourke K., 'The Irish economy during the century after partition', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 75 Issue 2 May 2022.

Ó Gráda C., *Jewish Ireland in the Time of Joyce: a Socio-economic History* (Princeton & London: Princeton University Press, 2006).

O Halpin E., *Defending Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

O Leary S., 'Cranks and Idealists: the emergence of the planning profession in local government following the Local Government (Planning and Development Act 1963)' Tom O Connor Working Paper Series, No. 38. (Cork: Department of Government UCC, 2014).

Oliver C., and Gridley B., *Integration of Migrants in Europe* (Global Exchange on Migration and Diversity: COMPAS, September 2015).

O' Mahony S., 'Petr Skrabanek: the abominable no-man', *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 49 (1).

O' Neill C. The Irish Home Front 1914-1918 with particular reference to the treatment of Belgian refugees, prisoners of war, enemy aliens and war casualties (PhD thesis: Maynooth 2006).

O'Reilly T., *Hitler's Irishmen* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 2008).

O' Sullivan M. and Downey L., 'Sugar refining', *Archaeology Ireland*, Vol. 31, No. 4, (Winter 2017).

Park R.E., 'Human Migration and the Marginal Man', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXIII, May 1928, No. 6.

Park R.E., and Burgess E.W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921).

Phillimore R., Agonizing Choices Unpublished memory of 'Staff' (Kinvara, Co Galway. Written 1990).

Pine R., *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005).

Piraprez N., *Irlande 66/69: Images of Ireland in the late 1960's* (Bruxelles: Yellow Now- Le Carnets) 2016.

Plachecki J., 'Polish Emigration in Ireland in the 20th and early 21st Centuries', Irish Polish Society, 2012.

E.S. Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, XIVIII, June 1885.

Redmond A., *This was Then This is Now: Change in Ireland 1949-1999; a Publication to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the Central Statistics Office* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 2000).

Redmond J., *Moving Histories: Irish Women's Emigration to Britain from Independence to Republic* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018).

Redstone L. and R., *Public Art, New Directions* (Australia: McGraw-hill, 1981).

Reynolds B., *Casalattico and the Italian Community in Ireland* (Dublin: Foundation for Italian Studies, UCD, 1993).

Rhus M., *Managing the Immigration and Employment of Non-EU Nationals in Ireland* (Dublin: The Policy Institute at Trinity College, Dublin, 2005).

Robinson V., 'Defining and Measuring Successful Refugee Integration', *Proceedings of the ECRE International Conference on Integration of Refugees in Europe* (Brussels: ECRE, November 1998).

Roche W.K., case study Liebherr Cranes, 'The emergence of a dual system of dispute resolution: private facilitation in Irish industrial relations', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 46:4, 2015.

Roth A., *Mr Bewley In Berlin: Aspects of the Career of an Irish Diplomat 1933-39* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000).

Sexton J.J., 'Emigration and Immigration in the Twentieth Century: An Overview', in J.R. Hill ed., *A New History of Ireland Volume VII 1921-84* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Sheridan V., *Suitable Strangers* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2023).

Shevlin M., 'Historical overview of the Developments in Special Education in Ireland' in M Shevlin et al *Essays in the History of Irish Education* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

Shiel M.J., *The Quiet Revolution: The electrification of Rural Ireland 1946-1976* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press 1984).

Skrabánek P., *The Death of Humane Medicine and the Rise of Coercive Healthism* (London: Social

Affairs Unit, 1994).

Spencer S., *The Migration Debate* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2011).

Symmons C., 'Irish Nationality Law' in Hansen R. and Weil P. eds., *Citizenship and Nationality Law in the E.U.* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hants.: Palgrave, 2001).

Thompson P., *The Voice of the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Tracy M., *Racism and Immigration in Ireland: a Comparative Analysis* (Dublin: Department of Sociology, University of Dublin Trinity College, 2000).

Uekötter F., *The Greenest Nation? A New History of German Environmentalism* (Cambridge: MIT, 2014).

Walker U., 'The Scandinavian Report, its Origins and Impact on the Kilkenny Design Workshops', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 9, 2013.

Ward E., 'A Big Show-off to show what we could do: Ireland and the Hungarian Refugee Crisis of 1956', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 1 January 1996, Vol. 7 pp.131-141.

Waterhouse K., *Ireland's District Courts: Language, Immigration and the Consequences for Justice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

Weil P., 'The 1945 ordinances', *Plein Droit*, No.22-23, October 1993.

Weil P., 'The History of French Nationality: A Lesson for Europe', in Hansen R. and Weil P. eds., *Citizenship and Nationality Law in the E.U.* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hants.: Palgrave, 2001).

Wendt H., 'The Former German Democratic Republic: the Standardized Family', trans. F. Dasko in Kaufmann et al. eds., *Family Life and Family Policies in Europe Vol.1* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1997).

White H., *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland 1770-1970* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998).

Whitaker T.K., *Economic Development 1958*.

Williams F. C. 'Johann Van der Hagen', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Woodham Smith C., 'Review of Bianconi King of the Irish Roads', *Studia Hibernica*, No. 3, (19) pp. 206-7.

Wynne N., 'An accidental Galut? A critical reappraisal of Jewish foundation myths', *Jewish Culture and History*, 2018, vol. 19, no. 2 pp.124-138.

Websites

Anita Groener <https://anitagroener.com/about>.

Aosdána <http://aosdana.arts council.ie/about/>.

The Apple farm of Tipperary, <https://www.theapplefarm.com>.

The Arts Council <https://author.arts council.ie/Arts-Council-at-70/Timeline>.

BBC News, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-64971048>
<https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-35863186>.

Ballybrado, The Organic Food Company, <https://www.ballybrado.ie/>.

Ballymaloe Cookery School <https://www.ballymaloecookeryschool.ie/ballymaloe-cookery-school/darina-allen>.

The Biodynamic Association of Ireland. <https://www.biodynamicagriculture.ie/about/>.

Bulbs.ie <https://bulbs.ie/>

Business Plus <https://businessplus.ie>

Camphill Communities of Ireland: Duffcarrig Community <https://www.camphill.ie/duffcarrig/about>.

Camphill Foundation <https://camphillfoundation.org/about-camphill/>.

Citizens Information https://citizensinformation.ie/en/moving_country/irish_citizenship/becoming_an_irish_citizen_through_naturalisation.html#:~:text=The%20fee%20for%20each%20application%20for%20naturalisation%20is%20%E2%82%AC175.

The Contemporary Music Centre <https://www.cmc.ie/composers/frederick-may>.

Come here to me <https://comeheretome.com>.

The Company Registration Office, <https://core.cro.ie/>

Coolea Cheese <http://www.cooleacheese.com/who-we-are.html>.

Design and Crafts Council of Ireland. <https://www.dcci.ie/directory/rionore-co/>
<https://issuu.com/craftscouncilofireland/docs/kdwdesignirl2013-1-1/18>

Dingle Crystal <https://dinglecrystal.ie/pages/about-us>.

Dunne A., 'Was sculptor Gerda Frömel too subtle for success'. <https://imma.ie/artists/sonja-landweer/>.

Embassy of Ireland, Berlin, Germany, <https://Ireland.ie/en/germany/berlin/news-and-events/news-archive/9-march-1800-the-children-of-operation-shamrock-photo-exhibition-and-talk-with-special-guests/>

Gallacher T., 'Camera Tales: George Fleischmann', <https://terencegallacher.wordpress.com/2012/05/11/cameraman-tales-george-fleischmann/>.

Galway Crystal <https://www.galwaycrystal.ie/>.

Gerda Teljeur <https://gerdateljeur.com/>.

Goethe Institut Ireland <https://www.goethe.de/ins/ie/en/kul/sup/dsi/20734425.html>.

The Good Herdsman <http://www.goodherdsmen.ie/>.

Go to Ireland.com <https://www.go-to-ireland.com/food/the-ballyoak/>.

The Happy Loaf <https://facebook.com/MadeinGalway/posts/about-our-producerthe-happy-loaf-has-been-supplying-the-people-of-galway-with-h/1552346541544295>.

Herterich Butchery and Delicatessen <https://www.herterichartisanmeats.ie/pages/the-herterich-story>.

Historical Development of the ECEC sector in Ireland' <https://www.gillmacmillan.ie>.

Holocaust Education Ireland, *They became us: The Unlikely Lives of Holocaust Survivors in Ireland*, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1mX26GrJ5PObHOueKWW_1kkcXhE2-nimK/view?pli=1

Howell C., 'Forgotten Artists- Tibor Paul' <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/paul-tibor-11352>.

Hurl Rudin <https://hurlrudin.com/works/therry-rudin>.

IMDb <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0726166/bio/>.

Irish Chamber Orchestra <https://www.irishchamberorchestra.com/>.

Irish Organic Association <https://www.irishorganicassociation.ie/about>.

Irish Photo Archive <https://www.irishphotoarchive.ie/image/I0000fFNHmvOycmY>.

Jerpoint Glass Studio <https://www.jerpointglass.com/>.

The Journal <https://www.thejournal.ie/irish-american-chippers-romanyos-3039512-Oct2016/>.

The Journal of Music <https://journalofmusic.com/focus/when-stravinsky-came-dublin-1963>.

Kilkenny Arts Festival <https://www.kilkennyarts.ie/about>.

Cor Klaasen retrospective exhibition article, <https://corkklaasen.squarespace.com>.

Library Ireland <https://www.libraryireland.com/irishartists/c.php>.

Liebherr <https://www.liebherr.com/en/irl/about-liebherr/history/1949-1960.html>.

The Lissard Estate <https://www.lissardestate.ie/overview/brief-story>.

John McCambridge <https://mccambridge.ie/our-story>.

Mannings Deli and Grocer <https://manningsemporium.ie/>.

Mary Immaculate College <https://www.mic.ul.ie/life-at-mic/imogen-stuart-exhibition/imogen-stuart-biography>.

Migrant Rights Centre, *Part of the Family*, https://emn.ie/files/p_201301161255102012PartofTheFamily.pdf.

The Military Archives <https://www.militaryarchives.ie/collections/online-collections/oral-history-project-20th-century/stories-in-the-collection/the-emergency-world-war>.

Ministère des Armées, *Chemins de Mémoire*, <https://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr/en/french-civilian-victims-battle-normandy>.

The Mullan Gallery <https://www.mullangallery.com/artist/sonja-landweer/bio/189/>.

Murdoch and Hunt, *Encyclopedia of Irish Law*, <https://bloomsburgprofessional-on-line>.

Na Cailleacha <https://nacailleacha.weebly.com/>.

Oliver Moore <https://olivermoore.blogspot.com/>.

O' Shannon C., 'Ireland's Nazi's' Tile Films for RTE 2007, <https://tilefilms.ie/productions/irelands-nazis/>.

Petit Buchel, <https://www.petibuchel.com>.

Polranny Pirates, <https://polrannypirates.nl>.

Research Foundation for Music in Ireland <http://musicresearch.ie/?q=draxelklein>.

Roma Foods, <https://www.linkedin.com/company/roma-foods/about/>

Royal Irish Academy, <https://www.ria.ie/michel-deon>

Royal Irish Academy, https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/deon-commerative_booklet.pdf

Smithsonian Magazine, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/13th-century-french-monks-baked-sourdough-ireland-18097588>

Statista, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1208625/first-world-war-fatalities-per-country/>

Sweeney C., 'The German' <https://vimeo.com/140458869?ref=fb-v-share&fbclid=IwAR2Dyo6ng8TjB9ZfHrCDacOOp7aUhZrdRD2c0wKGFgXtrhrwDMtLbCOBE#>.

UisceÉireann, <https://www.water.ie/help/supply/group-water-schemes/>
Uniplumo, <https://uniplumo.ie/>
The University of Edinburgh, <https://www.reidconcerts.music.ed.ac.uk>.
Claudio Viscardi, <http://www.claudioviscardi.net/biography.html>
<https://www-extrafid-ch.translate.goog/project/claudio-viscardi/? x tr sl=it& x tr tl=en& x tr hl=en& x tr pto=sc>
House of Waterford <https://www.waterfordvisitorcentre.com/content/golf>.
<https://waterschemes.ie/2018/09/10/turn-on-the-tap-ica-campaign-for-rural-water-supplies/index.html>